

MATHEMATICAL
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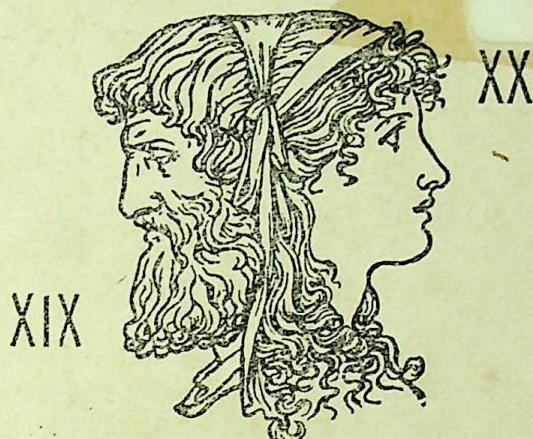


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THE
NINETEENTH
CENTURY
AND AFTER

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No. CCCCLII—OCTOBER 1914

THE LOGIC OF HISTORY

La Guerre est l'industrie nationale de la Prusse.—MIRABEAU.

Securus judicat orbis terrarum. St. Augustine's aphorism may well bring comfort and assurance, at this supreme crisis, to the mind and conscience of the British people. For themselves they have no misgivings as to the justice and righteousness of the war in which the Empire is engaged. Nor need they have. The responsibility for its outbreak is plain and palpable. That responsibility rests immediately upon the shoulders of a military clique which has long dominated the politics of the German Empire, but ultimately upon a people who, through the ages, have been taught to worship false gods. As to all this there is no dispute; all parties in Great Britain and in Greater Britain are agreed.

It is not, however, a small thing that in our resolve to do battle with the forces of reaction we should have the concurrence of the civilised world. Not only is our own conscience void of offence; the verdict of mankind is in our favour.

For the immediate purpose this assurance may be held to

suffice. It cannot fail to nerve our soldiers and sailors for still more splendid efforts in the fighting lines; it cannot fail to encourage our rulers and counsellors at home to persistence in well-doing, to know that in all they do and all they plan they have the conscientious approval and the moral support of thinking men throughout the world.

The scientific student of history has, however, a further duty. It is his, in a large sense, to 'vindicate the ways of God to men'; not merely to the men who come after, but if possible to those of his own generation. He may legitimately inquire—it is, indeed, his bounden duty to inquire—whether for the great events which are passing before our eyes there is a more remote but not therefore less direct responsibility; whether the past ought not in justice to share the moral burdens of the present. The personal equation is always supremely important in politics, and never more so than in war and in the preparations for war. But there is a force more potent even than that exerted by the individuals who dominate the contemporary stage. It is the force of historical tradition, moulding throughout the ages the policy of States, and bending to its imperious dictates even the stubborn wills of autocratic rulers. It is the force exerted by what a brilliant Frenchman has described as *les mœurs politiques*.

In no European State, ancient or modern, have *les mœurs politiques* exercised a more profound or more persistent influence than in the kingdom ruled by the Hohenzollern. No one, indeed, who is not familiar with this political tradition can possibly apprehend the real significance of contemporary happenings, nor set them forth in true historical perspective. Bismarck himself paid deference—perhaps unconscious deference—to that tradition when he made his famous declaration: 'That a war with France would succeed that with Austria lay in the logic of history.' *In the logic of history.* That logic I propose to subject to more detailed analysis and to give to Bismarck's aphorism a more extended application.

It is, at the outset, important to obtain assent to certain propositions which may be summarily stated thus:

(i) That modern Prussia is essentially a manufactured product;

(ii) that it has been manufactured by its kings and by the armies to the maintenance of which they ~~had~~ during long ages hypothecated all the resources of the State;

(iii) that by the foresight of Prussian statesmanship and the strength of Prussian arms the modern German Empire has been brought into being; and

(iv) that the triumph of Prussian policy during the last half

century has not run counter, but has in the main corresponded, to the national sentiments of Germany as a whole.

It is no doubt true that the rough methods of Potsdam have not always commended themselves to the smaller States, and that the interference of the Prussian drill sergeant has been resented in the lesser German Courts and Principalities which are the traditional homes of German culture in the prae-Treitschke sense. Still there can be no greater mistake than to suppose that Prussian hegemony has not fulfilled some at least of the political aspirations of a great but formerly disunited nation. Those centripetal aspirations found their consummation in the events of 1870 and 1871. ‘Against whom are the Germans now fighting?’ was a question addressed by Thiers to Leopold von Ranke in the autumn of 1870 after the overthrow of Napoleon the Third. ‘It is against Louis the Fourteenth that we have now to wage war’ was the great historian’s reply. And the reply was as accurate as it was apposite. For at least two hundred years it had been a fixed maxim of French diplomacy to encourage the centrifugal tendencies of the smaller German States and, by maintaining constitutional anarchy and political disintegration, to prevent the growth of a powerful Empire beyond the Rhine. To this end the French conquered and annexed Alsace and a great part of Lorraine. To this end they maintained cordial diplomatic relations with Constantinople, Warsaw, and Stockholm. The archives of the French Foreign Office, which have in late years been made public, disclose beyond all dispute the leading motives of French diplomacy and the persistence with which the fixed policy was pursued. Even at a moment like the present a sense of historical fair play compels us to remember that in 1870 Germany had some ground for the belief that the defeat and dismemberment and humiliation of France must precede any effective effort for the realisation of German unity. Plainly that was what Ranke meant when he declared that the Germans, in 1870, were fighting against Louis the Fourteenth. It was the apprehension of his meaning which brought the South German States into line with the North German Confederation and which caused all discordant notes to be, for the moment, hushed.

Seldom had such a national rising been seen—so swift, so universal, so enthusiastic, sweeping away in a moment the heartburnings of Liberals and feudals in Prussia, the jealousies of North and South Germans, of Protestants and Catholics. . . . Never before for centuries, not even in the War of Liberation of 1814, had the whole people felt and acted so completely as one.

Thus wrote Lord Bryce in the full glow of Teutonic enthusiasm generated by the victories of 1870. And none can gainsay the accuracy of his words.

But a crucial question remains. Is the consummation of German unity in 1871 to be regarded as a goal or as a starting-point? Does German sentiment as opposed to Prussian ambition demand a further step? Bismarck and the old Kaiser unquestionably believed that their life work had been accomplished by 1871. They sought only, in their remaining years, to conserve the acquisitions of the previous decade; to avert the diplomatic isolation of Germany; and, above all, to obstruct any *rapprochement* between France on the one hand and Austria, and still more Russia, on the other. But though the old men might chant their *Nunc Dimitis*, though they might rest content with the attainment of German unity under Prussian hegemony, though they might deprecate the extension of the sphere of German activity and discourage the idea of colonial expansion, their successors could hardly be expected to take the same view. Even the elder statesmen never ceased to be apprehensive as to the designs of France. They were astonished and dismayed by the extraordinary rapidity with which France recovered, both politically and economically, from the crushing disaster of 1871. They almost precipitated a renewal of the contest in 1875, and to the end of their days they were on their guard against a war of *reranche* for the recovery of Alsace and Lorraine.

The suspicions entertained by William the First deepened into certainty in the mind of his grandson. The firm establishment of the Third Republic in France, the elimination of one monarchical candidate after another, the reorganisation of the French Army, the *rapprochement* of France and England, the conclusion of an alliance between France and Russia, the formation of the *Triple Entente*—these things might by themselves have tempted William the First and would certainly have induced Bismarck to renew the contest with France at the first favourable opportunity.

Meanwhile, however, a new ambition had entered into the soul of William the Second and the military caste upon which he relied. To them the realisation of German unity was not the goal but the starting-point of German policy. To have attained to the first place among the Continental Powers was something, but it was not enough. The rapid growth of population, the amazing development of commerce, the patient and persistent training of the nation in arms, the perfection of the military machine—all this suggested more extended ambitions and afforded substantial guarantees for their fulfilment.

Nor can it be denied that from the German point of view there was a genuine motive for war. For a country conscious of greatness the geographical position of Germany is palpably disadvantageous. Wedged in between enemies on land, her eastern frontier exposed to attack, with a coast-line singularly contracted

and ill-adapted to become a base for naval warfare, Germany found herself in an uneasy situation. If she could rest content with the magnificent position achieved in Europe, well and good. Not for many years—if ever—was that position likely to be effectively threatened. The development of the Pan-Slavic sentiment might ultimately compel her to defend her eastern frontier, and such a defence would, without question, give the signal for a renewal of the attack from France. But Russia was herself not exempt from menace, and there were other directions towards which, by cautious diplomacy, her ambitions might have been diverted.

Germany had, then, no obvious motive for taking the offensive against either Russia or France. Except as a means to an end, except for the purpose of enabling her to work her will upon another Power.

For some years past Germany has been consumed by the ambition to challenge the world-power of the British Empire. This truth long since revealed to the few can now be denied by none. To the generation of Germans who have graduated in the school of Treitschke the truth is elementary. To an extent which is even yet hardly realised in England history has in Germany become the handmaid of politics. The Prussian school of historians, recoiling from the more severe and more scientific method of Ranke, has systematically set itself to the fulfilment of a patriotic purpose. Dahlmann, Häusser, Drucker, Droysen, Sybel, Treitschke—the apostolic succession is unbroken. The first article in the creed of the new cult was the exaltation of the Hohenzollern tradition and the justification of the Prussian hegemony. The next was the fulfilment of the world-mission of Germany. But this could be accomplished only by the development of sea-power and by a successful challenge to the World-Empire of Britain. As long ago as 1863 Treitschke wrote: ‘No salvo salutes the German flag in a foreign port. Our country sails the sea without colours like a pirate.’ General von Bernhardi, whose book is now belatedly in everybody’s hands, is the loyal disciple of Treitschke.

The German nation [wrote Bernhardi], from the standpoint of its importance to civilisation, is fully entitled . . . to aspire to an adequate share in the sovereignty of the world far beyond the limits of its present sphere of influence. . . . It is a question of life and death for us to keep open our oversea commerce. . . . The maintenance of the freedom of the seas must therefore be always before our eyes as the object of all our naval constructions. Our efforts must not be merely directed towards the necessary repulse of hostile attacks; we must be conscious of the higher ideal that we wish to follow an effective world-policy, and that our naval power is destined ultimately to support this world-policy. . . . England is planted before our coasts in such a manner that our entire

oversea commerce can be easily blocked. . . . We cannot count on an ultimate victory at sea unless we are victorious on land.

These citations are culled from various parts of General von Bernhardi's famous book, *Germany and the Next War*, but it will not be denied that in the aggregate they fairly represent his general line of argument. The author assumes that Germany will have to fight France, Russia, and England possibly in succession, more probably in combination, and he contends that France must be 'completely crushed' as a preliminary to the defeat of England. This is the food on which young Germany has been nourished. 'Paris first, then London.' The annexation of the northern seaports of Belgium and France as a first step towards the capture of English commerce and the acquisition of English Colonies.

If Bismarck was right in saying that Sedan followed logically upon Sadowa, Bernhardi may be not less right in insisting that a second Sedan must prepare the way for the defeat and dismemberment of the British Empire. Such, according to the German reading, is the logic of history. To examine rather more closely the premisses of the syllogism is the purpose of the pages that follow. If those premisses are sound the conclusion is irresistible.

The primary link in the chain of argument is supplied by the first of the propositions which were summarily stated above. The Hohenzollern power represents not the result of natural evolution, but a highly artificial and laboriously manufactured product.

No political philosopher who looked upon the map of Europe so lately even as the seventeenth century could possibly have predicted the rise of the Hohenzollern to a dominant position in Germany. Nothing could have been more unpromising than their situation or prospects. From the sandy waste of Brandenburg they derived an Electoral title, but little else; they had lately (1618) succeeded by inheritance to the poor and isolated Duchy of East Prussia, but they still held it as vassals of the King of Poland; they also had claims, eventually conceded, upon one or two Duchies in the Rhine-land.

Upon these unpromising materials the Electors of Brandenburg set to work, with the clear intention of building up a powerful State in North Germany. From the outset they realised that natural disadvantages could be overcome only by the maintenance of an army quite disproportionate to the immediate requirements of the Electorate. To maintain their army it was essential to develop, or rather to create, the economic resources of the country. Its climate was unfriendly, its soil infertile, its people unskilled, and its geographical situation unfavourable for commerce. The only chance was to import skilled workers, to

afford protection to their products, and thus artificially to cultivate the germs of industry and commerce. The expulsion of the Huguenots from France gave the Hohenzollern a chance which they did not miss. Meanwhile, cautious and ever watchful diplomacy, combined with the power to strike an effective blow when necessary, enabled the Brandenburg Electors to enter upon the path of territorial consolidation and aggrandisement. The Peace of Westphalia (1648) brought them Upper Pomerania and Camin, together with the secularised bishoprics of Halberstadt and Minden and the great fortress of Magdeburg. A resounding victory over the Swedes at Fehrbellin (1675) promised much, but achieved little owing to the intervention of Louis the Fourteenth. Admitted to the charmed circle of royalty in 1701, Frederick the First chose to take his kingly title not from his Electorate of Brandenburg but from his non-German Duchy of East Prussia. His son, Frederick William the First (1713-1740), was in the main content to husband and develop the economic resources of the infant kingdom. But they were husbanded, as ever, with one supreme object. By the most exact and careful administration a small and poor country, containing only two and a half million inhabitants, was enabled to maintain a standing army of 83,000 men. Macaulay, in a famous Essay, satirised the methods and scouted the achievements of the old 'drill sergeant.' More critical history is able to perceive that he played his part not unworthily in the development of the drama of his House. To the recruiting, training, and equipment of a seemingly disproportionate army he devoted all the powers of a keen if narrow intellect and all the resources of an over-taxed and over-burdened people. Nor was the appropriate reward withheld. A potent instrument of ambition was bequeathed, in due time, to the drill sergeant's son, the Great Frederick (1740-1786). To what purpose the inheritance was used the history of the eighteenth century eloquently testifies. The great Duchy of Silesia was the prize of two wars with Austria, while West Prussia represented Frederick's share in the first Partition of Poland (1772). By these vitally important acquisitions Prussia became for the first time a really compact and consolidated kingdom. But Frederick's resounding victories in the field did more than fill in and round off the territorial position of his own ancestral dominions. They afforded a rallying point for German patriotism. 'Never since the dissolution of the Empire of Charlemagne had the Teutonic race won such a field against the French (as the battle of Rossbach). The fame of Frederick began to supply in some degree the place of a common Government and a common capital. Then first it was manifest that the Germans were truly a nation.' Thus wrote Carlyle with

characteristic over-emphasis and exaggeration, but not without substantial truth, and the truth is more clearly revealed in Frederick's last political achievement. The *Fürstenbund*, or League of German Princes, which in 1785 Frederick the Great formed to restrain the ambition of the Emperor Joseph the Second, seemed actually to foreshadow the transference of supremacy from Vienna to Berlin. But Prussia's hour had not yet come. Fishing in very troubled waters, Frederick William the Second was able to secure large slices of the doomed kingdom of Poland in 1793 and 1795. By this means South Prussia and New East Prussia were incorporated in the dominions of the Hohenzollern. But these Partitions of Poland represented for the time being the last of a long and unbroken series of cynical and shameless successes. A time of tribulation was at hand. Prussia's initial intervention in the war against Revolutionary France was brief and inglorious, and by the Treaty of Bâle (1795) she purchased from the French Republic peace at the price of honour. For ten years she took no further part in the war, being now contemptuously caressed and now brutally bullied by Napoleon. But in 1805 Napoleon's insults became unbearable, and the Prussian worm at last turned. The only immediate result of Prussia's plucky but ill-timed intervention was the crushing military disaster at Jena, followed by the occupation of Berlin, the humiliation of the Prussian King and the dismemberment of the Prussian kingdom. The Treaty of Tilsit (1807) marked the nadir of the fortunes of the Hohenzollern. At one fell blow they were deprived of all their possessions west of the Elbe, and of all that they had nefariously obtained from the spoils of Poland since 1772; they had to pay a crushing war indemnity, to recognise the new Napoleonic kingdoms in Germany and elsewhere, to keep their harbours closed against English trade and English ships, and—a little later—to reduce their army to 42,000 men. *Germany in Her Deep Humiliation*, for the circulation of which Palm, a Nürnberg bookseller, was shot by Napoleon, expressed with accuracy the grim facts of the situation.

Out of the humiliation came resurrection and salvation. A new Prussia quickly arose upon the ruins of the old. The revival was largely due to the patriotic labours of four men—Stein, Hardenberg, Scharnhorst, and Humboldt. The first two reorganised the social, the agrarian, and to a large extent the political system of Prussia. Scharnhorst initiated a series of far-reaching reforms which transformed the old and obsolete army system of Frederick the Great into the efficient machine of to-day. Henceforth every citizen in Prussia was to be trained in the use of arms. The active army, in obedience to Napoleon's dictates, was cut down to 40,000 men; but after a short service with the

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colours the citizen was to pass into the reserve, and in addition there was to be a *Landwehr* for home defence and a *Landsturm* or general arming of the population, for guerilla warfare. What Scharnhorst and his colleague Gneisenau did for national defence, Humboldt effected in the sphere of national education. Thus was Prussia completely transformed. In a social, an economic, a military, and an educational sense, Prussia was born again. And the new Prussia listened eagerly to the passionate, patriotic appeals of Schiller and Fichte. Out of the enthusiasm thus generated came the impulse to the War of Liberation. Napoleon for the first time learnt at Leipzig what it meant to be at war not merely with the German sovereigns but with the German people.

In the great settlement of 1815 the fates were kind to the Hohenzollern. For the moment the Prussian rulers had lost sight of their 'German mission'; dynastic and reactionary influences were temporarily in the ascendant at Berlin, and if Prussia could have had her way she would have expanded northwards and eastwards; she coveted Poland and the Baltic littoral. Fortunately for herself her ambitions in that direction were thwarted by Russia, and she had to seek a solatium in the west. It came to her in the shape of a great province on both banks of the Rhine—now Rhenish Prussia. The bias thus given to Prussian policy proved to be the turning-point in her political fortunes. She had lost—to Russia—a population of Slavic origin; she gained a population of Germans; she ceased to look towards the Niemen; she began to look across the Rhine. Truly, between Brandenburg and Rhenish Prussia there was a wide gap; the more reason for filling it up, when the opportunity offered in 1866. Destiny seemed to be fighting for the Hohenzollern against themselves.

For some time it seemed doubtful whether they would not defeat destiny, whether they would ever regain the traditional path trodden by the founders of the policy of their House—by the Great Elector, by Frederick William the First, and by Frederick the Second. The territorial settlement of 1815 brought to Prussia more advantages than she deserved. The constitutional settlement represented a decisive defeat for Prussia and a triumph for her Hapsburg rival. Stein and the Prussian patriots would fain have seen Germany brought together in a true federal union—a *Bundesstaat*. Metternich fought strenuously, and in the end successfully, for the establishment of a loose Confederation, a mere *Staatenbund*. This arrangement, though profoundly disappointing to the patriots, suited Austria's game, and Austria maintained it, with a brief interval, until Bismarck finally smashed it at Sadowa. The period between 1815 and 1860 was thus a period of reaction alike for Germany in general, and in particular for Prussia.

Prussian statesmen followed deferentially the policy which was dictated from Vienna, first by Prince Metternich and afterwards by Felix Schwarzenberg. To the general law of reaction there was only one exception. This was found in the gradual formation of a *Zollverein* between Prussia and most of the other German States. This Customs-Union not only conferred upon Prussia and upon Germany immense benefit from the economic and commercial standpoint, but achieved political results of even greater importance. Politically its significance was threefold : it brought the German States together in a natural way, and cemented their friendship by enduring ties of mutual self-interest ; it brought them together under the hegemony of Prussia, and it led to the virtual exclusion of Austria and her composite Empire from the Germanic body. Apart from the *Zollverein* there was, however, nothing between 1815 and 1860 to indicate that the leadership of the German peoples was likely to pass from Vienna to Berlin.

The Hohenzollern appeared, indeed, to have definitely renounced any such ambition. The Frankfort Parliament, called into being by the revolutionary upheaval of 1848, offered the Imperial Crown of Germany to Frederick William the Fourth ; to the disgust of the German Progressives he refused it. But the period of Prussian apathy drew to a close about 1861. In that year William the First, who since 1858 had ruled as Prince Regent, succeeded his brother as King. In 1862 he called to his counsels Count Otto von Bismarck.

The first ten years of Bismarck's rule were crowded with events of high significance. Bismarck was perfectly clear as to the task before him, and not less clear as to the means by which it was to be accomplished. To its accomplishment he brought considerable experience, an inflexible will, and a conscience perfectly void of scruple. As Prussian representative in the Diet of Frankfort he had gauged the tendencies of Austrian policy. He was convinced that Austria's supreme object was to thwart the progress of Prussia and to do this by fomenting the jealousy of the smaller States. As Ambassador to Petersburg and to Paris he had not only put his finger on the pulse of European diplomacy, but had taken the measure of two considerable personalities, Alexander the Second and Napoleon the Third. He came back in 1862 to Berlin, well equipped for the work to which he put his hand.

That work was the Prussianisation of Germany and the accomplishment of German unity under Prussian hegemony. He was under no illusion as to the instruments which he would be compelled to use. 'The great questions of the time are not to be solved by speeches and parliamentary votes, but by blood and iron.' The iron was supplied by the genius and industry of Roon and Moltke. The former had ably planned the Prussian

Army with a new weapon—the needle-gun—destined to give them an easy victory in the next great war. In the latter Bismarck had a strategist and organiser of war of the very highest order. Both his coadjutors were soon put to the test.

The Emperor Francis Joseph had convoked a conference of the reigning Princes of Germany to discuss a revision of the Federal Constitution. Bismarck induced his master to decline the Emperor's invitation on the ground that the 'Austrian project did not harmonise with the proper position of the Prussian monarchy or with the interests of the German people.' Relations between the two Powers were seriously strained by this discourteous refusal, but war was temporarily averted by the revival of another question of pre-eminent significance.

By the death of Frederick the Seventh of Denmark, in 1863, a crisis was precipitated in regard to Schleswig-Holstein. Bismarck instantly perceived the possibilities of the situation, and without scruple or hesitation proceeded to turn it to the profit of Prussia. Thus regarded, Schleswig-Holstein is the first act in a drama which in January 1871 reached its brilliant *dénouement* in the Hall of Mirrors in the Palace of Versailles. It is worth while to follow the action of this drama with some attention; we are witnessing the epilogue to-day.

No man could have played a diplomatic game as Bismarck played it from 1863 to 1871, unless he had carefully thought out each successive and consequential move beforehand. Those moves it is now possible to discern and to disclose.

The first was upon Schleswig-Holstein. Into the tangled historical problems presented by the position of these Duchies it is happily unnecessary to plunge. The relations of the two Duchies to the Crown of Denmark on the one side and to the Germanic body on the other; the conflicting claims of Prince Christian of Glucksburg (afterwards Christian the Ninth of Denmark) and of Duke Frederick of Augustenburg; the attitude and policy of the Great Powers, and notably the obligations of Great Britain and France and Russia, of Prussia and Austria, as signatories of the Treaty of London (1852)—these things, though of high intrinsic importance, are not our primary concern. In the present connexion the Schleswig-Holstein question is significant as affording the opportunity for the first move in Bismarck's extraordinarily ingenious and perfectly unscrupulous diplomatic game.

In the imbroglio about the Danish Duchies Bismarck perceived three possibilities : (i) the possibility of acquiring for Prussia an extended coast-line and a magnificent harbour; (ii) the possibility of fixing a quarrel upon Austria; and (iii) the possibility of inducing his master, who was not only a keen Prussian but a loyal German, to deal a death-blow at the Germanic Bund—an

organisation which had long been employed to promote Hapsburg and to obstruct Hohenzollern interests. His crafty calculations were fulfilled with marvellous precision.

His first business was to induce Austria to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for Prussia in Schleswig-Holstein. This Austria, with almost incredible stupidity, consented to do. The claims first of Prince Christian, then of Duke Frederick, were roughly repudiated; the Danes resisted by arms the intrusion of the Germans, but were presently overpowered, and Austria and Prussia found themselves in joint possession of the Duchies. But what had become of the signatory Powers, the guarantors of Danish integrity? Russia had been 'squared' beforehand by Bismarck's friendly attitude during the Polish insurrection of 1863. Napoleon the Third was already involved in his fatuous Mexican adventure; England, in the hands of Lord Russell, could be safely counted on to talk much and do little. It was not that English statesmen were blind to the significance of the question.

There is no use [said Palmerston in 1863] in disguising the fact that what is at the bottom of the German design . . . is the dream of a German fleet and the wish to get Kiel as a German seaport. That may be a good reason why they should wish it; but it is no reason why they should violate the rights and independence of Denmark. . . . If any violent attempt were made to overthrow those rights and interfere with that independence, those who made the attempt would find in the result that it would not be Denmark alone with which they would have to contend.

Brave words. To our shame it has to be confessed that Bismarck estimated them at their true value. Between Prussia and the attainment of her ambition there was nothing but 'a scrap of paper.' It is true that the paper bore the signature of Great Britain. But Great Britain was in an ultra-pacific mood; the Manchester school was at the zenith of its influence. Moreover, Palmerston had of late years been growing—and not without reason—more and more mistrustful of Napoleon the Third, and he preferred, on the whole, to see a Prussian army in Schleswig rather than a French army on the Rhine.

Not from England, therefore, had Bismarck to fear effective resistance to his burglarious schemes. That her desertion of Denmark fatally damaged her prestige cannot be denied. 'Lord Salisbury's fierce notes and pacific measures furnish,' wrote Lord Salisbury in 1864, 'an endless theme for the taunts of those who would gladly see the influence of England in the councils of Europe destroyed.' Bismarck seems to have drawn very definite conclusions from this diplomatic episode, and to have bequeathed them as maxims of State to his successors. England might be

relied upon to moralise and to lecture, but not for the sake of 'a scrap of paper' would she ever draw the sword against Prussia. Had England drawn it in 1864 the present Armageddon might never have broken out.

Meanwhile, Bismarck continued to play a very difficult game with consummate adroitness and complete success. By the Treaty of Vienna in 1864 the Danish Duchies were handed over conjointly to Austria and Prussia. Almost immediately quarrels broke out between the partners in crime as to the disposal of the booty. Things looked like war. Bismarck, however, was not quite ready, and accordingly a conference between the Sovereigns was arranged at Gastein to 'paper over the cracks' (1865). But the cracks widened, as they were meant to. By 1866 Bismarck was ready. He complained that Austria was encouraging the 'pretensions' of Duke Frederick of Augustenburg, the legitimate heir to the Danish Duchies. Austria, accordingly, was unceremoniously bundled out of Holstein by Prussia.

This was the signal for war. The German Diet responded (June 14, 1866) by ordering a mobilisation of the Federal Forces against Prussia. On the 15th Prussia declared war upon Hanover, Hesse, and Saxony. By the 18th her troops had occupied the three States, and on the same day she declared war upon the other members of the Bund, including Austria. A week's campaign in Bohemia culminated on the 3rd of July in a brilliant victory over the Austrians at Königgrätz (Sadowa); before the end of July the Prussians were within striking distance of Vienna; preliminaries of Peace were arranged on the 26th, and the definitive Treaty was signed at Prague on the 2nd of August.

One of the most momentous wars in modern history had lasted less than seven weeks.

Bismarck already had his next move in sight and the terms imposed upon Austria were, therefore, studiously moderate. For Prussia he demanded no territory, though he insisted on the transference of Venetia to the new kingdom of Italy; he asked for very little money, but on one point he was adamant. The Hapsburg Empire, even in respect of its Teutonic provinces, was henceforward to be excluded from Germany. The old 'Bund' was ignominiously dissolved after an inglorious existence of half a century; Prussia annexed Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, and the free city of Frankfort-on-Main, as well as the Danish Duchies, Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg. The Hohenzollern thus acquired nearly 25,000 miles of territory and 5,000,000 subjects, and for the first time became masters of a country which stretched continuously from beyond the Niemen to beyond the Rhine. They also became Presidents of a new North German Confederation comprising all the States north of the Main.

After Sadowa Austria was spared, not to say caressed. Bismarck's caresses were never bestowed without calculation. What was his game?

Lord Acton supplies the answer. 'The French Empire,' he writes, 'was imperilled as much as the Austrian by the war of 1866.' It was much more than imperilled. It was doomed.

Before the war of 1866 Bismarck, who never left anything to chance, had met Napoleon the Third at Biarritz and secured his benevolent neutrality by a very indefinite suggestion of some territorial compensation to France—perhaps Belgium, or Luxemburg, or the Palatinate, even it might be the country of the Moselle. Napoleon eagerly swallowed the bait, the more so as he believed that, after Prussia and Austria had mutually exhausted each other, he would be able to step in as mediator, and name his own price for the services rendered.

Croyez-moi [he said to Walewski in 1865] la guerre entre l'Autriche et la Prusse est une de ces éventualités inespérées qui semblaient devoir ne se produire jamais, et ce n'est pas à nous de contrarier des velléités belliqueuses qui réservent à notre politique plus d'un avantage.

His miscalculation was as profound as it was pardonable; by first crushing and then caressing Austria Bismarck entirely turned the tables on Napoleon, and France was left out in the cold. Thus foiled and disappointed, French diplomacy went from blunder to blunder. A demand for Mainz and the Palatinate served only to bring the South German States into line with the North; a request for Belgium and Luxemburg enabled Bismarck to excite alarm and suspicion in London and Petersburg. The Czar was given a free hand in the Eastern Question, and Napoleon found himself isolated in Europe.

The war of 1870 was the logical sequel to that of 1866. That Bismarck intended it to be so can no longer be doubted. It was, however, essential to the fulfilment of his purpose that France should be made to appear as the aggressor. And never was a game more skilfully played. Napoleon's diplomacy was as clumsy as Bismarck's was subtle. Into one trap after another the Emperor tumbled. Anything more maladroit than his management of the Hohenzollern candidature in Spain it would be impossible to imagine. Bismarck, it is true, had all the cards, but his play was so consummate that it is difficult to believe that he would have been beaten, even if Napoleon had held the trumps. As things were, cards and skill were combined; adroit diplomacy was backed by overwhelming force; the Second Empire in France was demolished. France herself was crushed and dismembered; all the Teutonic folk, save the Austrian subjects, were united under Prussian hegemony, and the Hohenzollern King accepted from

the hands of his princely colleagues the Crown of a new German Empire.

Bismarck's purpose was accomplished ; the destiny of Prussia was fulfilled.

I have attempted in the foregoing pages to exhibit in briefest outline the leading events of Prussian history, in their orderly and logical sequence from the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) to the Treaty of Frankfort (1871). I return, in conclusion, to the question with which I started. Can it be supposed that the sequence reached its final term in 1871?

La Guerre de 1870 [écrit M. Sorel] a été la conséquence logique des négociants de 1866. Elle a éclaté comme un coup de foudre pour la France, qui ignorait ces négociations ; elle ne surprit pas les hommes qui suivaient depuis quatre ans la marche des événements.

On the Sunday after the declaration of war (August 9, 1914), one of the most eloquent of Anglican Prelates began his sermon with these words : 'The incredible has happened.' To many Englishmen the events of 1914 have come as a *coup de foudre*, just as those of 1870 came to France. They ought to have occasioned no surprise, still less have appeared incredible, to anyone who had been at the least pains to inform himself as to the main currents of German opinion in the last ten or fifteen years. In the pages of this Review—to go no further—repeated warnings have been addressed to the people of this country. For the most part they appear to have fallen on deaf ears.

The average Englishman seems to have remained blissfully unconscious of the change which has come over the spirit of Germany's dreams since the fall of Bismarck in 1890. Bismarck was content to conserve the results achieved during his own supremacy. He sought to do it by keeping his rivals apart. *Divide et impera* was the motto of his diplomacy. If Tunis was tossed to France Italy would adhere the more closely to the Triple Alliance. If Russian ambitions were encouraged in Central Asia there would be no fear of a *rapprochement* between Russia and Great Britain. The English occupation of Egypt served Germany's interests by exciting the jealousy of France ; the more France could be stimulated to colonial activity in Asia and Africa, the less chance of a war for the recovery of Alsace and Lorraine and the less likelihood of an *entente* between France and England.

Thus Bismarck laboured and with pre-eminent success. But Bismarck's vision, though extraordinarily keen, was essentially limited by the European horizon. The German expansion in Africa and in the Pacific Archipelago, initiated in 1884, may seem

to contradict this assertion. But these activities formed the exception to the rule. Bismarck's limited part in them represented a concession to ideas which he did not share. His own gaze was concentrated on the European Chancelleries.

His deposition (1890) following close upon the accession of the young Emperor (1888) opened a new era for Germany. Nor was this due solely to the widening of the scope of political ambition. Social and economic forces were operating in a convergent direction. In forty years (1871-1911) the population of the German Empire increased by more than fifty per cent.—from 41,000,000 to 65,000,000. For lack of oversea dominions the surplus members of this population were lost not merely to the Fatherland but to the flag. Similarly the surplus products of German manufactures could command no preferential markets. Competition for foreign markets accentuated commercial rivalries; commercial rivalry suggested colonial ambitions; colonial ambitions necessitated the development of an adequate navy and a commercial marine.

All these things meant actual rivalry with, and potential antagonism to, England. The sense of antagonism was sedulously cultivated by professorial teaching. Philosophy, History, and Science were harnessed to the car of politics. The Press and the platform are the main instruments of political education in a self-governing democracy. In a bureaucratic autocracy it is simpler to tune the academic chairs. Thus in Germany philosophy has been prostituted, history has been perverted, science has been subordinated to the service of militarism. German education would, in this sense, have commended itself to Aristotle. 'Of all the things which I have mentioned,' he wrote, 'that which most contributes to the permanence of constitutions is the adaptation of education to the form of government.... The best laws will be of no avail unless the young are trained in the spirit of the polity.' The *éthos* of the Prussian polity, preserved inviolate throughout the ages, is *War*—war not merely as a means to political ambition and territorial aggrandisement, but as a moral discipline, almost as a spiritual inspiration.

'La guerre,' wrote Mirabeau, 'est l'industrie nationale de la Prusse.' It is much more than the national industry; it is the national religion and the national life. Prussia, as Professor Hans Delbrück expressed it tersely, is a *Kriegsstaat*. What beauty was to the Greek, holiness to the Hebrew, government to the Romans; what liberty is to the Englishman, war is to the Prussian. No Englishman who fails to grasp this elementary truth can estimate aright the strength of the forces which in the present struggle are arrayed against him. Germany is fighting not merely for the existence of the Empire—that existence is threatened only by the

criminal folly of Potsdam ; she is fighting not merely for geographical extension and economic expansion ; she is fighting for an ideal. That ideal seems to us wholly perverted and false, but it does not on that account cease to be an ideal, and it is, as a fact, the quintessence of Prussian morality.

In this conflict, which is not merely the largest but the greatest the world has ever seen, there is, then, a moral issue at stake. For the Prussian defeat would mean, in the strictest sense, demoralisation. The whole moral foundation on which the national fabric has been built would be completely undermined. It is essential to the future peace and happiness of mankind that it should be. It is not less essential to the well-being of Germany herself. For this war represents not merely a clash of national ambitions but a conflict of moral ideals. In the words of King George's noble message to the self-governing Dominions, we have 'to confront and overthrow an unparalleled assault upon the continuity of civilisation.' That is why we can confidently count upon the moral support of the civilised world. *Securus judical orbis terrarum.*

J. A. R. MARRIOTT.

THE INNER MEANING OF THE WAR

WITHIN and behind the mighty hosts now waging deadly combat in Europe dwell and strive two irreconcilable spirits : the spirit of faith in force and that of the force of faith. In the display of force we see the outer character of the war ; but the springs of its inner strength—the strength which will ultimately win the day and shape its age-long issues—are those of faith : faith in justice, freedom, truth.

The antagonism of these two spirits is the germinal essence and fundamental cause of the war. Other reasons are put forth as its cause : the assassination of an Archduke and his consort, the breach of neutrality, the breakdown of diplomacy, the need of 'a place in the sun,' the value of 'a scrap of paper.' But these reasons are not primary. They have the air of excuses : the look of plausible pleas. Even if it be granted that they are reasons at all, they are political and secondary reasons. Underneath, and at the root of this Titanic conflict, antagonistic principles and powers, irreconcilable ideas and ideals, the ideals of faith and the ideas of force, are contending. These are the sap of the contention : the very breath of its nostrils and the source of its vigour. But for them this war, with its world-encompassing issues, would never have come into being ; and until one of them has been utterly vanquished it cannot reach its final end.

It is this great fact—the fact that the conflict is a conflict of spirits—which distinguishes the present war from all the wars preceding it. In barbarous times among savage races war was wholly brutish and secular. It was a fight for pastures and flocks, for the gratification of materialistic greed, or it was sheer rapture in war for its own sake. No attempt was made to excuse it, or apologise for it, or vindicate it. As dogs delight to bark and bite, so savages gloried in war. Their brutish lusts hungered for it. They gloried in the din and sensations of battle. They made slaves of their captives, and were merry over their sufferings. Women fell a prey to their passions. The warriors drank the blood of the slaughtered. As tigers in the jungle, they fed themselves by killing. Lust and need were the main motives of all such wars.

In later times other motives led to war : the passion for aggrandisement, the thirst for martial splendour, the dream of world-dominion. Then, too, there have been racial wars, political wars, and wars in the name of religion. In these we find the first beginnings of that war between spirits of which the present war is the latest development, and, we trust, will yet prove the complete extirpation. Mixed motives not unlike those of former wars have doubtless contributed to bring on this present war. But in its most striking characteristic of spiritual contest it stands alone. Hitherto the world has never seen its exact and thorough counterpart. It is something like a civil war on foreign soil. It is not a war of race against race, or religion against religion. The Germans are of the same race and blood as ourselves. The religion of the Prussians, as far as it is Christian, is not in hostility to that of the British. And it is against the British that this war is really waged. No one who has any acquaintance with the recent doctrines and teachings on war promulgated by German writers and professors can entertain the slightest doubt on this point. Nominally, and in the first instance, the war was declared against Russia and France. But its real objective was, and is, the British Empire. The intended crushing of France was only regarded as a preliminary to the further, central purpose of crushing the British Empire. Till France was out of the way England could not be effectually got at. And England, with the supremacy of the seas, is the target at which the militarist bureaucracy in Berlin has been steadily aiming for half a century. The substitution of Germany for Britain in imperial influence and power is the prize for which Germany would gladly pay the price of mountains of suffering and rivers of blood. And this, although Britons and Germans are of one race and nearly related religions.

So far this war is like a civil war on foreign soil ; but if the Germans should gain our shores—which our Fleet and home defences will triumphantly prevent—it would be a civil war at our very doors. Yet even then it would not be exactly similar either to other civil wars in England or the civil war in the United States of America ; but in one special respect would be notably dissimilar. For there was no philosophy invented prior to those wars to give plausible colour to the pretence that they were an essential part of the constitution of the world ; that might is a necessary accompaniment of right ; that right cannot continue to exist apart from might ; that morality for States is altogether distinct from personal morality and may often be opposed to it ; that what is virtue in the individual may be a vice in the State ; that while the end seldom justifies the means adopted by the individual, it may, and often does, justify those adopted by the

collective community ; that individuals exist for the community and may be slaughtered without hesitation to carry forward its policy ; that the community possesses the *jus vitae necisque* over all individuals, but no individual possesses any right, not even that of his own liberty or life, in respect of his personality ; that statesmen—i.e. practically a dominant bureau—ought alone to decide when war should be declared, and that on their decisions should depend the issues of life for the people, whether the people are in accord with those decisions or not ; that it is a duty to bring about a war whenever a favourable opportunity occurs, without waiting for provocation ; that all intrigues may be practised to ensnare Great Powers and any brutality to overawe petty kingdoms ; that terror is more fruitful than truth and imperial despotism than personal liberty ; that the surest way to culture is through a wilderness of cruelty, over roads founded in death and cemented with blood.

This apotheosis of strength, valour, and sway has been diligently cultivated in Germany for two generations. Its glorified gods are such as Clovis, Charles the Great, Otto, and Frederick. Its philosopher is Nietzsche, whose teachings are anti-Christian, and whose model Overman is hard to distinguish from a two-legged tiger. Treitschke, its professor of history—a brilliant advocate who can twist the firmest facts as pliable tow—is a disciple of Nietzsche. Among its most eminent prophets is General von Bernhardi, whose book on *Germany and the Next War* all should read who desire to understand the spirit of force which has provoked, and still sustains, the present war, because this is the book which has deeply penetrated the minds of the German people, poisoning their hearts with jealousy, confusing their thoughts with plausibilities and prejudices, befogging their conscience with Jesuitical dialectics on morals, elevating selfish struggle to the throne of generous sacrifice, superannuating Christ and substituting Caesar, condoning crime in the name of culture, and boldly declaring that in war the atheistic postulate still holds good *summum jus summa injuria*, and that the 'infringement of recognised rights appears morally justified.'

The first chapter of this book, on 'The Right to Make War,' may be taken as a type of the intellectual confusion and moral astigmatism which pervades and characterises a large part of the volume. This supposed right to make war is founded by Bernhardi upon Darwin's theory of the survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence. But Bernhardi confounds fitness with strength. He forgets that even in physical nature the strongest have already succumbed in the brutish struggle. Leviathan, if it ever existed, is seen no more. Mammoths and mastodons have left no wrack behind, except their bones. Their skeletons are their only vestiges. Lions and tigers are swiftly following in

their train. Ere long the earth will be rid of their ferocity. Thus even in physical nature the struggle for existence evidently results in the survival of the best by the elimination of the strongest and the extinction of the fiercest. It is not the biggest brute that has all its own way even in the brutish world. It is the useful and the gentle that there outlast the rest; otherwise no place could have been found for the habitations of men. Brutal strength would have exterminated human weakness before human weakness could have learned to arm itself in its own defence.

Moreover, suppose that in physical nature strength could be proved identical with fitness, and carnage the condition of progressive existence, the law would only have been demonstrated within its own realm, the realm of brutes. It would not necessarily hold good in the moral world, or in the world of men, except so far as men have attributes in common with the brutes; and, unless General von Bernhardi is content to regard man as a brute, his analogies from the kingdom of the brutes are false analogies and have no force.

But Bernhardi is conscious that men—at least German men—are not wholly brutish; and, therefore, he intersperses the blackness of his barbarous pleading with gleams of human light and sparks of moral ideals; at times also with faint, though frequently false, reminiscences of the Christian religion. These better parts of his book are the most dangerous, because the most deceptive.

A lie which is all a lie may be met and fought with outright,
But a lie which is part a truth is a harder matter to fight.

These half-truths give plausibility to the other half of his falsehoods. They conceal the enemy and so convey him into the citadel of the soul, as did the Greeks in the wooden horse at Troy. It is Bernhardi's true references to the great achievements of the German people in letters, philosophy, and religion which obscure the brutality of his pleadings that 'war is a duty'; that 'the devotion of the members of a community to each other is nowhere so splendidly conspicuous as in war'; that 'the maintenance of peace never can, or may, be the goal of a policy'; that 'statesmen have a moral right to bring about a war'; that at times 'might is the supreme right, and the dispute as to what is right is decided by the arbitrament of war'; that 'war evokes the noblest activities of human nature'; that 'the apparent humanitarian idealism of the peace movement constitutes its danger'; that 'the efforts directed towards the abolition of war must be termed not only foolish, but absolutely immoral, and must be stigmatised as unworthy of the human race'; and that the great commandments of the Hindu Religion—Truth, Good, above all things and our

neighbours as ourselves can claim no significance for the relations of one country to another.'

This is the sedulously disseminated creed of the inhuman gospel of war : a creed inspired by the spirit of force brutally exalted not merely as the final, but also the true and moral, judge between nations. Its special pleaders have deceived the docile German people by their speciousness and rhetorical mendacity. But, as is frequently the case with special pleaders, they are Polyphemes ; but with this lower difference, that whereas the one eye of the old Polyphemus was in the middle of his head, the one eye of these new Polyphemes is so distorted that it can see on one side only. If their pleadings were true, they would be true not for Germany alone, but for all the world. With what result? The world would be perverted into a mass of military camps. Its chief factories would be factories of destruction. The chief end of men would be military success. Hearth and home, school and shrine would droop into insignificance before battery and gun, barrack and fort. Not until the valour of the world had been consumed in contest, and its strength had perished in exhaustion, and independent nationalities had been trodden under foot, and all the peoples of the earth subjugated under a single dominion, and Christ been dethroned by Caesar, could the conflict cease. According to this pernicious gospel, placarded before the greedy eyes of selfish men, so long as even two empires were left in the world it would be the right and duty of each to make war against the other, for the duel alone 'would meet its sense of justice.'

Against this demoniacal spirit of force, with its doctrine of deceits, and philosophic frauds, and delusions of glory and debasement of religion, the spirit of faith has entered into firm and, I trust, final conflict. The real issues now at stake are not material and political, but moral and spiritual. It is a superficial view of this tremendous contest which limits it to territorial aggrandisement, and the opening of markets and the supremacy of the sea. These lusts have doubtless had their share in the origination of this war. But they are not its central inspiration. Deeper down at the root and source lies, couched and lurking for its prey, the Satanic spirit of force : the spirit which promises bread from blood, and dominion from devil-worship, and security from the angels of presumption. This is the most striking and awful characteristic of the present struggle. It is the death-grip of spirits : the spirit of force with the spirit of faith.

The ideals and laws of the spirit of faith are essentially antagonistic to those of force. The development of the former runs clean contrary to that of the latter. Its ever-progressive power of ascent lies not in self-assertion, but in self-sacrifice ; in the ministry of service, not in the encroachments of pride. It believes

that the apotheosis of force is an idolatry of fraud. The beatitudes of faith are a flat contradiction to those of force. Force would teach its disciples thus : Blessed are the proud in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of the earth ; Blessed are they that glory, for they shall be glorified ; Blessed are the mighty, for they shall inherit success ; Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after advantage, for they shall be filled ; Blessed are the merciless, for they shall strike terror into the defenceless ; Blessed are the subtle in heart, for they shall see good ; Blessed are the war-mongers, for they shall be called rulers of the world ; Blessed are the persecutors for victory's sake, for theirs is the government of the persecuted ; Blessed are ye when men shall flatter you and cringe to you, and shall say all manner of praise to you falsely for fear's sake and through force of dread.

It is the spirit of the ideals brutally expressed in such beatitudes and that of those divinely breathed in the Sermon on the Mount which are in deadly conflict to-day on the fields of France. This war is a war of the spirit of peace against the spirit of power ; of sympathy against selfishness ; of free civilisation against confederated tyranny ; of love against strength ; of right against might ; of nationalism against imperialism ; of an enfranchised democracy against oligarchic despotism ; of faith against force ; of God against the world.

There can in the end be but one definite issue to such a war, whatever temporary reverses may occur along its ultimately victorious course. Christianity has often before now seemed to suffer eclipse ; but the Sun of Righteousness has always risen again with fresh healing on its wings. Nero and Diocletian were not triumphant for long. The sceptre of Constantine was conquered by the vision of the Cross. Islam with its sword hacked its terrifying way for centuries through the world, but at last was beaten back ; and now only continues to exist through the tolerance inherent in, and justly afforded by, the Christian faith. Napoleonic notions drenched Europe in blood, but Napoleon died a captive in the solitude of St. Helena. Nietzsche and Treitschke and Bernhardi may preach their doctrines of atheistic force ; but the victory that shall finally overcome the world is faith : the faith that works by love and makes for peace.

Nineteen centuries of experience have conclusively shown that faith is stronger than force, and sympathetic righteousness than militarist revelry. The outstanding difference between the Christian world, with all its faults and vices, and the pagan world, with its many virtues, is just the difference between faith and force. Force teaches that he that would gain his life must fight for it. Faith, on the contrary, declares that he that would gain his life must lose it, not for power and glory's sake, but on

behalf of blessings for his fellows, and for the sake of the Crucified Christ and His Gospel of self-sacrificing love. Slowly, but surely, this glorious gospel of love has been winning its way on earth. And unless Christ be a myth, and His Gospel a legend, love will continue its conquests. Very notable is it that Strauss preceded Nietzsche, and Nietzsche was the forerunner of Treitschke and Bernhardi. It was necessary, indeed, that Strauss should first proclaim the historical Christ as a myth, and His divinity as a legend, as a preliminary and preparation for the gospel of force preached by Treitschke and Bernhardi; otherwise their gospel would have come into the Christian world stillborn. The spirit of force was compelled to debase the Christ before it could even hope to defeat the spirit of faith.

This, then, is the distinguishing character of the present war, and the issues which are at stake in it. It is not a war of peoples against peoples, but of the principles and powers of materialism and might against those of spiritual liberty and moral right. We have no quarrel with the deceived German people. We honour their patient, sturdy character, and their past achievements in the fields of thought and activity. We pity their present delusions, and look forward with confident hope, when this war, with all its deceits and illusions, has been hurled into the abyss of perdition, to their future friendship and support in advancing the great cause of the brotherhood of men and devotion to the God of Truth and Love. Our foes are not the people deceived, but the deceivers of the people. With them we can hold no truce. They are the enemies of Christian civilisation, of moral progress, of spiritual enlightenment. They erect success as the standard of conscience, and prostitute citizenship to the lusts of militarism. They tear up solemn treaties as scraps of paper. They loathe the liberties of free and independent nations. They regard valour as the tool of ambition. A cannibal feeds on the blood of only one man at a time. These militarists batten on the blood of thousands. For them manhood is not a divinely imparted life, but a demoniacally invented war machine. For them God is a synonym for big battalions; and, in their own profane expression, 'the sin of feebleness is the sin against the Holy Ghost.'

I would fain believe that the spirit of infamous ambition which hatched this brood of evils has deceived its own nestlings; and that these atheistic philosophers, and merciless oligarchs, and blind historians, and militarist rhetors, 'know not what they either teach or do.' But in any case the course of all those who believe in liberty, righteousness, and truth is plain. They could not have kept out of the war with honour; and until the spirit of immoral might is defeated they cannot without shame make peace.

J. W. CARLIOL.

1914

WAR FUNDS: CO-ORDINATION OR CHAOS?

'EVERYBODY helping.'

Morning and evening these words catch the eye as we read our papers, and they are true. Never has such a time been known in the annals of social and charitable endeavour. While the young men of the nation crowd to the Colours, the older men, and women of all ages who are able to serve, are forming themselves into companies, regiments, battalions, in numbers beyond counting, to do something, or to pay something, for those who are left behind and upon whom the spectre of want, the twin brother of war, may lay cold and merciless hands.

It is wonderful to witness this uprising of a Socialism in which individualists of the sternest school stand in the firing-line with the Fabian Society; peers join hands with members of the Independent Labour Party, and the serried ranks of suffragists fall in behind the Government. It is what some of us who have endured the heat and burden of the day in social work most of our lives have dreamed, but never expected to see. A common purpose, through a common danger, has united members of all parties, classes, and religious sects with a determination to act together, to prevent distress so far as may be possible, and, if it is not possible, to succour those who suffer and lift up those who fall.

The need which these forces have gathered together to meet is one which will grow in volume as the War goes on, reaching its climax when the lads from the Front come back and a place must be found, and this time an honoured place, in the ranks of industry for perhaps half a million of men. There are those who fear that our new social service army is growing too large. But when the magnitude of the responsibility laid upon the nation is fully realised we shall be thankful, I think, for every true worker, no matter who he or she may be, or from whence he comes, and may wish before the end that their number could be multiplied tenfold. What has this army to do? It has to endeavour under Government guidance to make good dislocation of employment in a hundred trades, where such dislocation brings distress and want in its

train. It must keep the flag flying in tens of thousands of homes of the very poor month after month until adjustments are made and new avenues of work and trade are open. Finally, when the War is over, the area of employment must be so arranged that our great returning army may be absorbed without the repetition on a much larger scale of the miserable and disheartening experiences which followed South Africa. To compass this we need not less, but more, enthusiasm, energy, and fresh young blood throughout all our social organisation if we are to see this fight through to a finish in the grim days that are to come. The one test which all recruits must pass is that of sincerity of purpose and readiness to serve. These qualities are not wanting, and though many who believe they possess them will not remain long under fire, it should not be difficult to fill up their places in such a time as this, and we may look forward, therefore, with stout hearts to the future and consider now, while mobilisation still goes on, and before the enemy is actually within our gates, the equipment and organisation that we need to keep that enemy at bay, and ultimately destroy his power for harm.

It will be well to begin by taking full measure of the social problem which the War Funds, whether by the provision of special employment or distribution in relief of distress, will have to solve. There are several causes for the shrinkage of employment and the steadily increasing number of workless men and women, especially women; but what we have chiefly to fear is the lack of demand for goods and services which can be done without in these times, when purses are light and the claims upon them are so heavy. Patriotism and love of humanity will do much, but they will not induce people to purchase clothes they cannot afford to pay for, or pictures or books or jewellery, or the hundred and one articles in the fancy line the manufacture of which provides a livelihood for some thousands of workers in London alone.

These are only examples. They are given because optimists are telling us that there is no real distress and will be none worthy of note. I am afraid, however, in the circumstances I have mentioned, that tailors and dressmakers' assistants, artists, authors, jewellers and jewel-case makers, french polishers and cabinetmakers, milliners, fancy-box makers, and the workers in a score of other occupations would tell a different tale. Want has not yet perhaps become acute in the homes except in certain places, notably among the lacemakers in Nottingham; but it is drawing nearer every day. Thus there will be needs of many kinds to meet, when winter comes, by every description of War Fund. Then there will be the evil consequences of the lack of means among workers, such as overcrowding into small,

cheap rooms, loss of physical stamina in the bitter winter and spring weather, and all the ill effects arising from mental depression and underfeeding.

Last of all, though least noticed or thought about at the present time except by administrators of experience, there will be the need to prevent, when workrooms are established and the giving of relief begins, whether by work or in cash, the loss of manly independence and womanly self-respect, the greed of those whose chief pursuit in life is cadging, and the sense of shame and even injury which is aroused in the minds of many who suffer need, but are too proud to let their needs be known—all the ills, in short, which artificial provision for the material benefit of able-bodied people inevitably carries in its train.

This is the worst evil which we have to face, and, speaking from long experience, I say without hesitation that unless it is grappled with effectively all this money of our great National Relief Fund, all the service devoted to it, from that of Cabinet Ministers and their officials at Whitehall to the humblest member of a local citizens' committee, not to mention the volume of subsidiary efforts and organisations that are in action outside the operations of the Fund, will do such harm, and have such serious effects in embittering those who receive and disheartening those who give, that these War Funds will become a byword for injustice, their administrators be held up to public derision, and the enemy we are striving against gain a brilliant victory the results of which will be felt for generations.

There is the problem; now, what is our present equipment and how are we armed to attempt its solution?

There is, first of all, of course, the national organisation which has been set up by the Government throughout the United Kingdom to take all possible steps for the prevention of unemployment in the first instance, and, in the event of distress arising from want of work becoming acute, to carry out the distribution of the Prince of Wales'—now the National Relief—Fund. This organisation has been conceived upon the broadest and most democratic lines. Its chief features are well known and need only to be very briefly summarised here. At the head there is the Cabinet Committee, which in effect acts as the guardian of distribution, having an arrangement with the Executive Committee of the Fund that it shall initiate and advise upon all schemes for the allocation of the money collected. At the suggestion of the Cabinet Committee a local citizens' committee has been formed in every county, county borough, or urban district of over 20,000 inhabitants throughout the kingdom, the chairman of the committee being the Chairman of the County Council, or the Lord Mayor, or the Mayor, as the case may be.

These committees, under regulations laid down by the Cabinet Committee, comprise, it is to be presumed, representatives of the local authorities, local charities, and other voluntary relief agencies, ladies of experience, and representatives of trade unions and other labour organisations. Each committee has appointed sub-committees—*e.g.* a central executive and committees to consider employment within the district, to carry out investigation of industrial conditions, and look into the *bona fides* of cases of individuals who may apply or be referred by others for assistance. The functions of each local citizens' committee are, in the words of the Local Government Board circular sent out on the 10th of August, 'to consider the needs of the localities and co-ordinate the distribution of such relief as may be required.'

The need for co-ordination and the responsibility of each local committee in regard to that side of its work is mentioned in nearly every circular-letter which the Local Government Board has issued to these local committees. Instructions have also been given to them that the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association will, where it is properly organised, deal entirely with the dependents of men at the Front, all such cases being referred to the Society for purposes of relief; but that where the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association has not an efficient local centre, the distribution of funds or allowances or other help to the families of serving soldiers must be undertaken by the local citizens' committee. Up to the present time, apart from such distribution, the work of the local citizens' committees has been largely confined to an examination of the industrial conditions of their districts, and to investigation by sub-committees of individual cases of residents stating themselves to be out of work or in other need through the War.

The Cabinet Committee issued on the 18th of August instructions that the names and addresses and particulars of all persons applying for help in the district are to be registered in a central register, which should also contain the same particulars of persons in respect of Poor-Law relief, persons registered by the distress committee, if any, and the cases dealt with by the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association in the district.

The Cabinet Committee has also directed that 'the committee in determining the question of assistance to be given in any case must have regard to all the circumstances of the applicant, and for this purpose should ascertain his ordinary occupation, his dependents, his approved society if he is insured, whether he is registered at a Labour Exchange, any special qualification or experience he may possess for any class of work, the date and place of his last employment, and any source of income, including aid from charitable funds or from the local

education authorities in school meals, or assistance from his employer.' In other circulars the Local Government Board lays stress upon the desirability that all applicants for assistance should be offered work, if possible, which they can perform efficiently, and that relief should only be resorted to when all other means of assistance, whether by ordinary employment, employment on public works, or actual relief work, has been exhausted. These instructions and suggestions comprise all the rules or regulations which have been issued so far to the local citizens' committees in regard to the dealing with applicants for employment or relief of distress. They were issued in August, and are doubtless being carried out, so far as local conditions will permit, by all the committees. It is understood also that the committees have now registered and investigated through their sub-committees considerable numbers of cases of unemployment or distress. Up to the present time, however, owing no doubt to the belief, based on information received through official channels, that distress from the War is not yet sufficiently acute, no general allocation of funds has been made for its relief. A grant, however, has been made of a considerable sum of money to the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association to provide for the needs of such dependents, and small grants to certain districts for civil distress; but great uncertainty still prevails as to the principles and methods on which such allocation is to be made.

Then there is the organisation that is growing up in many quarters, and under many hands, of workrooms to provide employment for workgirls and workwomen of various classes and degrees. In this department of social service and assistance there is no central authority able to control the activities and energy of any individual committees or societies or persons who may be inspired with the desire and possess the financial and other resources necessary to start a centre of their own in their own particular way. This problem of the women excites the keenest interest, and needs the greatest amount of organisation and effort—since it is not possible for women to go to the Front, and the establishment of work-rooms, if started on a modest scale, is a comparatively easy task for any group of ladies with the inclination and the time to take the matter up. It is not surprising, therefore, that there should be various bodies in London alone pursuing separate plans for the creation of funds and the establishment of employment centres for the girls out of employment through the War.

In addition to these enterprises, and larger than all put together, there is, of course the Queen's Employment Committee and its fund, for which a vigorous appeal is being made throughout the country. Nor does this exhaust the list. In London,

besides the various separate workroom ventures and such undertakings as may be authorised by the Queen's Fund, and which, it is understood, will be worked under the superintendence of local citizens' committees, the Central Unemployed Body for London proposes to establish women's workrooms of their own where the need is urgent in Metropolitan boroughs. The arrangements in prospect of the Central Unemployed Body for London apparently have been conceived independently of the Committee of the Queen's Fund, and are to be under the management of superintendents paid by the Central Unemployed Body, which will also supply the necessary machinery and material.

There are, of course, a host of minor societies or agencies which have sprung into existence, founded and promoted by small groups of individuals determined to do something for somebody if anyone will give them the money to do it.

Then, and most important of all, there exist throughout London and the provincial cities and large towns established and well-equipped Societies dealing year in, year out with social and charitable problems, helping all persons in distress from whatever cause, entrusted with considerable funds, with resources capable of great expansion in any time of stress, and staffed with experienced officers in charge of all departments of their work, who know the distress in each district and the people, as no new workers, however able or influential socially, could possibly do. These societies, such as the Charity Organisation Society, the Jewish Board of Guardians, the Church Army, the Salvation Army, the Westminster Diocesan Education Fund and the Crusade of Rescue, Barnardo's Homes and the Waifs and Strays Society, the Invalid Children's Aid Association and the Ragged School Union, the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants, and numbers of other equally well-known voluntary associations, have not been included or officially recognised as yet by the Cabinet Committee as separate factors in the forces which the Government has assembled to prevent or alleviate distress during the War.

At a time when Government departments and local municipal authorities have their offices teeming with people engaged in local work for War distress, when local clergy and ministers and the secretaries and workers of local charities of every degree are thronging town halls and sitting quite at their ease in the seats of the mighty—councillors, the men and women guiding and administering great Societies which have their branches only in the boroughs, or which have no branches, but have workrooms and employment centres, extensive and valuable registers of assistance, both central and local, machinery, funds

and workers at work over the whole of London, and in many cases over the United Kingdom—are left completely outside the National Relief Fund organisation. They may volunteer of course, and doubtless have volunteered, to do all they can to aid the Government, but so far, it is believed, their services have only been made available through the local citizens' committees, which means that their resources are used piecemeal and only co-ordinated with the general plan of work and service by a distribution—which in many important instances must amount to disintegration of force—of their workers as members or helpers on the local committees.

This completes a review, necessarily very brief, of the position of the principal forces engaged in dealing with distress during the War. There are in addition, of course, the Bureaux of Personal Service, created to procure and distribute the necessary staff to conduct the work of the committees.

The Government and all who have been called upon to work out the conception for a co-ordination and organisation of service and funds in this crisis deserve well of the nation. For the first time there has been created a hand-in-hand comradeship and brotherhood of official and voluntary bodies and workers to strive, under the powerful central controlling force, to grapple with the national danger of widespread hardship and suffering which the War has brought upon us. The difficulties and obstacles which have been overcome, the statesmanlike grasp and boldness which mark the policy that is to be pursued, must command sincere admiration and respect from all who know the inwardness of the situation that has had to be faced and the dangers yet to come. It is not, therefore, in any spirit of criticism or lack of appreciation of the plans which are to operate, and have already been at work in a very effective way, that a few suggestions are offered for the consideration of the Cabinet and the public, whose representatives, in a very real sense, our Government can claim to be at the present time.

We have a great home army at work, the finest perhaps that any country in the world could show; but it is not yet fully mobilised. Moreover, the best, or many of the best, of the troops have not been called up. It is not enough, I would submit, to make use of the centralised voluntary associations through the local citizens' committees; they deserve to be placed upon the headquarters staff. If they are not brought into direct consultation with the Cabinet Committee it will be found when the crisis comes—that is to say when those who are in distress demand in no uncertain tone their share of the National Relief Fund, and when in the briefest possible space of time it is necessary rapidly to distribute the funds to save the homes of the distressed—there will be

weakness of administration in many places, demoralisation, overlapping, and waste.

The Societies themselves have made no complaint publicly, but it is known that many feel that their hands are tied, that they have not been fairly treated, and that the long years of service and effective work which they have done appear to have been forgotten or left out of the calculations of the Government. It is not too late for the whole of the great co-ordination scheme which the Cabinet Committee has laid down to be made complete by the recognition in some practical form of the existence of our great charities and their power to help the nation in its need. The suggestion is made that a committee should be formed, with a chairman appointed by the Government, on which should be represented the chief central voluntary organisations concerned, and which should act as a co-ordinating force to bring to the Government, and so to the nation, all the resources and all the patriotism which animates, as the Cabinet Committee would be the first to acknowledge, the Charities of this country. Such a committee would not interfere with the local citizens' committees; it would work through and under the Government, and thus act as a powerful auxiliary force, capable of raising funds independently of all that has been given by the public, providing a constant inflow of highly skilled workers, and advising, whenever required to do so, on all the difficult problems of charitable administration which the Cabinet Committee will find are beyond the power of local citizens' committees to solve.

These local committees are now separate units naturally far more interested in the needs of their particular areas than in those of the nation as a whole; and, in addition, a host of new agencies have come into existence for War relief purposes. All these committees and separate agencies need cohesion. This can only be given, and disastrous rivalries averted, if a force is created and placed at the disposal of the Government, the sole business of which will be to bring into closest comradeship and association all forces engaged, and close the ranks against the common enemy—the dislocation of industry and the inevitable distress caused by the War.

ARTHUR PATERSON.

*THE FLOATING MINES CURSE:**AN UNSENTIMENTAL STUDY*

I

THE chief basis on which the obligations of the law of war, apart from contractual engagements, rest is immemorial usage. The binding character on neutrals of blockade, of the right of visit and search, of the forbidding of carriage of contraband are all justified by considerations derived from the same source. Attenuations of belligerent right have grown up in more recent times, such as the practice of the exemption of fishing craft from capture and the forbidding of hostilities in neutral territorial waters. The very freedom of the sea has been the result of a similar process of development. International law has, therefore, points of resemblance with our own common law, and an international convention, like an Act of Parliament, only takes that much out of its operation which is specifically dealt with. This common law of naval war has largely arisen through the interplay of belligerent requirements and neutral resistance. Thus the neutral interest has successfully vindicated its right to the principle of being unmolested wherever this was compatible with the exercise by belligerents of their rights of war against each other. It was this interest which eventually put an end to the practice of paper blockades and obliged belligerents to give such effect to the forbidding of ingress and egress outside the blockaded ports that the blockade became illegal unless ships were on the spot to ensure its enforcement. This limitation of the area of blockade was all to the advantage of the freedom of the sea. The Declaration of Paris gave contractual effect not only to this neutral claim but also to the right of the neutral to carry enemy goods, except contraband of war, and to exemption from capture, with the same exception, of his goods even on enemy ships. All the advances of the international law of naval war have been in the direction of reducing belligerent right as far as possible to its minimum expression.

Two conclusions may be derived from these considerations : the one is that international law, as such, can only be altered through the gradual growth of a new practice or through deliberate enactment, so to speak, by international convention.

The question arises, in connexion with the use of floating mines, of how this affects the laying of these new engines of warfare in the open sea. They are of too recent an origin to warrant a contention that any usage has grown up with reference to them.

The only belligerent rights affecting neutrals recognised by international usage are the following : Visit and search of neutral vessels and capture of neutral vessels carrying contraband of war or engaged in unneutral service or caught attempting to violate a blockade (which must now be effective, per Declaration of Paris). It also permits the deliberate destruction at sea of captured vessels in certain conditions of necessity. Otherwise it does not permit injury to or the destruction of even an unresisting enemy private ship, and, as in the case of a neutral vessel, the belligerent warship is forbidden to fire into it or to do it any harm without first summoning it to surrender. Nor can its capture be effected without the accomplishment of certain formalities, nor can it be adjudged prize without trial in a Prize Court. If, in the case of a neutral vessel, no contraband is found on board, the usage of naval war requires that the belligerent warship shall at once allow it to proceed on its voyage. If, on trial, the capture is found to have been unjustified, the ship is released by order of the Court. No new engine of destruction can alter this immemorial usage of naval warfare. A powerful belligerent may break the law, but he cannot establish a usage, and any new engine of warfare he may use cannot but in law be subject to established usage. Otherwise, it is an obvious truth to say, there is no law of the sea at all, and a powerful neutral would be quite as much entitled to break the law on his side by refusing to allow the belligerent to exercise the right of visit and search or that of interference with the carriage of contraband. Established usage, as the result of a compounding of conflicting interests, the nations of the world have a common interest in maintaining, and it cannot be infringed without ultimate loss to them all, without endangering that state of law and order among them which is the foundation of modern civilisation, whether in time of peace or in time of war.

II

Floating mines, as I have said, are a new engine of war as to which no usage can yet be said to have grown up. The method

of using them, however, was very fully discussed at The Hague Conference of 1907, when the following articles were adopted :

Article I.—It is forbidden:

1. To lay automatic mines of contact, not moored, unless they are so constructed as to become harmless one hour at most after those who have laid them have lost control over them;
2. To lay automatic mines of contact which are moored, if they do not become harmless when they have broken from their moorings;
3. To employ torpedoes which do not become harmless when they have missed their object.

Article II.—It is forbidden to lay automatic contact mines along the enemy coast or ports, with the sole object of intercepting commercial navigation.

Article III.—When moored automatic contact mines are used, all possible precautions should be taken for the security of peaceful navigation.

Belligerents undertake to arrange, as far as possible, that these mines shall become harmless after a limited lapse of time, and, when they cease to be guarded, to notify the dangerous regions, as soon as military exigencies permit, by a notice to navigation, which should also be communicated to Government through the diplomatic channel.

Article IV.—Every neutral Power laying automatic contact mines along its coasts must observe the same rules and take the same precautions as those imposed on belligerents.

A neutral Power must notify navigation, by previous notice, of the places where automatic contact mines are moored. This communication should be made without delay to Government through the diplomatic channel.

Article V.—At the termination of the war the Contracting Powers undertake to do everything in their power, each on its own side, to remove the mines which they have laid.

With respect to moored automatic contact mines which either of the belligerents may have laid along the coast of the other, the spots where they have been laid shall be notified by the Power which has laid them to the other Power, and each Power must proceed as soon as possible to remove the mines in its waters.

Article VI.—Contracting Powers which have not yet at their disposal improved mines such as provided for in this Convention, and who consequently cannot at present comply with the rules laid down in Articles I. and III., undertake to alter their stock of mines as soon as possible, in order to comply with the above-mentioned rules.

Article VII.—The provisions of the present Convention are only applicable as among the Contracting Powers, and provided the belligerents are all parties to the Convention.

This Convention has been ratified by all the Powers at present in conflict except Russia. In their ratifications Germany and France, however, reserved Article II. The objection to it was the plausible one that the object of placing mines was a matter beyond the scope of a commanding officer's discretion.

Inasmuch as Article VI. left a margin of discretion to the ratifying Powers in giving effect to other articles, critics of the

Convention, moreover, have gone the length of regarding it as a dead letter or, to speak more correctly, as a still-born good intention. I do not share this view of it, and, in any case, more important than the text of the Convention is the discussion which took place on the subject at The Hague Conference. In the course of this discussion it was the German Delegates who proposed the following restriction of the use of floating mines on the high sea : 'The laying of anchored automatic contact mines shall also be allowed in the area of the belligerents' immediate activity, provided precautions are taken for the safety to which neutrals are entitled.' This proposition was repeated by the German Delegates, in conjunction with the American and Japanese Delegates, in the following form :

The laying of automatic contact mines by belligerents is allowed only within their own territorial waters and the territorial waters of their enemies and in the area of the belligerents' immediate activity.

It was again repeated by the German Delegates, in conjunction with the American and Netherlands Delegates, in the following form :

If anchored contact mines are used all necessary precautions must be taken for the safety of legitimate shipping. The belligerents particularly undertake in the case where such mines are allowed to go adrift to notify the dangerous zones to the public as soon as possible or to see that the mines become innocuous after a certain lapse of time, so that any danger to legitimate navigation be as much as possible avoided.

In explanation of the German view of what the 'area of the belligerents' immediate activity' meant, the following provision was suggested by the German Delegates :

The placing of automatic contact mines shall also be allowed on the theatre of war; the theatre of war shall be considered to be that area of the sea where a military operation has taken place or takes place, or where it may be expected to take place by reason of the presence or approach of the armed forces of the two belligerents.

Not only did the German Naval Delegate strive to make it quite clear that the interest of neutrals must be protected, but Baron Marschall von Bieberstein, the German Chief Delegate, made the following disclaimer in the name of his Government :

The German Delegation has found itself compelled to oppose a great number of the provisions which sought to restrict the use of mines. I am anxious in a few words to explain the extent of the reservations we have made, and particularly to defend our attitude from the interpretation that, apart from the restrictions accepted by us, we ask for unlimited freedom to use these engines. We have no intention, if I may use the words of the British Delegate, 'to strew mines in profusion in all the seas.'

That is not so. We are not of the opinion that what is not expressly prohibited is allowed.

A belligerent who lays mines assumes a very heavy responsibility towards neutrals and pacific navigation. On this point we are all agreed. No one will resort to this weapon without absolutely urgent military reasons and military operations are not governed solely by the provisions of International Law. There are other factors. Conscience, common sense, and the sense of duty imposed by principles of humanity will be the safest guides for the sailor's behaviour and will constitute the most efficacious guarantee against abuse. The officers of the German Navy, let me publicly affirm, will always fulfil in the strictest possible manner the duties which proceed from the unwritten law of humanity and civilisation. . . .

In order to give a solid testimony of the German Delegation's willingness to contribute to any acceptable measures which may reassure public opinion we are ready to prohibit for a period of five years—i.e. for the duration of this Convention—the use of floating mines altogether. We propose, therefore, that the first paragraph of the first article should read as follows: 'It is forbidden for a period of five years to lay floating automatic contact mines.'

It is thus seen that Germany, at the Conference of 1907, admitted to the fullest extent the claims of neutrals to be subjected to the very minimum of molestation through the use of floating mines. The British Delegation on its side made the following reserve :

In affixing their signatures to this Convention the British Plenipotentiaries declare that the fact of the said Convention not forbidding any act or proceeding must not be regarded as depriving H.B.M. Government of the right to contest the legality of the said act or proceeding.

Thus, as between Great Britain and Germany, this country has expressly reserved its right to regard the use of floating mines in warfare as governed by the Common Law of naval war, and the German Government has acknowledged the duty to respect neutral rights in the most emphatic manner whenever it is possible to do so.

As regards the Convention as a whole, the rights of peaceful navigation (which includes not only neutral right but the right also of enemy fishing craft and other vessels specifically exempted by established usage, unreservedly confirmed by all the parties in Hague Convention No. XI., from capture) are set out in the preamble which bases it on 'regard to the principle of the freedom of sea routes, open to all nations'; and on the consideration 'that, if in the present state of things, the use of submarine mines with automatic contact cannot be forbidden, it is important to limit and regulate their use, in order to restrict the rigours of war and to give, as far as possible, to peaceful navigation the security it has the right to claim, in spite of the existence of a war.'

It is seen that in dealing with floating mines we must be guided by the international law of naval war as it exists apart

from The Hague Convention, which has altered nothing, but which, on the contrary, has re-affirmed the right of harmless navigation to be unmolested by actual hostilities.

III

Let us now examine the position of a floating mine among the recognised methods of warfare. I have pointed out above that numerous provisions have become part of the usage of naval warfare with a view to protecting neutral and certain exempted enemy vessels from injury or destruction. If a belligerent warship attacked an unresisting neutral vessel on the high sea, it would be committing an act of violence and be liable to such penalties as can be inflicted upon it for violation of the rules of war. Even if it fired into an unresisting private enemy ship the same penalty would be incurred. A floating mine is simply an engine of destruction, in the same way as a shell projected by a cannon is an engine of destruction, and no belligerent can divest himself of his obligation to exercise control over his engines of destruction. This is practically admitted by Article I. of The Hague Convention, the obvious object of which is to oblige the belligerent to keep all possible control over the mines he lays. It follows from that article that, though the right to lay automatic contact mines is admitted, The Hague Conference went no further than to allow the laying of mines which, when not under control, become harmless in so short a time that danger to navigation is practically eliminated. The Great Powers who took part in the discussion of the Convention, we must remember, made it clear that the mines should only be allowed within the area of immediate hostilities or of probable immediate hostilities. There is nothing in the Convention itself that implies, beyond this, any alteration of the existing usage of naval warfare.

IV

Observance of the laws of war entitles captives from the enemy forces to be treated as prisoners of war. The Hague Regulations respecting the treatment of prisoners contain numerous provisions, most of which already belonged to the usage of war, for their protection. Combatants who do not conform to the usages of war and carry on illicit warfare do not enjoy the privilege of treatment as prisoners of war, and are criminals liable to the penalties provided by the belligerent martial law for punishment as such. If the laying of mines on the high sea is an illicit practice, in what category of war crimes should it be classed? Professor von Liszt,

of Berlin, whose work on International Law has reached a 9th edition since 1902, defines piracy as 'any act of violence on the high sea contrary to International Law.' 'It is not,' he says, 'indispensable to piracy that the object should be robbery.' I am not myself prepared to take the same view as Professor von Liszt, but it is interesting to note that this distinguished writer, who is the author of the text-book on International Law which has the widest circulation in Germany, takes this exhaustive view of piracy. If his view is correct, then a vessel employed in laying mines on the high sea is guilty of piracy, and the officers and crew of such a vessel would be liable to the punishment meted out to pirates. I am not, I say, prepared to take Professor von Liszt's view, but that is a technical question which is not essential to the present issue. All the length International Law goes is to declare the illegality. The penalties incurred belong to municipal law.

To sum up, the position in International Law of floating mines may, I think, be stated shortly to be as follows :

1. The claim to lay floating mines has been confirmed by The Hague Convention No. 8 and the laying of such mines is therefore no longer forbidden. I do not think the English reservation can be held to apply to the principle of 'permissibility.'
2. They can be used by belligerents and neutrals alike in their respective territorial waters for purposes of defence, provided proper warning be given to peaceful navigation which may then avoid such waters.
3. Belligerents may place floating mines in enemy territorial waters, subject, however, to giving such notice as will ensure the safety of navigation for neutral vessels and enemy vessels exempt from capture.
4. Belligerents may use floating mines in the immediate neighbourhood of hostilities in the same way as they may use their other engines of war. The area of hostilities is a vague word, but, if it has any sense at all, it means a reasonable area and implies that the hostilities are genuinely within it. Moreover, the mines to be used within that area must be of a nature that does not expose innocent navigation to danger after hostilities are over and the area has been deserted.

Any use of floating mines outside the authorisation given by The Hague Convention is contrary to the law of naval war. There are, however, practical difficulties in the way of enforcing this law in a war in which practically all the great military and naval Powers are engaged. Only one Great Power, viz. the United States, is outside the present fray, and, although her influence may be enormous from a moral point of view, it is not as if the majority of the Powers were neutral, as has been the case in all wars of our own time. The danger of reprisals and the impotency of neutrals exposes the present war to becoming one of lawless outrage. The claim of Germany to possession of a superior

culture ought to lead to her desisting from the unlawful and even outrageous use she is making of floating mines. It is beyond the scope of this article to point out their horrors, but one moment's reflection will show that to expose even an enemy warship to so cruel a method of destruction without warning of the approaching enemy or the knowledge of approximate danger has introduced into civilised warfare the cruellest method of destruction the genius of man has yet devised.

THOMAS BARCLAY

(Vice-President of the *Institute of International Law*).

OUR NEAREST NEUTRAL NEIGHBOUR AND THE WAR

OFFICIALS, journalists, and members of the general public have been anxiously asking whether Holland is pro-English or pro-German. Some have arrived at certainty on the point : Holland, they are persuaded, is pro-German.

To answer these inquirers with the truth, which is that Holland is neither pro-English nor pro-German, but pro-Dutch, is not enough. It is necessary to ask them a question in their turn. And greatly to their surprise, no doubt, this question must be : Are they themselves pro-English or pro-German?

What is it to be pro-German? Obviously, to play the game of Germany. What is the game of Germany with regard to Holland? Unmistakably, as anyone with a grasp of the situation understands, to create such distrust between Great Britain and Holland as shall have the effect of throwing Holland into the arms of Germany.

The sympathetic feeling of a large section of the Dutch people towards England and France ; the dislike of the true Dutchman for Prussian militarism, arrogance and over-government ; Germany's arbitrary interpretation of the Act regulating the navigation of the Rhine ; the brutality of the unprovoked attack on Belgium ; the sack of Louvain and Dinant ; and the tremendous losses and widespread suffering caused to Holland by the dislocation of her agriculture, commerce, and industry by the War¹ have given Germany a great deal of lee-way to make up with the Dutch people.

But we have been giving her some help to make up that lee-way, and the time has come to say so in plain terms.

II

That a censorship of letters and telegrams from and to Holland is absolutely imperative and ought to be strict, everybody is agreed. But it is of the essence of an effective Censorship that it shall be informed and skilful.

At a time, however, when, as is well known, the Government has felt it necessary to spend a considerable sum in publishing

¹ Holland has been mobilised since Aug. 4 and 5, and the outlay imposed on the Government alone cannot be much less than 4,000,000L

Dutch versions of English despatches and speeches in connexion with the War, and in circulating English news in Holland, the Censorship has distinguished itself by a stupid hampering of the work of London correspondents of the Dutch dailies, responsible writers, well affected to this country, whose sympathies it was of importance to us to retain. Their suminaries of news and opinions which had already appeared in the London Press have been thrown into the waste-paper basket, and, until the second week in September, they were kept without copies of their own newspapers. Their whole treatment has been on a par with the experience of the London representative of a great American news agency whose account (from the London Press) of our success in the Heligoland Bight was stopped because the instructions of the Censorship forbade it to pass movements of war vessels !

After this it is no great surprise to learn that, at a time when the action of the Dutch Chamber of Commerce in London in regard to the war has been beyond praise, the correspondence and open telegrams of Dutch commercial houses in the metropolis of the highest standing have been held up after no understandable system whatever. Realising that the number of persons in London who know Dutch really well, and have at the same time a sufficient general knowledge of affairs to enable them to examine letters and telegrams with intelligence, is limited, a number of well-to-do business men, prominent members of the Dutch, Anglo-Dutch, and Scoto-Dutch colony in London, were good enough to offer their services, for two or three hours a day in turn, to co-operate with the Censorship in looking through letters and telegrams between Great Britain and Holland. This public-spirited offer of help, which would have been of the greatest value, was declined !²

But this is not everything. Unfortunately, however, in matters closely affecting the relations of two countries, it is seldom expedient to publish everything. I must content myself with assuring my readers, with a full sense of my responsibility, that there are within my knowledge, and within the knowledge of several persons, facts which, if mentioned in the House of Commons or the Press, would provoke an outburst of indignation on all sides.

It is particularly regrettable that it is not possible to set forth the facts to which I refer, because at the very time when the Dutch people in London of all ranks have been passing through a trying experience with an equability of temper and a friendly

² I am glad to learn, at the time of correcting the proof of this article, that changes which have been made in the personnel and the instructions of the Censorship have brought about a different state of things and that there is now very little to complain of.

feeling towards this country which we cannot appreciate too highly, there have been in not a few of our papers continual imputations of bad faith on the part of Holland in regard to food exports into Germany. As there has been, as I shall show, the smallest possible foundation for these insinuations, they have made the worst impression in the Netherlands. In other words, we have been doing most effectively the work of the German press propaganda among the Dutch public.

III

It is in the interests of humanity that the War shall be brought to an end as soon as possible. One of the ways of shortening the War—I said so in print a month ago, and I spoke to Dutch friends in the same sense six weeks since—is to keep food and raw materials from reaching Germany *via* Holland. Seventy-five per cent. of the imports of Rotterdam normally find their way to Germany.

When, however, we try to starve out the Germans *via* Holland great loss must be inflicted on the immense transit trade of the Dutch. Not more than a fifth of the ordinary number of ships is arriving at Dutch ports, and 50,000 men have been thrown out of work in Rotterdam and Amsterdam alone.

But it is imperative that Germany shall not be fed *via* Holland if we can prevent it without infringing the rights of a neutral State. As to goods produced in Holland, the Dutch are their own masters. As to goods produced by ourselves we are also free to do as we like. But as to the goods of a third neutral country, there is a difficulty. We are bound by international law and the Dutch are bound by the Rhine Convention of 1869. The only way seemed to be to ask the Dutch Government to guarantee that particular imports should not be exported to Germany. But the Dutch Government is bound by the Rhine Convention to keep the Rhine (which means the harbour of Rotterdam) open for goods in transit, and to offer no impediment to them by tolls or otherwise. An undertaking to prohibit export to Germany could not cover various goods which, in ordinary circumstances, only pass through Holland in transit and are not reckoned as import and export. And the British Government, which is at war on behalf of Treaty observance, would be reluctant to ask from Holland an undertaking which would mean a violation of the Rhine Convention, to which she and Germany are signatories.

What the Dutch Government has promptly done, and it is a very substantial token of good will, is to agree to set up in our interests a kind of National Store. Recognising that it has to meet and dispel feelings of distrust, however unfounded, it will itself purchase all cargoes or parts of cargoes, consigned to

Holland, which we might regard as conditional contraband.³ In the future, therefore, we shall not regard as contraband anything bought by the Dutch Government.

How the Dutch Government will deal with its importers is its own affair. It is probable, however, that it will hand over the goods to importers on their making a deposit by way of guarantee that the goods shall not reach Germany. That the purchased cargoes will not reach Germany we may trust (1) the honour of the Dutch Government, and (2) its list of articles the export of which from Holland has been forbidden—in most cases from the 4th of August⁴:

Horses.	Cotton (raw and yarn since Sept. 4).
Hay and straw.	Salt.
Oats.	Sugar (from Sept. 7).
Wheat and wheat products.	Pit props.
Barley.	Surgical instruments.
Rye (allowed Aug. 12-18).	Acetone.
Maize (since Sept. 3).	Sulphuric acid.
All cattle foods.	Saltpetre.
Rice (since Sept. 3).	Liquid fuels.
Beans and peas.	Motors and parts.
Leather and hides.	Motor cycles.
Coal and coke.	Carriages.

How important this list is to us may be judged from the fact that last year Holland exported more than a million tons of wheat alone to Germany.

To anyone who has been imposed upon by newspaper stories about undue imports to Germany from Holland, and differentiation between Germany and Great Britain, I commend the following table which I have compiled from unpublished statistics with which I have been courteously supplied by the Dutch Government:

Foodstuffs, and Country to which Exported	4 weeks of August 1913	August 9 to 30, 1914	First 2 weeks, Sept. 1914
Beef and Veal { Great Britain... Germany ...	Tons 409	Tons 280	Tons 247
	994	28	33
Pork ... { Great Britain... Germany ...	1030	1113	1716
	410	102	24
Bacon ... { Great Britain... Germany ...	1010	1407	2077
	34	445	537
Cheese ... { Great Britain... Germany ...	1835	1488	1613
	1305	1390	1572
Butter ... { Great Britain... Germany ...	917	2217	Not avail- able
	2296	1089	
Margarine { Great Britain... Germany ...	5854	7204	Not avail- able
	51	17	

³ The courtesies have not been all on one side, however: We have allowed the export to Holland of a considerable quantity of coal for Dutch requirements.

⁴ This list—I have not troubled the reader with all the items—has not been published before in England.

But, it may be said, how about cargoes or parts of cargoes openly consigned to Germany *via* Holland?⁵—under the Rhine Act Holland cannot stop them. The answer is that it is our business, and we shall make it our business, to stop them on the high seas.

Of course, there are people in Holland, as elsewhere, who are ready to put their pockets before their Sovereign's orders.⁶ Some Dutch people of this sort have been sent to prison. Others have been haled before the authorities and dealt with by word of mouth in a way they will not forget. For any others who are disposed to emulate their line of conduct a sharp look-out is being kept by a committee of leading business men formed by the Ministry of Commerce. Any one who has read the circular which the Dutch Chamber of Commerce sent out three weeks ago giving a warning against the tricks of firms in Holland, usually only a few weeks old or with German capital, which were offering to act as agents for German business, will realise what an unmistakable stand reputable Dutch commercial houses have taken.

I am mentioning, it will be seen, several facts which have not been recorded in our Press. Here is another new fact illustrative of the correct attitude of our nearest neutral neighbour. Some tugs and trawlers were about to be sold, and there was reason to believe that they were to be utilised by Germany for mine-laying. Martial law was immediately proclaimed in the district in which the shipowner lived and he was arrested.

IV

It would be disgraceful if, to all the sorrow and suffering caused by the War, there should be added strained relations, or worse, between ourselves and the Dutch. There is no European people to whom we are more closely akin, not only in race but in political and social ideas. Freedom of speech, freedom of printing, freedom of trade, and freedom of entrance to the oppressed of other nationalities, have long glorified the public creed of both nations. Detestation of militarism is in the very fibre of both. Holland and Scandinavia stand for ideals which will be priceless in that reconstruction of Europe which is now proceeding. It is above all things necessary that we retain their confidence and esteem.

Holland, a small nation with a population less than that of London, our nearest neutral neighbour, with many claims on our

⁵ That is *via* the Rhine. The goods are transferred to large 'Rhine lighters' at Rotterdam.

⁶ 'Every trader should carefully bear in mind that even the appearance of favouring one of the belligerents, by and through Dutch commerce, should be avoided.'—Queen Wilhelmina's speech.

regard, is in a position of such delicacy and difficulty as must appeal to every man and woman to whom national independence is more than a phrase. She is labouring with an honest determination, insufficiently appreciated in this country, to maintain a neutrality upon which her national existence may depend. To put the matter on no higher ground, the more we aid her to maintain that neutrality, the likelier it is that, if Dutch troops are ever moved over the frontier of Holland, they will be moved in co-operation with the Allies.

But it is useless to blink the facts of the situation. They cannot be set down too bluntly :

1. German Press propaganda has made an impression in Holland. Let me give an illustration. On the 10th of September a correspondent wrote to me from The Hague :

It is a matter of common knowledge over here that last week the English Government has been exercising strong pressure on our Government to let English troops pass the Schelde to Antwerp, and the English denial of the issue of an ultimatum has merely conveyed to us the impression that our Government has withheld that pressure. Had England really gone to the length of an ultimatum it would merely have forced us to take sides against the Allies.⁷

Happily, I was able to telegraph to my correspondent, on the highest possible authority, that the story was a lie typical of the subtlety of the German Press propaganda. All we had done was to inquire whether the Dutch Government would object to Belgian refugees being brought to England in captured German steamers through the Dutch 'water territory'⁸ of the Schelde.

2. Owing to the unwisdom of our Censorship, the amount of news from London in the first weeks of the War was very small, and English newspapers frequently failed to arrive. This was largely responsible for the amount of space given in the Dutch Press to Wolff and other pro-German intelligence, not only reporting the events of the War in a particular manner, but pro-German versions of the facts of the diplomatic and political situation. These telegraphic services have done their work. There are consequently some Dutchmen who are prepared to believe that Germany may have honestly meant no harm to Belgium had she been allowed to pass through, and that—though no documents in proof are forthcoming!—France might have infringed Belgian neutrality herself, had Germany not been first in the field. Dislike and suspicion of Russia also influence the views of some Dutchmen, and the intervention of Japan is seldom understood and is

⁷ And place three strong positions on the North Sea at Germany's disposal.

⁸ It is a common mistake to speak, not of the water territory but of the territorial waters of the Schelde. The Schelde estuary is not three-mile limit waters, but waters lying between two Dutch shores, and is therefore water territory.

often reprobated. (Remember the exposed position of the Dutch Indies, with a population of 38,000,000.) On the other hand, nowhere is stronger antagonism to the Germans manifested just now than in the province of Limburg, which projects into the territory in German occupation. In this case, however, the fact that Limburg is Roman Catholic, and therefore in religious sympathy with Belgium, has to be taken into account.

3. Although the memories of the Boer War have been dimmed by the great and unexpected liberality of the Constitution which has been given to South Africa, they have not disappeared in the case of a section of the population, and may still be played upon. One Dutchman said to me 'The Boers seem to have forgotten more than the Hollanders.'

4. There is a considerable German population in Holland, and many of the German residents, owing to their commercial position, have great influence. Rotterdam contains a large number of German and Germanised firms, and it is in Rotterdam that one of the ablest and most influential Dutch dailies is published. Many of the largest hotels in Holland belong wholly or in part to German companies, and are staffed by Germans; and at establishments at which I have stayed since the outbreak of the War I have found stacks of German journals, but the English ones missing or locked away.

5. Although no one doubts for one moment that the Prince Consort has been other than strictly neutral, he is a German Prince, and it is possible that a portion of the Court—but not the Queen—a small number of army officers, and a few members of the aristocracy with seats adjoining the German frontier, are pro-German in their sympathies. But well-to-do people who have sighed for German methods of dealing with the forces of disorder might be found in our own country!

6. Along with an impression of the lack of organisation which characterises some departments of French life and industry, and a perception of certain shortcomings in our own commercial and social systems, there is in Holland high appreciation of German industrial, commercial, and scientific efficiency. Many Dutchmen have received a part of their general and technical education in Germany, and the immense progress which has been made there during the past thirty years is admired. In some directions, perhaps, German life and industry are better known, by a section of the population at any rate, than their counterparts in this country. (It is, of course, very much easier to get to Germany than to England.) 'England with German efficiency and education,' said one Dutchman to me, 'would be invincible.'

7. Some Dutch people call to mind that, though Holland has been invaded by England and France, she has never fought with

Germans since her struggle with the Bishop of Münster. There has been a great deal of intermarrying with Germans of recent years.^{*} While Germany adjoins half a dozen Dutch Provinces, France is on the other side of Belgium. There are not a few Dutch professors in German universities, and German professors in Dutch universities. Dutch folk value the practical, and the Germans are respected for their practical qualities. A few years ago, indeed, there was a movement, supported by some young business men and by people who complained of the parochialism of Holland, to bring about a commercial understanding with Germany. The movement came to an end when it was realised how narrow was the border between economical and political union.

8. Hitherto Germany has seemed to Dutch people to be reasonably successful in the War, considering the forces opposed to her. As Holland has an indefensible frontier towards Germany, and half the country would have to be abandoned were she invaded, German military strength cannot be without influence on some sections of Dutch opinion. The opportunity which Holland has had since her mobilisation to strengthen her defences and to train her troops, in a fashion which is hardly possible in peace time, has greatly improved her defensive position, and she would no doubt make a stronger resistance to invasion than even the plucky Belgians have been able to do. Though, however, the Water Line, seventy miles long by about eight miles wide—it extends from the Zuider Zee through Utrecht to Gorkum and Dordrecht—would be a serious obstacle to the invader, the forts of the 'Linie' could hardly be expected to stand out for long against the latest German artillery. If the Water Line is abandoned, and with it Rotterdam, The Hague, Leyden, and Haarlem, and the Dutch fall back within the great Amsterdam 'Linie,' the national resistance will continue; but, unless succour comes, a period must necessarily be put to that resistance. Briefly, then, Holland is ultimately at the mercy of a powerful Germany.

V

Such being the state of things, is it any wonder that the Dutch, while as determined as the Belgians to resist invasion to the last, should realise that it is only common prudence to avoid fighting until compelled? If they have to fight, they are going to take the field with honour and in such conditions that their blows will tell. Meantime, all they can do is to be strictly and honestly neutral, and that they are determined to be. If there are some of our people who lack imagination enough to put themselves in the place of Holland and to examine from her point of view the extraordinarily difficult position in which she

* There has also been intermarrying, especially in the south, with Belgians.

finds herself, they can at least understand that, at the present stage of the War, a nation sympathetically neutral—as Holland, as a whole, may well be, if we act wisely—is worth more than an ineffective ally. Had Holland magnificently made the German invasion of a neighbouring State a *casus belli*, she would have been wrecked by now : a German army corps has been established near her frontier, at Wesel, for a long time past. It is in the closing stages of the War that the fresh troops of Holland—and Denmark—will be of most value. Holland, with so much at stake in the Indies, cannot contemplate with satisfaction a triumphant Germany. But it would not only be a case of danger to Java : a triumphant Germany would be a Germany in possession of Antwerp, and with views on the navigation of the Rhine which would mean practically the establishment of a German waterway through the heart of Holland.¹⁰ (As to Denmark, with the experience she has had even during the past twelve months of Prussian methods, she is not likely to be under any illusions as to the treatment she may expect from a triumphant Germany. If she can see an opportunity of recovering the northern half of Slesvig she will certainly take advantage of it.)

No true Dutchman could possibly be happy as a German, at any rate under any administrative system that Germany has produced hitherto. The spectacle of Germans trying to govern a race which, in the past, has exhibited to Europe all the possibilities of passive resistance, would be, but for the sadness of it, one of the most entertaining things the world has ever seen. Although some Hollanders find it difficult to believe that Germany has designs on their country—they ask whether Holland is not a protection for Germany seawards—they are in a minority. Since when has an Empire, not too well off for good harbours and good agricultural land, held herself back from the conquest of fine ports and rich territory merely because theorists threatened her with the price that would have to be paid for the possession of the coveted country? Friesland would be an ideal landing and taking-off place for German airships and aeroplanes, and is not accessible to hostile cruisers. The Frisian islands would be equally valuable for German submarines.

The elaborate politeness to Dutchmen which has been displayed by Germany during the War has been discounted—‘*Timeo Danaos*’—and it has certainly not obscured the horrors and the misery of Louvain and Dinant. All Holland has been moved by the suffering which German ruthlessness has wrought.

¹⁰ ‘Every level-minded Dutchman must know,’ said a Dutch friend to me, ‘that with England, France, and Russia beaten, Holland would become a mere Bavaria in the German Empire. The right side for us is the Allies’ side. If we side with Germany, we lose our most valuable possession, the Indies, at once, to England.’

It is hard for us to be neutral [writes a friend from Amsterdam] because of the misery of the Belgians. The simple-living peasants, doing no harm to anyone in the world, have been abominably treated. Some of us there are who would not have been sorry had we begun war already, bitter though the cost would have been for our little country. Already south of the Schelde some of our people have had to have arms taken from them.

You cannot generalise the Dutch attitude [says a second Dutch correspondent from The Hague]; so much depends on commercial interests, religious convictions, family relations, etc. The population of the big towns is very mixed and cosmopolitan. A minority of the Calvinistic population is naturally anti-French. Our people was anti-French during the Franco-Prussian war up to the fall of Sedan. Although sympathies are divided, we are unanimous in sympathy with the Belgians. The last twenty years have witnessed a growing friendship between Dutch and Flemish. There is a wonderful literature in the Flemish dialect, both prose and poetry, which is read all over Holland. The Dutch, indeed, supply ninety per cent. of its readers. Then a popular Flemish singer has carried his songs to the remotest parts of Holland. The Flemish are, indeed, our Belgian brothers.

At present Holland is, as yet another correspondent says, 'absolutely sincere and honest in her desire to keep neutral in the strictest sense of the word; she has nothing to hide either from England or Germany.' 'We wish to maintain,' I read in a fourth letter, 'absolutely straightforward relations with Great Britain and Germany.'

In every country of the world [writes a well informed Dutchman to a relative in London, who has shown me the letter] there always will be people who only have an eye for their own small or big profits, no matter whether they are dealing fairly or otherwise. This has ever been the case, but a whole people should not be judged according to the deeds of such scoundrels. I can assure you that the great majority, that is to say eighty per cent. of educated Dutchmen are exactly of the best English opinion as regards the most desirable end of the present war. It would be absurd to say that Holland has not, in its trade and industry and in art and science, a great many friends in Germany, but every Dutchman is convinced nevertheless that the only way to live in peace in Europe is by having Prussian militarism thoroughly broken. The quick advance of the German Army towards Paris caused a very depressed feeling, and a general sense of relief was obvious as soon as the better reports from France came in.

However, we have to maintain our neutrality, and therefore we are not allowed to show our sympathies too much, an art in which the average Dutchman is rather versed. I, for one, have not the slightest doubt, however, as to what the outcome of a plébiscite would be if one were to take place in this country.

What, of course, is most disagreeable for Dutch firms is to see our own products, cultivated in our Colonies and shipped in Dutch vessels, discharged in French or English ports, for fear that they might ultimately reach Germany. By taking, for instance, all the maize out of a great many British and Dutch steamers destined for Holland a scarcity of this article has been caused here which has induced some farmers to feed their cattle and pigs on wheat. Nevertheless we are convinced that England does not

wish to starve us, or to starve our cattle, which produces any amount of butter and cheese for the English market.

Although [says the writer of another letter from Holland which is before me] in existing circumstances the Declaration of The Hague of 1909, the Schelde treaty of 1832, and our Rhine treaty with Germany may be a nuisance, yet our Government is obliged to honour its signature to the same, otherwise they would be acting contrary to the rules of genuine neutrality and behaving like the German Chancellor who considers treaties as waste paper.

Some of our people have yet to realise that, in the case of a small State at any rate, it is not enough to proclaim your neutrality : the neutrality must be rigorously observed. No doubt President Wilson has helped to teach some of our newspaper readers that neutrality means neutrality, and not covert evidences of sympathy with one side or the other.

When, on the outbreak of war, it was imagined in Holland that there was a chance of our coming, unasked, to the assistance of Dutch neutrality, the coasts of the Netherlands were manned and entrenched, and her tideways were mined against us, just as her frontiers were as resolutely guarded against Germany. How neutrality is interpreted by a leading business house in Amsterdam is evidenced by its refusal to a valued correspondent, even to pass on to London a request to store a German cargo during the War. The appeal which has been made for neutrality by the Queen, both publicly and privately, has curbed to an extraordinary degree open expressions of antipathy and sympathy in Holland ; and the Press in particular has received repeated warnings from the Government. Hence the special significance of the biting exhortation of a well-known Dutch weekly with Germany, which was reproduced in *The Times* two or three weeks since.

The Dutch are perfectly conscious of the way in which their country is being spied on by their big neighbour. That big neighbour is not only spying : she is looking for every chance to make out to the Dutch that Great Britain, which has gone to war in defence of the neutrality of a small nation, cannot be trusted to respect the State rights of Holland. A word to the wise ought to be sufficient.

It is a great asset for relations of good will and confidence between Great Britain and Holland that a statesman so just and candid as Sir Edward Grey should have the advantage of conferring with a representative of the Netherlands of such experience and friendliness as the Netherlands Minister. Jonkheer de Marees van Swinderen was Foreign Secretary in the last Netherlands Government ; he speaks English perfectly, and he is married to an American lady ; and his Excellency's efforts to meet feelings of mistrust between Great Britain and Holland are constantly

aided by a number of clear-headed business men in London, who are united to both countries by ties of marriage or long residence. Another fact which should make for the two countries understanding one another is that the present Foreign Minister of the Netherlands has not only Scots blood in his veins—his name is Loudon—but has had diplomatic experience in, curiously enough, London, Paris, Tokio, and Washington successively!

I have endeavoured faithfully to describe different currents of feeling in Holland. But of the educated population as a whole I may say with confidence that, thanks to the efficiency and enterprise of the Dutch Press and to the habit of reading English, German, and French books, periodicals, and newspapers, the people of no country is now better informed as to the progress of the War and the development of the political situation in Europe. I firmly believe that we possess, and, if we act with wisdom and consideration, that we shall retain, the sympathies of the most influential people in the Netherlands.

But never was there more virtue in an 'if.'

J. W. ROBERTSON-SCOTT (*'Home Counties'*).

1914

THE HUMANISTS OF LOUVAIN

'THE people build cities,' wrote Erasmus, and added, only too truly, 'while the madness of princes destroys them.' The Flemish towns won their freedom from feudal barbarism. At a great price they bought their privileges, and their duke became their 'Protector.' In Louvain, as in Florence under the Medici, vast sums accumulated from commerce were gradually devoted to the adornment of the city, and the humanism of art flourished.

While the aesthetic Renaissance was in living movement in the South of Europe, a similar, though independent, development of art was in process in Flanders, Louvain being one of its centres. Flanders had its patrons in the dukes of Burgundy and Brabant. Philip the Good, a lover of the fine arts, bestowed 100*l.* a year on the painter Jan van Eyck. Van Eyck counts for more in the history of Renaissance art than the value of his paintings. He gave back to Italy more than the Flemings had yet received, for he discovered a method of oil-painting which spread from the Flemish gilds to Venice, and Italy generally. Van Eyck himself was a citizen of Bruges; but, belonging to his school and a personal friend, was Rogier van der Weyden, whose *Descent from the Cross*, thought to be his finest extant work, was located in the church of the Virgin outside Louvain, and another of whose works was in a side-chapel of St. Peter's, at Louvain. Rogier composed four great pictures for the Hall of Judgment in the Town Hall at Brussels. More essentially Louvanist by adoption was Dirk Bouts, who settled at Louvain before 1460, and became painter to the municipality. With civic enthusiasm he produced two large paintings for the Council Room, as a set-off to the Van der Weyden frescoes at Brussels.

In architecture Louvain found superb self-expression. Sulpice van Vorst designed the important Collegiate Church of St. Peter; Jan van Ruysbroeck the charming spire of Ste. Gertrude; whilst Mathieu de Layens surpassed himself and all others by the construction of the glorious Town Hall. Sculptors in full humanist sympathy were Eustache van Molenbeke, Guillaume Aerts, and Josse Bryaert, who glorified the new buildings with their work. With lavish artistic devotion Louvain

supplied her own needs and lent one of her gifted sons to the larger Belgium, in Quentin Massys, or Metsys, originally an ironsmith, who had wrought beautiful ironwork. He became the greatest Flemish colourist and founder of the Antwerp school.

Humanist art in Louvain had a wide comprehensiveness. 'Chambers' encouraged oratorical and dramatic displays. Music was cultivated, and Sir Thomas More refers to an organ in a private house—that of Busleiden. Commercialism had developed art, but the art impulse, in its turn, was transformed into the current of general intellectual culture under the patronage of the dukes and seigneurs; for a love of poetry, French and Latin, had been a tradition in the Burgundian Court.

II

Louvain came within the sphere of influence of Georges d'Halewyn (1473-1536), grand-nephew of Philip de Comines who marks so decisive a stage in the treatment of history. He was Councillor and Chamberlain of the Duke of Burgundy, and a commander of troops in the armies of Philip the Good and of Charles the Bold. Halewyn was a scholar, writer, and traveller. He acted as Ambassador from the Emperor Charles the Fifth to the King of England, Henry the Eighth. His château of Comines was a literary centre. There he himself translated Erasmus's *Moriae Encomium* into French, and though the omissions and additions in the translation aroused the author's dissatisfaction, the translator undoubtedly secured a wider circulation to the book. Halewyn deserves wider recognition for his ideas on the direct method of teaching Latin, by Latin speaking, and with requirement of the barest minimum of grammar. It is characteristic of many of the Louvain group of writers that they take this view. Speech, reading, and imitation of authors was the way of acquisition of Latin, or any foreign language, as it was for the vernacular. Roger Ascham more than forty years later followed in the same direction. Halewyn's collection of books was famous. It was sold by the family in 1614, but the catalogue is (or rather was) in the Louvain library. Halewyn reversed the ordinary procedure of patrons, in his respect for John Despauterius, the Louvain Latin grammarian, by dedicating his *Restauratio Linguae Latinae* actually published at Antwerp in 1533 to his client. This book is in the curious position that though the general nature of its contents is known—like some of the classics of old—apparently no copy is now accessible.

Another patron of still higher general interest in the history of humanism was Jérôme de Busleiden (c. 1470-1517). Like Halewyn's father, Busleiden's father was a man of commanding energies. Jérôme studied letters and law at Louvain and then

travelled in Italy. On his return, he was appointed Councillor of State and Master of Requests, and became wealthy through ecclesiastical preferment. He was sent to England to offer the congratulations of Belgium on the accession of Henry the Eighth in 1509, and to France on the accession of Francis the First in 1515. He entertained scholars, and never ceased in his efforts to collect the choicest and rarest of books. *Omnium librorum emacissimus*, says Erasmus of him. In 1516 Sir Thomas More wrote an appreciative account of a visit to Busleiden, paid when on an embassy to Flanders, accompanied by Cuthbert Tunstall. He praises Busleiden's fortune, his goodness, his courtesy. He is amazed at the *vetustatis monumenta* which he has collected. He refers to the library, so splendidly filled with choice books, and, with that touch of appreciation so ready for his friends, More adds that Busleiden's mind, 'more full than any library,' takes his breath away completely. With still greater detail, Sir Thomas More writes with delight in his *Epigrammata* on Busleiden's collection of Roman medals. As Rome herself was saved from her enemies by the Roman Emperors, Busleiden's collection of coins brings the very Emperors themselves to our minds, more closely and permanently than their arches of triumph, which, in time, crumble to dust. The sight of the ancient sculptures, paintings, and carvings, as well as his friend's old books, fired More's imagination. No doubt the famous house at Chelsea, that second Plato's Academy (or, as Erasmus corrected himself in thus describing it, rather to be named 'school and training college of the Christian religion') was built and adorned with Busleiden's mansion in the background of More's memory, though the scale was of a more modest kind.

Another of the friends of 'good letters,' though not so highly placed in social rank, was yet more closely associated with Sir Thomas More, namely, Peter Gilles, or Giles. He was clerk to the Chief Magistrate of Antwerp. He was always ready to receive Erasmus into his house, or to perform for him any service in his power. 'In good letters,' Erasmus describes his friend '*admirator et egregie peritus*,' and as a host, *suavissimus*. Gilles kept open house to scholars at Antwerp. If his name is specially linked with that of Erasmus, Sir Thomas More, at least, has confirmed its immortality. It was in conversation with Gilles that More saw first the seafaring man, Raphael Hythloday, formerly the companion of Amerigo Vespucci. It is from the mouth of Hythloday that the 'idle talk' of the *Utopia* is 'fabled' to the world, this seaman of the Renaissance 'well-learned in the Latin tongue, but profound and excellent in the Greek tongue.' Gilles supplied More with the Utopian alphabet and the 'four verses in the Utopian tongue.' He also wrote to Busleiden

the letter of commendation of More as 'the singular ornament of this our age, as you yourself (right honourable Busleiden) can witness, to whom he is perfectly well known.' The *Utopia* links More and his two friends with Louvain more definitely than has been mentioned as yet. He wrote his *Utopia* in England, but he placed it in the hands of Peter Gilles for publication. Gilles consulted Erasmus, and the choice was fixed on the publisher, Thierry Martens, of Louvain, of whom it has been said that he was to Belgium what Aldus Manutius was to Venice. The issue of this treatise, 'precious as gold,' is an event of European significance. In the friendship of Thomas More with Erasmus and Gilles, English and Belgian humanism were united, and this union was typified and cemented in their common delight in the visions of the longed-for ideal Commonwealth. On the 12th of November 1516 Gérard de Nimègue (*Noviomagus*), himself no mean scholar, corrector of the press of Thierry Martens (a not uncommon occupation for the scholars of that age), wrote to Erasmus: 'Our Thierry has charged himself willingly and gladly with the printing of the *Utopia*. A draftsman has made a plan of the island, which our Paludan (public rhetorician to the University, another honoured host of Erasmus "*doctissimus et humanissimus*") will let you see, and you can note any desired corrections in the margin. I will take every care that the *Utopia* shall be attractively produced.' The book appeared by the 24th of February 1516-17. The humanism of the fifteenth-century art of Louvain was indeed transfused into 'something rich and strange' in the literature of the early sixteenth century.

III

'In the bookshops of Louvain,' says one writer, 'interesting talks took place' between the friends of classical literature, or 'good letters,' as it was ordinarily styled. Erasmus must often have visited the *atelier* of Thierry Martens, at any rate, on business. The resource of a printing-press was necessary to him. He had corrected for the press of Aldus Manutius at Venice, and is unique in having earned so large a portion of living income from literary printed work both in the south, and in the north, of Europe. Men like Aldus and Martens did the work of giants, and cannot be counted but as humanist scholars, for the value of the development of scholarship is largely dependent on the facilities for its dissemination. Erasmus said of Martens: '*Noctes diesque publicae vigilat utilitati.*' The Louvain publisher earned his money and spent it on the development of the output of books of the New Learning, Latin and Greek texts, and of the best original thought and research work of humanist scholars.

His generosity was magnificent. He was probably the first publisher constantly to pay *honoraria* to authors as well as remuneration for press correcting, and he ran himself and his family into straitened finance in doing it. It will also be remembered of Martens that, when Erasmus was ill, apparently suffering from the terrible plague, Martens took him into his own house and nursed him for a month. His illustrious guest was none too liberal in responsive gratitude. He blessed Martens, it is true, and declared that the publisher would in himself suffice for his happiness, had he as much fortune as affection.

Louvain had been chosen by that earliest of printers in Belgium—John of Westphalia—for his press in 1473, and Martens was his successor. The Louvain tradition in the dissemination of knowledge was well established, and was favourable for Erasmus's energy. He poured forth, through Martens, text-books for the study of Greek, spread over a number of years, and in 1516 his own writings : *Enchiridion militis Christiani*, and the *Institutio principis Christiani*. In 1517 he published *Bellum*, a soul-stirring protest against war, a contribution to real progress, for which the world will yet thank Erasmus, and will look to Louvain also with gratitude as his home of the time. From Martens first came, 1517-19, the instalments of *Paraphrases* to St. Paul's Epistles, the Epistles of St. Peter, and that of St. Jude. This work of the *Paraphrases*, completed for the whole of the New Testament and translated into English, was required by authority, in 1547, to be placed in every parish church in England.

It is on record that the son of Louvain of whom mention has been made, Quentin Massys, produced a portrait of Erasmus with a copy before him of his Paraphrase of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, and in the picture with him, in conference, was Peter Gilles, characteristically holding in his hand a letter of More, addressed to him. This painting was sent as a present to Sir Thomas More. It passed eventually to the collection of Charles the First, and since that time the treasure has been lost.

IV

The University of Louvain developed largely, in the first instance, in association with the commerce of the town. At any rate, founded in 1425, the seat of the University, in 1431, was established in the Halles, mainly the Halle aux Draps, or Cloth Hall, which had been built by the gild in 1317. The freedom of Louvain had been acknowledged when Jeanne of Brabant and Wenceslas of Luxemburg signed the agreement of the *Joyeuse Entrée* in 1356—the Magna Carta of Louvain and Belgium. In 1425 John the Fourth, Duke of Brabant, secured the recogni-

tion of Pope Martin the Fifth for a *studium generale* at Louvain, and from 1431, as mentioned, for now nearly 500 years, the Drapers' Hall—the Halles—has been the home of the University. The academic traditions are not based so much upon the literary influences of the Burgundian Court as upon the educational and intellectual strength of the schools of the Brethren of the Common Life, beginning with Gérard de Groot (1340-1384)—almost parallel in influence with Vittorino da Feltre in the south, but with this difference, that the former gave rise to what may be called a training school of great teachers like John Wessel, the second founder of the University of Paris; John Standonck, the renovator of the College of Montaigu at Paris; and the great thinker, Nicholas Cusanus. From the atmosphere of this school came Hegius, and the influential Rodolph Agricola. Again, we must recognise that, as in art, so in intellectual culture, Belgium traces its origins to native, not to Italian, sources.

It was in the first quarter of the sixteenth century—roughly, the period of influence of Erasmus—that the University of Louvain awoke to its full splendour. Jérôme Busleiden, 'the Maecenas,' as he was called, 'of Belgium,' the friend, as we have seen, of Sir Thomas More, 'vir utriusque linguae callentissimus,' was convinced that the best knowledge of the future must be based on Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; and that these languages must be provided for, specifically, in academic training. Accordingly, in his will, after duly considering his family, he left a liberal sum for the teaching of those three subjects, by experts of the highest ability. The University authorities were of the old scholastic type, given over to metaphysic, dialectic, and the hopelessly corrupt barbarous jargon which they called Latin, in which their endless disputations were held. The executors of Busleiden's will therefore found it necessary to establish a special College, in which 'good letters'—i.e. Greek and Latin literature—should be expounded, and also in which Hebrew teaching should be a reality. The College, named the College of the Three Languages, was opened on the 1st of September 1518, and Erasmus agreed to become the Supervisor. The 'prince of literary Europe' directed the scholars of the future, and he directed them—from Louvain.

Under his guidance the College stood for the highest aims of humanism, and won its way through all opposition and difficulties. Adrian Barland was chosen to the Chair of Latin, the fundamental subject for the revival of letters, and difficult to teach¹ in a special

¹ As an instance of opposition to change, we read that students of the University faculty of Arts went about shouting 'We don't talk Fishmarket Latin, but the Latin of our Mother-Faculty.' The College of the Three Languages was temporarily placed near the Fishmarket.

degree at that time, for it was *une autre chose* from the dialectic, ecclesiastical barbarisms of the schools. ‘It is impossible,’ says Barland to his correspondent Borsalus, ‘to narrate all the efforts, the night watches, the sweat, the detriment to health, of getting back to the Latin’ of his school days, after going through a course of academic philosophy. Barland wrote *Colloquies* to help youths to speak Latin; the subject-matter throws interesting side-lights on Louvain, and its educational struggles. He, too, like so many of the Lovanists, visited England. Justus Lipsius is counted sometimes as a Latin professor, but he was appointed officially by the State as University Professor of Ancient History. Next to Erasmus he is perhaps the greatest of the humanists associated with Louvain. From 1576 onwards he was at Louvain. When Isabella, daughter of Philip the Second of Spain, and her husband, Maximilian the Second, came to Louvain in great state, they went to one of Lipsius’s lectures. As the royal party appeared in his class-room he was expounding Xenophon’s account of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand. At the time, 1599, the prisons were full of condemned political prisoners. Lipsius, remembering this fact, set aside his prepared lecture, opened Seneca : *on Clemency* (at Book i. Cap. 3), and paraphrased the passage where Seneca says ‘the greatness of a prince is only stable when his subjects know that his greatness is less *above* than *for* them.’ The royal party said nothing, but that evening a considerable number of Brabant prisoners were ordered to be set at liberty. Thus did political humanism follow the leadership of the humanist Lipsius, whose worldly means were so restricted that, like Cujas at Valence, and Casaubon at Montpellier, he had to receive paying boarders into his house. Later distinguished Latin professors were Erycius Puteanus and Nicholas Vernulaeus. Vernulaeus, like his predecessor Lipsius, was royal historiographer. Both wrote historical accounts of the University of Louvain. In these volumes, together with the *Fasti Academici* of Valerius Andreas, published at Louvain in 1635, are to be read, at length, the tributes of loving affection of scholars and *alumni* to the Alma Mater of the Halles—that building of which our generation has seen the desecration and destruction.

Erasmus had hoped to induce the famous John Lascaris, a Greek, to send a compatriot to fill the Greek Chair at Louvain, so that the actual pronunciation might be taught, as far as it was preserved by the Byzantines. The letter failed to reach Lascaris in time, and in urgency Jacques Teign, of Horn (Ceratinus), was appointed; but he was soon followed by the interesting Rutger Rescius, a pupil of Erasmus, or, as he called him, his ‘son.’ Rescius was a Greek corrector of the press for Martens. His accuracy was most marked, and he was so fascinated by the

desire to disseminate correct Greek texts that when Martens retired in 1529 Rutger took over the press, and associated with himself in the printing of Greek and Hebrew texts the young John Sturm, afterwards so famous as the successful schoolmaster of Strassburg.

The professorship of Hebrew establishes a connexion, once more, with England, for though Matthaeus Adrian, a Spanish Jew, was the first professor, the second was Robert Wakefield and the third, Robert Shirwood. Wakefield was a Cambridge man and had travelled to acquire Oriental languages. Eventually returning to England, he taught languages at Christ Church, Oxford, and also, it is said, at Cambridge. Shirwood was a student at Oxford. The real developer of Hebrew studies, however, at Louvain was John Campensis, 1520-1531. A later occupant of the Hebrew Chair, Valerius Andreas, wrote the *Bibliotheca Belgica* as well as the *Fasti Academici*, for, by the middle of the seventeenth century, at which time he wrote, it was a matter of prolonged and assiduous labour to record worthily the lives and literary achievements of Louvain and of Belgium.

V

The College of the Three Languages, called by the same name as the foundation by Cardinal Jiménez of the college at Alcalá, was identified with the cause of 'good letters,' and, above all, was fortunate in securing the services of Erasmus. It has held a commanding position in all histories of learning. But it must be remembered that Louvain as a University resembles the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford in its profusion of colleges, combining dependence upon, and independence of, the University as such, with which they are officially and loyally bound. Thus, in the eighteenth century, there were forty-two colleges at Louvain, whilst, at the same time, Oxford only possessed eighteen. In 1508 Adrian Boyens (who afterwards attained the distinction of becoming the one Belgian Pope) left funds to establish the Collège du Pape at Louvain. Eustache Chapuys, the ambassador of Charles the Fifth to Henry the Eighth at the time of the divorce of Catharine of Aragon, like Busleiden, founded a Louvain college. Again, in addition to the colleges, unattached teachers were licensed to give private lessons. Two of the most interesting of these private teachers were Juan Luis Vives and Nicholas Cleynaerts (Clenardus). Vives (1492-1540) was a Spaniard, who, whilst at Louvain, teaching in his house in the rue de Diest, edited the text of, and wrote a commentary on, the *Civitas Dei* of St. Augustine for the gigantic undertaking of Erasmus in preparing texts of the early Fathers. On the one

hand, Wakefield and Shirwood came to Louvain as professors ; on the other hand, Vives was offered a lectureship in connexion with the University of Oxford, and assigned rooms in the College of Corpus Christi, the new foundation of Bishop Foxe, parallel for England with Busleiden's new foundation at Louvain. The statutes were drawn up in 1517, the same year that Busleiden framed his will. Vives well represents the union of Oxford with Belgium for that time. It was arranged that for part of the year he should lecture at Oxford, and the other half he should be free to be at home in Belgium. It was at Louvain that Vives wrote his incisive attack on the dialecticians—in *Pseudo-dialecticos* (1519), as to which Erasmus declared that in it Vives had shown that there was no man better fitted 'to overwhelm utterly the battalions of the dialecticians.' Vives wrote the *de Consultatione* in Oxford in 1523, on the suggestion of a Belgian studying in Oxford, Louis de Präet, afterwards Mayor of Bruges. It was from this book of Vives Ben Jonson derived and appropriated so many noteworthy passages in his critical book *Timber*. Vives wrote books on the theory and practice of education, on women's education, on the history of philosophy, on psychology, on poor relief, and on the truth of the Christian religion, and, like Barland, school dialogues—all of high value. Erasmus speaks of him as a man 'whose erudition is universal.'

Nicholas Clenard (1495-1542), another Louvain private teacher, was well known to all humanists of the first quarter of the sixteenth century. He compiled a Greek grammar, which, with the Latin grammar of the Lovanian John Despauterius, made Louvain a familiar if not attractive name to schoolboys as well as older scholars. In return for the gift by Spain of Vives to Louvain, the balance was at least somewhat readjusted by Clenard's departure from Louvain, induced to go to Spain by Ferdinand Columbus, son of the great Christopher, who came to Louvain to secure all help he could get in forming a library at Seville. By going to Spain Clenard hoped to get the chance of acquiring a knowledge of Arabic at first hand in Africa, or at least from Moors in Spain ; and by a knowledge of that language he intended to engage in a 'pacific crusade' for the conversion of Mahometans. The Louvain humanists, we have seen, favoured the direct method in learning languages. No man carried this principle further into application than Clenard. He was a great teacher, and could not bring himself to cease teaching boys Latin whilst himself learning Arabic in Spain. Not merely did he teach paying pupils, but he bought three boy-slaves, whom he called Long-Tooth, Blackamoor, and Charcoal, Arab monoglots, on whom he experimented in the teaching of Latin, by direct naming of things, and by the employment of

Latin only as a means of communication, so that the language should be acquired by the Moorish boys as if it were their mother tongue. He dreamed of making the little 'monkeys,' as he playfully called them, teachers, secretaries, missionaries. 'Les humanistes,' says M. Roersch, 'avaient des âmes d'apôtres.'

Though so many of Erasmus's contemporaries at Louvain have now been mentioned, there were other distinguished humanists there. Erasmus himself bears testimony to Herman Westphalus and Adrian Suesonius, of the Collège du Lys at Louvain, and to Melchior Trevir at the Collège du Château. There was Martin Dorpius, President of the Collège du Saint-Esprit, afterwards rector of the University of Louvain, who was such a continuous and helpful friend of Erasmus and of the New Learning. Nor must we omit the name of John Naevius, the host with whom Erasmus took up residence in Louvain on leaving the house of John Paludanus.

Though the first quarter of the sixteenth century was so glorious an epoch at Louvain, yet later centuries had also their magnificent achievements. The fame of Louvain was next to that of Paris. It claimed the connexion of Dodoens the botanist; Mudée the jurisconsult; Gemma the mathematician; Gérard Mercator the geographer; van Helmont the chemist; van Loon the numismatist; Réga the physician; and, perhaps greatest of all, Andreas Vesalius, the founder of modern anatomy.

VI

Nothing is more striking than the love for Louvain felt by the humanists who lived there. Erasmus dwells upon the delicious skies and the quiet for study. Vives says that there 'all things are full of love and charm.' Clenard, in Spain and in Africa, longs for 'dulce Lovanium.' But the mere pleasure of physical surroundings does not explain their enthusiasm. It was the ideal element in life, the saving of the soul by losing it in something greater than itself that stirred the humanists—Erasmus seeking in his scriptural and classical studies a method of criticism and research which should lead to historical truth; Vives aiming at social amelioration by a reasoned method of poor relief; Vesalius bent on establishing habits of exact observation in anatomy; and Clenard intent upon applying linguistic studies for the upraising of Eastern thought and life. These high and broad aims of the inner life became as real as the marvels of the discoveries of the New World geographically. These things entered into the 'study of imagination' of the humanists, and were the deeper sources of the active joy which they ascribed to the physical charms of Louvain, for it was the atmosphere in which their inspirations had come to them.

When Justus Lipsius sang the glory of Louvain and its humanists he said :

Salvete Athenae nostrae, Athenae belgicae,
O fida sedes Artium et fructu bona,
Latéque spargens lumen et nomen tuum.

That light is not put out—even to-day. The arrogance of the destroyer is defeated by the humility and patience of even one humanist. One man holds the fort of remembrance against the whole of the hosts of the Vandals and the Huns. Now, indeed, all who care for the great past of Louvain can honour, as they have not sufficiently done before, the indefatigable industry of him who wrote *Louvain dans le Passé et dans le Présent* and *Louvain Monumental*, and he himself will pass into the list of those who have deserved well of their country and, in a sense, have saved a city, or at least its records, for the world. Happily, Edward van Even has made it possible for us to know the past of Louvain, in a detailed way, as the past of comparatively few towns is known. Let us add his name to our list of humanists, and listen to the words which he wrote, when it had not been even dreamed in an evil dream, what was to happen to his beloved city :

Une commune ne se compose pas uniquement des habitants qui y vivent, mais aussi de ceux qui y ont vécu. Les morts comptent même plus que les vivants; car ce sont eux qui nous ont fait ce que nous sommes; ce sont eux qui ont préparé le sol, qui ont bâti et orné la ville, qui l'ont munie d'institutions, de monuments, et d'œuvres d'art, qui lui ont enfin assigné dans l'histoire de notre pays l'une des places les plus honorables. Leur mémoire doit rester en vénération à travers les siècles.

This will hold for Louvain rebuilt !

FOSTER WATSON.

TREITSCHKE

IN a pamphlet of mordant irony addressed to 'Messieurs les Ministres du culte évangélique de l'armée du roi de Prusse' in the dark days of 1870, Fustel de Coulanges warned these evangelical camp-followers of the consequences to German civilisation of their doctrines of a Holy War. 'Your error is not a crime but it makes you commit one, for it leads you to preach war which is the greatest of all crimes.' It was not impossible, he added, that that very war might be the beginning of the decadence of Germany even as it would inaugurate the revival of France. History has proved him a true prophet, but it has required more than a generation to show with what subtlety the moral poison of such teaching has penetrated into German life and character. The great apostle of that teaching was Treitschke, who, though not indeed a theologian, was characteristically fond of praying in aid the vocabulary of theology. 'Every intelligent theologian understands perfectly well,' he wrote, 'that the Biblical saying "Thou shalt not kill" ought no more to be interpreted literally than the apostolic injunction to give one's goods to the poor.' He called in the Old Testament to redress the balance of the New. 'The doctrines of the apple of discord and of original sin are the great facts which the pages of History everywhere reveal.'

To-day everybody talks of Treitschke, though I doubt if half a dozen people in England have read him. His brilliant essays, *Historische und Politische Aufsätze*, illuminating almost every aspect of German controversy, have never been translated; neither has his *Politik*, a searching and cynical examination of the foundations of Political Science which exalts the State at the expense of Society; and his *Deutsche Geschichte*, which was designed to be the supreme apologetic of Prussian policy, is also unknown in our tongue. But in Germany their vogue has been and still is enormous; they are to Germans what Carlyle and Macaulay were to us. Treitschke, indeed, has much in common with Carlyle: the same contempt for Parliaments and constitutional freedom; the same worship of the strong man armed; the same sombre, almost savage, irony, and, let it not be forgotten, the same deep moral fervour. His character was irreproachable. At the age of fifteen he wrote down this motto for his own: 'To

be always upright, honest, moral, to become a man, a man useful to humanity, a brave man—these are my ambitions.' This high ideal he strove manfully to realise. But he was a doctrinaire, and of all doctrinaires the conscientious doctrinaire is the most dangerous. Undoubtedly, in his case, as in that of so many other enlightened Germans—Sybel, for example—his apostasy from Liberalism dated from the moment of his conviction that the only hope for German unity lay not in Parliaments but in the military hegemony of Prussia. The bloody triumphs of the Austro-Prussian War convinced him that the salvation of Germany was 'only possible by the annihilation of small States,' that States rest on force, not consent, that success is the supreme test of merit, and that the issues of war are the judgment of God. He was singularly free from sophistry, and never attempted, like Sybel, to defend the Ems telegram by the disingenuous plea that 'an abbreviation is not a falsification'; it was enough for him that the trick achieved its purpose. And he had a frank contempt for those Prussian jurists who attempted to find a legal title to Schleswig-Holstein; the real truth of the matter, he roundly declared, was that the annexation of the duchies was necessary for the realisation of German aims. When he writes about war he writes without any sanctimonious cant :

It is not for Germans to repeat the commonplaces of the apostles of peace or of the priests of Mammon, nor should they close their eyes before the cruel necessities of the age. Yes, ours is an epoch of war, our age is an age of iron. If the strong get the better of the weak, it is an inexorable law of life. Those wars of hunger which we still see to-day amongst negro tribes are as necessary for the economic conditions of the heart of Africa as the sacred war which a people undertakes to preserve the most precious belongings of its moral culture. There as here it is a struggle for life, here for a moral good, there for a material good.

Readers of Bernhardi will recognise here the source of Bernhardi's inspiration. If Treitschke was a casuist at all—and as a rule he is refreshingly, if brutally, frank—his was the supreme casuistry of the doctrine that the end justifies the means. That the means may corrupt the end or become an end in themselves he never saw, or saw it only at the end of his life. He honestly believed that war was the nurse of manly sentiment and heroic enterprise, he feared the commercialism of modern times, and despised England because he judged her wars to have always been undertaken with a view to the conquest of markets. He sneers at the Englishman who 'scatters the blessings of civilisation with a Bible in one hand and an opium pipe in the other.' He honestly believed that Germany exhibited a purity of domestic life, a pastoral simplicity, and a deep religious faith to which no European country could approach, and at the time he wrote the

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picture was not overdrawn. He has written passages of noble and tender sentiment, in which he celebrates the piety of the peasant, whose religious exercises were hallowed, wherever the German tongue was spoken, by the massive faith of Luther's great hymn. Writing of German Protestantism as the corner-stone of German unity, he says :

Everywhere it has been the solid rampart of our language and customs. In Alsace, as in the mountains of Transylvania and on the distant shores of the Baltic, as long as the peasant shall sing his old canticle

Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott

German life shall not pass away.

Those who would understand the strength of Treitschke's influence on his generation must not lose sight of these purer elements in his teaching.

But Treitschke was dazzled by the military successes of Prussia in 1866. With that violent reaction against culture which is so common among its professional devotees, and which often makes the men of the pen far more sanguinary than the men of the sword, he derided the old Germany of Goethe and Kant as 'a nation of poets and thinkers without a polity' ('Ein staatloses Volk von Dichtern und Denkern'), and almost despised his own intellectual vocation. 'Each dragoon,' he cried enviously, 'who knocks a Croat on the head does far more for the German cause than the finest political brain that ever wielded a trenchant pen.' But for his grievous deafness he would, like his father, have chosen the profession of arms. Failing that he chose to teach. 'It is a fine thing,' he wrote, 'to be master of the younger generation,' and he set himself to indoctrinate it with the aim of German unity. He taught from 1859 to 1875 successively at Leipzig, Freiburg, Kiel, and Heidelberg. From 1875 till his death in 1896 he occupied with immense éclat the chair of modern history at Berlin. And so, although a Saxon, he enlisted his pen in the service of Prussia—Prussia which always knows how to attract men of ideas but rarely produces them. In the great roll of German statesmen and thinkers and poets—Stein, Hardenberg, Goethe, Hegel—you will look almost in vain for one who is of Prussian birth. She may pervert them; she cannot create them.

Treitschke's views were, of course, shared by many of his contemporaries. The Seminars of the German Universities were the arsenals that forged the intellectual weapons of the Prussian hegemony. Niebuhr, Ranke, Mommsen, Sybel, Häusser, Droysen, Gneist—all ministered to that ascendancy, and they all have this in common—that they are merciless to the claims of the small States whose existence seemed to present an obstacle to Prussian aims. They are also united in common hatred of

France, for they feared not only the adventures of Napoleon the Third but the levelling doctrines of the French Revolution. Burke's *Letters on a Regicide Peace* are not more violent against France than the writings of Sybel, Mommsen, and Treitschke. What, however, distinguishes Treitschke from his intellectual confrères is his thoroughness. They made reservations which he scorned to make. Sybel, for example, is often apologetic when he comes to the more questionable episodes in Prussian policy—the partition of Poland, the affairs of the duchies, the Treaty of Bâle, the diplomacy of 1870; Treitschke is disturbed by no such qualms. Bismarck who practised a certain economy in giving access to official documents to Sybel for his semi-official history of Prussian policy, *Die Begründung des deutschen Reichs*, had much greater confidence in Treitschke and told him he felt sure he would not be disturbed to find that 'our political linen is not as white as it might be.' So, too, while others like Mommsen refused to go the whole way with Bismarck in domestic policy, and clung to their early Radicalism, Treitschke had no compunction about absolutism. He ended, indeed, by becoming the champion of the Junkers, and his history is a kind of hagiography of the Hohenzollerns. 'Be governmental' was his succinct maxim, and he rested his hopes for Germany on the bureaucracy and the army. Indeed, if he had had his way, he would have substituted a unitary State for the federal system of the German Empire and would have liked to see all Germany an enlarged Prussia—'ein erweitertes Preussen'—a view which is somewhat difficult to reconcile with his attacks on France as being 'politically in a state of perpetual nonage,' and on the French Government as hostile to all forms of provincial autonomy.

By a quite natural transition he was led on from his championship of the unity of Germany to a conception of her rôle as a world-power. He is the true father of Weltpolitik. Much of what he writes on this head is legitimate enough. Like Hohenlohe and Bismarck he felt the humiliation of Germany's weakness in the councils of Europe. Writing in 1863 he complains :

One thing we still lack—the State. Our people is the only one which has no common legislation, which can send no representatives to the Concert of Europe. No salute greets the German flag in a foreign port. Our fatherland sails the high seas without colours like a pirate.

Germany, he declared, must become 'a power across the sea.' This conclusion, coupled with bitter recollections of the part played by England in the affair of the duchies, no doubt accounted for his growing dislike of England.

Among the English the love of money has killed every sentiment of honour and every distinction between what is just and unjust. They hide

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their poltroonery and their materialism behind grand phrases of unctuous theology. When one sees the English press raising its eyes to heaven, frightened by the audacity of these faithless peoples in arms upon the Continent, one might imagine one heard a venerable parson droning away. As if the Almighty God, in Whose name Cromwell's Ironsides fought their battles, commanded us Germans to allow our enemy to march undisturbed upon Berlin. Oh, what hypocrisy! Oh, cant, cant, cant!

Europe, he says elsewhere, should have put bounds to the overweening ambition of Britain by bringing to an end the crushing domination of the English Fleet at Gibraltar, at Malta, and at Corfu, and by 'restoring the Mediterranean to the Mediterranean peoples.' Thus did he sow the seeds of German maritime ambition.

If I were asked to select the most characteristic of Treitschke's works I should be inclined to choose the vehement little pamphlet *Was fordern wir von Frankreich?* in which he insisted on the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. It is at once the vindication of Prussian policy and, in the light of the last forty-four years, its condemnation. Like Mommsen, who wrote in much the same strain at the same time, he insisted that the people of the conquered provinces must be 'forced to be free,' that Morality and History (which for him are much the same thing) proclaim they are German without knowing it.

We Germans, who know Germany and France, know better what is good for Alsace than the unhappy people themselves, who through their French associations have lived in ignorance of the new Germany. We will give them back their own identity against their will. We have in the enormous changes of these times too often seen in glad astonishment the immortal working of the moral forces of History ('das unsterbliche Fortwirken der sittlichen Mächte der Geschichte') to be able to believe in the unconditional value of a Referendum on this matter. We invoke the men of the past against the present.

The ruthless pedantry of this is characteristically Prussian. It is easy to appeal to the past against the present, to the dead against the living. Dead men tell no tales. It was, he admitted, true that the Alsatians did not love the Germans. These 'misguided people' betrayed 'that fatal impulse of Germans' to cleave to other nations than their own. 'Well may we Germans be horrified,' he adds, 'when to-day we see these German people rail in German speech like wild beasts against their own flesh and blood as "German curs" ("deutschen Hunde") and "stinking Prussians" ("Stink-preussen").' Treitschke was too honest to deny it. There was, he ruefully admitted, something rather unlovely about the 'civilising' methods of Prussia. 'Prussia has perhaps not always been guided by genial men.' But, he argued, Prussia united under the new Empire to the rest of Germany would become humanised and would in turn humanise the new

subject-peoples. Well, the forty-four years that have elapsed since Treitschke wrote have refuted him. Instead of a Germanised Prussia, we see a Prussianised Germany. Her 'geniality' is the geniality of Zabern. The Poles, the Danes, and the Alsatians are still contumacious. Treitschke appealed to History and History has answered him.

Had he never any misgivings? Yes. After twenty-five years, and within a month of his death, this Hebrew prophet looking round in the year of grace 1895 on the 'culture' of modern Germany was filled with apprehension. On the twenty-fifth anniversary of Sedan he delivered an address in the University of Berlin which struck his fond disciples dumb. The Empire, he declared, had disarmed her enemies neither without nor within.

In every direction our manners have deteriorated. The respect which Goethe declared to be the true end of all moral education disappears in the new generation with a giddy rapidity: respect of God, respect for the limits which nature and society have placed between the two sexes; respect for the Fatherland, which is every day disappearing before the will-of-the-wisp of an indulgent humanity. The more culture extends, the more insipid it becomes; men despise the profundity of the ancient world and consider only that which subserves their immediate end.

The things of the mind, he cried, had lost their hold on the German people. Everyone was eager to get rich and to relieve the monotony of a vain existence by the cult of idle and meretricious pleasures. The signs of the times were everywhere dark and gloomy. The new Emperor (William the Second), he had already hinted, was a dangerous charlatan.

The wheel had come full circle. Fustel de Coulanges was justified of his prophecy.

J. H. MORGAN.

Oct.

GERMANY TO-DAY

(I)

SOME EXPERIENCES AND IMPRESSIONS OF A CIVIL PRISONER
OF WAR

ARRIVING at the German frontier on the morning of the 1st of August, there was little difficulty about admission. At 5 P.M. that afternoon the order for mobilisation was given, and shortly afterwards was known throughout the length and breadth of the land. It was to begin the next day. The night was lively throughout with the departure of older men belonging to the Landsturm, whose duties are the guarding of railways and such like. In the small Rhineland village on Sunday, the 2nd of August, small groups stood around the spot where the order was posted up. There was no excitement. The priest addressed some earnest words to his congregation, requesting them to stand while he did so ; they would have all Russia against them, probably all France, and probably the first great battle would decide the fate of the war. Two women had tears in their eyes ; otherwise decorum was perhaps the most characteristic feature of the attitude of the congregation. All along the Rhine crowds were gathered to cheer the trains bearing those who were being called up. At Frankfort a dense crowd was being kept back from the booking office by soldiers. Porters were already scarce. There was no panic. That night a detachment left our town to join their regiments. Early in the morning another was played to the station by the band, and this followed morning after morning. The War was universally popular. Russia was the guilty cause of it, and feeling against her ran strong. When a little later the official text prepared by the Government of the telegrams passing between Berlin, St. Petersburg, Vienna, and London was published, the feeling grew more intense. The Czar was held to have deliberately pledged his word of honour to a statement which he knew to be a lie as to the mobilisation against the German

Empire. It was said that dreadful deeds were being committed by Russians in disguise.

On Tuesday, the 4th of August, in a small town near us a certain Prussian officer in uniform was nearly torn to pieces by the crowd, who believed him to be a Russian in disguise. That evening the writer was also arrested by the townsfolk on the charge of being a spy, and was marched by a rapidly gathering crowd, which eventually exceeded a hundred in number, through the main street. He was asked if he was a Russian or a Frenchman, and, upon his stating that he was an Englishman, one man said 'If he is an Englishman let him go.' As a matter of fact, two hours earlier that evening the British Ambassador had presented the Government's ultimatum, and war had virtually been declared between the two countries. But the fact was not known in the town till the following morning. In any case, the crowd was not satisfied, and they seized hold of the writer, who assured them of his absolute willingness to accompany them to the police station. The writer's failure to appreciate the enormity of the charge obviously displeased the crowd, who advised him not to smile so foolishly. They called the armed guard, who planted himself at the closest possible quarters in front of the writer, informing him that what he held before him was a gun, a fact of which the writer expressed his cognisance. Only a few men led him into the police station, locking the doors and keeping the crowd outside. The acting magistrate, a cultured and efficient young man, was sent for. It was obvious from the air of portentous eagerness that grave developments were expected. The acting magistrate had, the day after the writer's arrival, officially visited him at his hotel and examined his passport. He was consequently surprised to find that the person arrested as a spy was the writer, and he immediately asked him to excuse the occurrence because of the excitement caused by the reports of the underhand destruction by French and Russians lurking in the country.

Any expression of inward feeling on the part of a crowd is interesting to watch on account of the intensity given to it by collectiveness. Here the look of disappointment was almost sufficiently pathetic to make one feel remorseful for not being in fact a spy. The acting magistrate afterwards informed the writer that the disappointment was in fact keen. Very comprehensible it is too, because in all places a serious charge of spying followed, perhaps, by a speedy court-martial and a still more speedy shooting are natural elements of pleasant interest to all except the person playing the central part. Thus, owing to the enlightened conduct of the acting magistrate, an episode which

might have ended quite unpleasantly was closed. At the time the subject of it did not know that his conduct that evening was part of a case which had been and was gathering against him, and that other informations of alleged suspicious conduct were being laid against him. This he subsequently learned with keen amusement from the acting magistrate. It took some time for the townspeople to rid themselves of a sense of suspicion.

Practically, from the next day on, the writer was a civil prisoner of war, not allowed to stir outside the limits of the town without the leave of the General in command of the Eighteenth Army Corps at Frankfort; but within those limits he was allowed absolute liberty of movement, and inasmuch as he was the only British subject in the place he must express appreciation of the conduct of the townspeople, who showed him no incivility. The limitation of his freedom of movement was rigid, and when, later on, he was requested to come and meet a friend passing through a station some four miles distant, he was told that his doing so could not be thought of. In like position were two Lithuanian yokels, one being a deserter from the Russian army, who spent the day in the harvest fields and the night in the lock-up. No invitation to join them, either in their pursuits by day or their repose by night, was extended to the writer. But fellowship in misfortune soon led to a regular interchange of smiling greetings through the window of the lock-up.

The feeling against Russia was uppermost in these first weeks. She was generally regarded as the main instigator of the war. Panslavism under her rulership was the motive of it. The Germans regard her as being in such a state of barbarism that they could not comprehend England's understanding with her, nor could they comprehend her understanding with a Latin race when she might and ought to have had an alliance with Germany. For the German any race which is not Teutonic is quite a lower order of humanity. This has been so for many decades, and has been one of the fruitful causes of disunion in Austria.

Then there was genuine regret at the English declaration of war, which was regarded as a kind of racial perfidy. Even the most intelligent German will not see that Germany's policy for years past necessarily was a constant menace to a country in England's position. He will say that Germany had no intention of at any time seeking to injure England, and that is his only answer to the objection that she was steadily seeking to put herself into a position in which she would be able to do so.

The Japanese ultimatum had a violent effect upon the general feeling. The mere fact that the Japanese, a yellow race, should have come into a war between Europeans was regarded as an

outrage upon Western civilisation, which was laid at the door of England. Many who took this view quite forgot that in the very first days they had expressed pious beliefs, if not hopes, that Japan would take advantage of the war and of the fact that Russia's debt to her had not yet been paid off to open fresh hostilities against Russia. They said that England would rue the day that she had urged Japan into the war : that it would eventually lose her India. Quite recently the statement that England had asked for Japanese troops to keep down a revolution in India was made in the Press, and was generally believed.

Some weeks ago there was published a communication from a member of the Belgian Legation at St. Petersburg to his Government, which had come into German hands. It was construed as showing that Russia was embarking on the war largely on the assurance that she would have the support of England, and therefore England's attempts at the preservation of peace, which in the early days had been acknowledged, were a mere sham. But the document scarcely contained evidence to support such a conclusion.

The gradual result of these events has been that during the last weeks the object of popular sentiment has changed. Hatred against England has gone up by leaps and bounds. For England, they say, the war is a base commercial speculation in the interests of her trade ; this has always been the selfish policy of the 'Krämerfolk,' which word is now one of the most favoured designations of the English.

Far more important as regarding the origin of the European War was an inspired, if not official, publication concerning it which appeared in the newspapers, and mentioned, in a harmless way, a significant fact : that the possibility of a successor to the aged Emperor of Austria not being ready to engage in a war on the side of the German race had to be taken into consideration. The immaculate attitude as regards the outbreak of the War which Germany assumes, and has set forth in a pamphlet, published also, for the benefit of America, in the English language, and very ably compiled, has not, in fact, quite the basis claimed for it. But the nation, including the Social Democrats, are firmly persuaded that the Kaiser did not want war.

The Germans never seriously believed that their breach of Belgian neutrality was the cause of England's declaration of war. They affect not to place the smallest belief in France's assurance that she would not disturb the neutrality, and they say that French troops had in fact already crossed the frontier, and that French officers were found in Liège. The compact between the Allies not to conclude any separate peace afforded ill-disguised dis-

appointment, and it is regarded as another instance of England's cunning, selfish policy. Till then people had confidently spoken of a conclusion of the War, resulting from the utter defeat of France, in four or five weeks' time. People still talk confidently of a complete ultimate victory for Germany. They speak of our prospects almost with pity, saying what a mistaken policy we have followed, and how greatly we might have profited by neutrality; forgetting that thereby we should have laid ourselves vastly more open to the charge of pursuing a mere selfish policy of gain.

For the writer the greater part of those seven weeks during which he was in Germany consisted in dreary days of isolation and dejection when an amazing series of successes on the part of our country's enemy were reported with an oppressive regularity. In such days an earnest sense of patriotism is more deeply fostered than in the mingling with shouting, jubilant crowds of one's own countrymen. As the War proceeded the Germans seemed to awake to a certain new conviction that the downfall of England was at hand. The writer has a particularly vivid recollection of one Sunday afternoon, when, starting for his usual monotonous walk, he overheard the conversation of two young men standing on the steps of the post-office, one of whom was reading the latest war news. Though being stared at and pointed out, and noticing whispering as one approached, constituted some of the innocent unpleasantnesses of the position, in this case the writer had not been noticed. 'England is going smash!' said the young man, with his eyes still on the newspaper, in a tone as of sudden wondering realisation. 'Must go smash,' answered the other, with the superior coolness of one who already knows.

This was literally the opinion of the man in the street, an opinion which has rapidly grown genuinely among the Germans. That now their aim is to smash England the newspapers openly claim, and they declare that the nation must not suffer any cessation of hostilities, and that there cannot be any lasting peace until this end is achieved. They are wonderfully optimistic as to the means by which it shall be achieved. They claim that their navy fires better than ours, and they expect great damage to our navy from their Zeppelins. As regards their army, in comparison to it they hardly consider the fighting forces of the enemies as being armies at all, though they have some respect for the firing of the French artillery. The Kaiser's words to the National-Liberal deputy, at his meeting with the representatives of Parliamentary parties, accompanied by a thrust of the imperial hand: 'But this time we will properly thrash them!' expressed

the nation's feeling, and the papers suggested their adoption as a popular cry.

It is true that Germany is fighting for her existence, for that existence which she has proposed for herself. Equally true is it that we are fighting for that existence which we have up to now enjoyed, and let us bear well in mind that we are fighting a foe of no mean moral order.

To say that the War is popular in Germany is not sufficient : they are heart and soul in it ; the whole national life at present is identified with it. Within less than a couple of weeks of the outbreak of war, 1,300,000 had volunteered, and shortly after the numbers had reached over two millions—men under and over age and some approaching old age. They admit very heavy losses, and especially heavy losses of officers, but that does not in the least affect their spirit.

The union which this country has shown has probably been a disappointment to them. The papers showed their displeasure, while admitting the splendid solidarity of our Empire. Canada, they said, was genuinely enthusiastic : the Boer War and the Chamberlain policy had been successful, and they spoke with reproachful surprise of the loyalty of General Botha and South Africa ; even the Basutos, they said, had requested to be allowed to come and help by throwing stones at the Germans.

Beneath all this there is a deep underlying principle which the Germans do not see. Not only are we fighting for our existence, but we are fighting for a principle. It is the principle of individual liberty, which the Germans in their own country do not and cannot understand as we understand it. When they have settled in this country and in other parts of our Empire or in America they understand it and they appreciate it. Often the writer has heard Germans complain that their own countrymen in the British Empire and America wish to cease to be German. This is a fact, and it has a deep importance. Quite impartially, one can say that it is very much better for the world that the leading element in it should be British than that it should be German. The Germans are not of a cruel temperament—let us not attribute too much importance to many probably unfounded reports, remembering that some similar reports about us are at present rampant in Germany—but there is in them a masterful instinct which excites the keenest opposition in other nationalities. Take that pre-eminent type of German political genius, Bismarck, who openly, on principle, defended slavery.

Let us congratulate ourselves that the Home Rule conflict is not now heard amongst us. Germany is now making great efforts to win the enthusiasm of the Poles, but she cannot win their

confidence. The oppression by Prussia of the Polish nationality, not only in Posen but in Silesia, has been too great. The Poles, knowing the Prussian character, feel they cannot trust now the Prussian overtures of freedom. The writer has it from one of their nationality that the Prussian Poles regard the filling up, since the outbreak of the War, of the Archbishopric of Posen, so many years wrongfully kept vacant by Prussia, merely as a feeble bait.

Declaration of war followed declaration of war till the official placard in the post-office of countries with which communication was broken had little space left. There was a grave misgiving as to Italy, which still continues. The Germans are concealing a resentment against her for her faithlessness to the Triple Alliance. They do not like to say much as yet, lest Italy might adopt hostile activity, but there is little doubt that they hope at the end of the War to make her feel that such conduct does not pay. On one occasion, when it was reported that Italy had already declared war, groups surged through the streets of Frankfort shouting 'Kirchenstaat!' 'Toscana!' etc., denoting thereby that Germany would undo United Italy and divide her again into principalities. Of course, the temptation to Italy is to take advantage of Austria's embarrassment and wrest from her the, scarcely loyal, extreme South Tyrol and all possessions where the population is Italian-speaking. But in many places where the population is such, as in Trieste and in Dalmatian ports, the predominant strain is Slav or the surrounding population is Slav, and the Italian, like the German, though in less degree, has an antipathy to the Slav.

It appears to be really the case that there has been among the nationalities in the Austro-Hungarian Empire a far more hearty response to the call to arms than one might have expected. Even the Roumanians of Transylvania, who generally live in a feeling of intense antipathy to their Hungarian masters—so much so that some of the landowners, who are Hungarians, were preparing for flight, in expectation of a Roumanian uprising—have displayed a sudden enthusiasm. In one remote part of Transylvania where the writer has on different occasions stayed with Hungarian friends, the small village has sent out a number of volunteers, and, for probably the first time in their lives, they sing the Kossuth national song in the Hungarian tongue. Nevertheless, among the few cheerful events in those days of isolation in Prussia were the communications from friends in Austria and Hungary, showing that amongst these socially delightful peoples the War had changed nothing in the feeling of personal friendship.

The dreary days dragged on to the never-ceasing tune, shouted, screeched and squealed, of 'Deutschland über Alles,'

diversified by reports as to British atrocities to German residents in England, where aged professors were said to be ruthlessly thrown into prison. Early in September about 600 German wounded were brought to the town, some of whom were quartered in our hotel. The morning after they arrived, the writer, getting into conversation with one of them, immediately mentioned his nationality, and offered to show him the way to the hospital which he was seeking. Comrades, on seeing him walking with the writer, shouted and called to him, and tried, without being offensive, to draw him away. Eventually he was drawn aside and warned what dangerous company he was in, and then the walk continued. Otherwise the writer's presence seemed not to outrage in the least their national sense. They always showed civility and, on any encouragement, a disposition to friendliness. Their presence was an element of distraction. The various items, even down to the grey uniform, which they considered much less capable of detection than our khaki, and other matters, including the wonderful new far-reaching Mauser guns, all of which had been attributes in their success, were discussed.

Very shortly 4000 Russian prisoners were to be brought to the neighbourhood, with one guard to every fifty men, while they were to be engaged in the uncongenial task of constructing a wire fence for their own confinement. About the middle of September the Germans calculated that they had 200,000 prisoners, including over 7000 British.

During all these weeks the writer had been making restless efforts, through German friends and directly, to obtain from the General in Command of the 18th Army Corps permission to leave. The writer is within the age which in Germany renders one liable for military service—namely, 17 to 45—but his heart would not, in fact, be sound enough to pass him for it. For a time there seemed to be a glimmer of hope of release. But eventually a message, not unduly formal in its terms, came to him through his friends from the quarters of the General in Command : that even if he had only one leg he could not be let out, and that, being only a few miles off the Bavarian frontier, he might be thankful that he was not across it, as in Bavaria the subjects of hostile States were being more rigorously treated than in Prussia. A letter from the writer to the Spanish Ambassador, who, according to the German papers, had the British subjects under his protection, brought a very kindly reply from the American Ambassador, to whom, as also to the American Consulates, a warm debt of gratitude is due. Let us hope that their friendly spirit of helpfulness will form one more link in the fellowship of our countries.

A week later the writer was informed that the police had been to the hotel to look for him ; he feared lest possibly such intercourse as he had had with the wounded might have given occasion for the placing of additional restriction upon his liberty ; but, to his joy, the mission was to hand him from the quarters of the General in Command permission to return to England by Holland. Towards the German Government for this comparatively speedy release, as also towards the different officials for their courtesy during his detention, the writer expresses his recognition.

He left the next day, and, despite the permission, by the kindly intervention of the guard or some one else a search was made for him at a station before Frankfort by somebody in mufti, accompanied by an officer in uniform, who said that he had been informed of the writer's presence in the train.

At Frankfort the great bells were ringing, as the writer was informed, for the fall of Verdun. He arrived at Cologne in the evening, and there was unable to obtain information as to when one could make the journey to the Dutch frontier. He was determined to push on as far as he could in that direction, there being only slow local trains from Cologne onwards.

The station was busy with military, active and wounded. One soldier was carried into the writer's carriage, a pathetic object. He seemed to be in a state of collapse, and was laid out on the seat. He had lost the hearing of the right ear. There were also other wounded there, and a soldier who had been in charge of prisoners, and two civilians, one of whom had just returned from a tour of inspection in Belgium. At first the writer joined freely in the conversation. The civilian, an intelligent middle-class German, said that the sight in Belgium was such as to make one feel sick and melancholy : all round the most painful spectacles, one, as a mere instance, being that of the body of a Belgian priest suspended in the church by the feet. The speaker was obviously a good-hearted man, thoroughly patriotic, and he deplored that the Belgians had rendered such acts necessary.

All of us were full of pity for the stretched-out soldier, who gradually began to speak a few words. He told us that he had been two days in captivity in the hands of the Zouaves. He had been liberated by a brother soldier, who had dressed himself in the clothes of a dead Zouave, and his rescuer had received the 'Iron Cross.' He had been wounded at Rheims, and his brother, who was in the same regiment, had been killed there. For days before his captivity, while fighting, he had nothing but a portion of dry bread. When carrying him into the carriage the Red Cross had given him a sandwich, and the slow, crippled way in which

he ate it was pathetic to watch. The others in the carriage were full of admiration for him. The writer suggested that a rug which he had with him might be put under the soldier's head ; it lay on the rack ; it had seen many years of journeys, and one of our number innocently asked if the wounded man had succeeded in taking it from the Zouaves.

The soldier who had been in charge of prisoners had been in the last call for the front, but was not wanted immediately, and as he had just had a telegram saying that his father was dead he was being allowed three days and was going home. He was an intelligent, apparently respectable, young fellow, and in the concern about the War and the wounded he laid little stress upon his father's death. He told us he had taken that week some Scottish prisoners to the camp of detention, whereupon the wounded soldier asked if they were not the black men. He fetched the wounded man some coffee, which the latter drank eagerly enough, objecting only, at the end, that there was sugar in it. They asked the writer where he was going to, and he answered a name of a station where, by a perverse luck, as afterwards transpired, the wounded soldier was to be taken out.

Meanwhile the latter revived wonderfully, and told us he had only been married five weeks before the mobilisation ; that he wanted to go home and soon again to get back to the front ; that he had been all through the Belgian campaign and had killed francs-tireurs, for whom all the others in the carriage, and indeed all Germans, think no severity is too great : on one occasion he had seen a little Belgian girl of twelve or thirteen standing behind a bush and firing on an officer ; he had sprung up to her, and in a manner which he showed us with a motion of his hand had ripped her down and then across. There was no note of disapproval from his hearers. He was asked about the English soldiers, and he said contemptuously that they received 2 marks 20—that is 2s. 2d. a day—and the man from Belgium said that the British were a cowardly nation.

It will be seen that the conversation, in which the writer had at first freely joined, was one in which it was impossible for him any longer to join. But to have disclosed that he was a British subject or a foreigner at all might have led to very undesirable results. When at one o'clock in the morning the wounded man and the writer found themselves on the platform of the same station, the former being carried off to the waiting-room and the writer having eight hours to wait for a train, it became necessary to consider the position. To have spent the night in the waiting-room with the risk of being questioned by some military guard as to one's identity and destination, in the presence of the wounded soldier, might have led to very uncomfortable results.

On the other hand, to go to an hotel would entail the filling up of a paper disclosing one's domicile, which would have to be sent to the police. The writer adopted the latter course and managed to leave the hotel the following morning without hindrance. He decided to take the risk of not going to the police station to report his presence and his permission to the police, fearing the possible consequences of delay. Thus there was a sense of uncertainty as to whether one might not be 'wanted' at any one of the stations, to relieve the monotony of a journey in a slow train, stopping at all stations, through a flat, uninteresting landscape up to the frontier. He crossed the frontier at a place not likely to be used by passengers to Flushing, and arrived home from there on Sunday, the 20th of September, on a boat almost exclusively occupied by Americans, whose return from Germany had been arranged for by their Government.

R. S. NOLAN.

1914

GERMANY TO-DAY

(II)

THE 'GUILTY' GERMAN PEOPLE

IN a masterly article in the September number of the *Nineteenth Century* by Mr. Ellis Barker, entitled 'The Ultimate Ruin of Germany,' a convincing picture is drawn of the causes and effects of the stupendous struggle now being waged on the Continent of Europe. Few will be found to take exception to the premisses and conclusions of this able writer; but there is one sentence which, it may be feared, will be taken as a text by that large body of public opinion which is always a menace in our midst, recruited as it is from widely different sources, but uniting in a resultant pressure which is invariably adverse to the interests and welfare of the British Empire. The sentimentalists, pacifists, Little Englanders, and that portion of the Press which is subsidised or inspired from Germany,¹ all helped to create a public opinion in England hostile to any adequate preparation for the struggle with Germany which had been impending for years, and had become imminent since the Agadir incident;² the currents of opinion emanating from these sources will again make themselves felt, even before the war is over.

The passage to which I allude runs as follows :

The brunt of the war falls on the German people. Their sufferings will be terrible, especially when the Russian hosts are in their midst; and they deserve our sympathy, for they are guiltless of the war.

They were forced and driven into it. They were, and are still, deceived and misinformed by their Government-controlled Press. All who wish to

¹ The machinery of the German Press Bureau is well described in a leading article in *The Times* of September 5.

² It has been almost forgotten that the central plank of Mr. Haldane's Territorial Force Act, 1907, was the compulsory military training of boys at all schools; this statesmanlike measure was withdrawn in deference to the representations of a Nonconformist deputation to Mr. Asquith, which expressed a horror of the country being 'militarised.' It requires very little effort of the imagination to realise the value to the country at the present moment of such an asset as the whole male population under twenty-one years of age having received the elements of military training; while a very large number who had received or continued their training up to the age of seventeen or eighteen would now be men of twenty-four or twenty-five years of age.

treat Germany justly should carefully differentiate between the governing classes and the masses of the people.

This is just the sort of thing which is always swallowed so readily by the soft-hearted Englishman, to whose confiding nature a kindly tolerance is ever more welcome than an attitude of distrust. In addition to this national trait, we are as a people singularly devoid of imagination and too much wrapped up in ourselves (too 'insular' if you like it) to make any effort to visualise another nation's point of view in regard to ourselves.

The political, social, and intellectual life of Germany is an unknown quantity to the mass of Englishmen; her literature, from the works of Mommsen, Treitschke, and (until recently) von Bernhardi, down to the articles of the pamphleteers like Eisenhart, the daily and weekly Press, and the so-called comic papers, is a sealed book. England would recoil in horror if she could see herself as she is seen in Germany by the every-day German—an object of loathing and contempt. For thirty years the German people have been sedulously educated to believe that they are the salt of the earth, and that their destiny under the Kaiser and God is that of a World Power which shall make its influence felt to the uttermost parts of the earth.

'World Dominion or Ruin' is von Bernhardi's text; there is no alternative.

War is not looked upon by Treitschke and his school merely as a means to an end; it is in itself an expression of the ideal of the subjugation of the weak by the strong, that ideal which the German Nation has been taught to worship, and which sees its self-appointed apotheosis in the Kaiser.

It would be a serious error not to appreciate that, while many of the ruling class are swayed by the prospects of national or personal aggrandisement, and most of the commercial class by visions of profit and material gain, there is yet a fiercely fanatical spirit which has set up the cult of valour as a religion, of which Nietzsche is the High Priest; and this religion is not the religion of Christ, but is preached to its devotees in burning sentences such as the following :

Ye have heard how in old time it was said, Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth; but I say unto you, Blessed are the valiant, for they shall make the earth their throne; and ye have heard men say, Blessed are the poor in spirit; but I say unto you, Blessed are the great in soul and the free in spirit, for they shall enter into Valhalla. And ye have heard men say, Blessed are the peace makers; but I say unto you, Blessed are the war makers, for they shall be called, if not the children of Jahve, the children of Odin, who is greater than Jahve.

This is heady wine for a nation to imbibe, and it has done its work; in a few it has produced a veritable exaltation of soul; in

a vast number it has produced a species of intoxication for which the English equivalent is 'swelled head'; and in the mass of the people it has produced a kind of tipsy arrogance and brutal disregard of all moral restraint.

But this new religion has not been preached as an abstraction, or system of philosophy to be discussed by schoolmen, thinkers, and dreamers; it is manifested in concrete form, pulsating with life and vigour, with the crusaders' field lying open before it in the shape of the subjugation of the British Empire.

For thirty years, with ever increasing intensity, and concurrently with enormous augmentations to her army and navy, hatred and contempt of England have been sedulously preached in Germany; I cannot do better than borrow from Professor Cramb the vivid picture which he presented to his audience at a Queen's Hall lecture³ in February 1913:

England's possessions, England's arrogance on the seas, her claim to world-wide empire—these are to Germany an insult not less humiliating than any she has met with in her past. And what are these English pretensions, and upon what are they based? Not (says Germany) upon England's supremacy in character or intellect. For what is the character of this race which thus possesses a fifth of the habitable globe and stands for ever in the path of Germany's course towards her 'place in the sun,' in the path of Germany's course towards empire? It is from this first recrimination that during the last three or four decades, largely under the influence of the Prussian School of History, there has been evolved a portrait of England as the great robber-State. In one phase or another this conception is gradually permeating all classes, making itself apparent, now in a character in fiction, now in a poem, now in a work of history or economics, now in the lecture-hall at Bonn or Heidelberg or Berlin, now in a political speech.

And the theme is precise. England's supremacy is an unreality, her political power is as hollow as her moral virtues; the one an arrogance and a pretence, the other hypocrisy. She cannot long maintain that baseless supremacy.

On the sea she is being rapidly approached by other Powers; her resources, except by immigration, are almost stationary; and her very immigration debases still further her resources. Her decline is certain. There may be no war. The display of power may be enough, and England after 1900, like Venice after 1500, will gradually atrophy, sunk in torpor.

An England insensibly weakened by brutalisation within and the encroachments of an ever increasing alien element, diseased or criminal, and by concession on concession without, sinking into a subject province, though nominally free, whilst Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand carve out each its own destiny—such an England is easily conceived.

If Germany were to inherit the sceptre which is falling from her nerveless hands . . . ? And having visualised this future, the German imagination, in a tempest of envy or vehement hate, becomes articulate and takes various shapes, resulting in an almost complete arraignment of the British Empire, of the English character, and of all our institutions and all our efforts as an empire-building race.

³ *Germany and England*, by J. A. Cramb, p. 22.
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And now we are face to face with the concrete results on German character which all this poison has produced. In the crusade against England all moral restraints have been swept aside. The deliberate violation of Belgium's neutrality and the unspeakable atrocities perpetrated on Belgian soil; the bombardment of towns in contravention of the articles of the Hague Convention and of the immemorial laws and customs of war; the sowing of extra-territorial waters with mines; the utter disregard of the first principles of political morality, and the widespread moral depravity inseparable from the methods of the Secret Service; the subornation of the Press for the purpose of calumny and the dissemination of lies; the doctrine, not that 'the end justifies the means,' but that the Chosen People stand in no need of justification—all these factors have left an indelible mark on the character of the German people, from which it will take more than a generation in sackcloth and ashes to recover.

Mr. W. H. Dawson, in an able letter on 'The German People and the War,' in *The Times* of the 18th of September, attempts to show that the German people, exclusive of Prussia, are guiltless of militarism, and should not therefore be regarded by us in a hostile spirit from the political point of view. He says: 'We are fighting militarism, whose foul fruits are sheer lust of aggression and the substitution of brute force for treaty law in international affairs.' Not only would he exonerate the rest of Germany from the charge of militarism, but 'narrow the issue still further, and for practical purposes we may trace the home of militarism to Prussia east of the Elbe, the stronghold of Junkerism, and hence of obscurantism in every single form in which it retards and deteriorates the national life of the Northern Monarchy.'

But what does it matter to us now whether militarism has or has not been a natural growth in Germany apart from Prussia 'east of the Elbe'? All that we are concerned with is that it has been grafted for more than a generation on German stock wherever the German language is spoken, and that the graft has proved so eminently successful that it is difficult to discriminate between the new growth and the old.

Mr. Dawson preaches a plausible heresy, eminently dangerous because it is so plausible: what he says would have been approximately correct in 1872, and absolutely correct at the beginning of 1870; but he ignores altogether the main point at issue, which is, that during the last thirty years the governing class in Germany have set themselves to saturate the mind of the German people with a single idea—'England the Enemy.'

That this has been only a means to an end does not matter in the least: the assimilation of this idea was necessary to obtain

the nation's approval for the enormous expenditure of Germany on her fleet, without which there could be no prospect of bringing England to her knees; this idea has been assimilated and has borne its fruit; the point of view of every German, man, woman, and child, towards England has been absolutely changed during the last thirty years, and the crop of envy, hatred, and malice, and all uncharitableness, has been an abundant one, equally abundant throughout the German Empire, and by no means confined to 'Prussia east of the Elbe.'

Germans have been looking forward to this war for years, impatiently awaiting the opening of the Kiel Canal to improve their chances on the sea: Germans from every part of the Empire are fighting us with the devotion of religious fanatics, *because they hate us*, and hatred of England has become to them a religion. Let us make no mistake; Prussian militarism has undoubtedly been the motive force; the 'ruling class' has undoubtedly created the machinery and set it in motion; but let no one for an instant deceive himself with the idea that any man, woman, or child with German blood in their veins has ever had a kindly thought for England and the English people at any time in the present century.

Even the German Socialists have hastened to identify themselves with the 'governing class,' but, in their attempt to win the sympathy of the Italian Socialists, have received a dignified and severe reproof. Signor Della Seta on behalf of the Italian Socialists informed Herr Sudekum at an interview in Rome⁴ that the conduct of the German Socialists in not trying to avert war, but on the contrary expressing their approval by means of an address to the Kaiser, was much to be deplored.

German hegemony [said Signor Della Seta] represents a greater danger than Tsarism, which is trying to prevent the German irruption. The German motto is 'Germany above all,' and German Socialism has failed to oppose it. You speak of German civilisation being endangered, but we fail to see such civilisation while Belgium is attacked and Louvain destroyed.

But notwithstanding all this, there will be others who will write and speak in the same spirit as Mr. Ellis Barker in the paragraph which has been quoted at the beginning of this article: the more nearly the struggle approaches a successful conclusion for the forces of civilisation, the louder and the more insistent will be the cry to welcome any overtures of peace, and not to exact too harsh terms from the 'Guiltless German People.'

There are thousands of people in this country who have consistently opposed every measure which was calculated to

⁴ 'Plain Speaking to German Socialists,' *The Times*, September 4.

promote military efficiency ; these people did not want our country to be 'militarised,' as they term it : God only knows what we are suffering now in consequence, but unfortunately those who are suffering most are not those who are responsible for our unpreparedness, but those who, through evil report and good report, have gallantly done their duty, recking little of misrepresentation, jealousy, and social intolerance, keeping their faces ever set towards the one ideal 'Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.'

Those enthusiasts who would have us look kindly on the 'Guiltless German People' are afraid that the Allies will exact retribution, that there will be reprisals for the appalling outrages which have been judicially scheduled by a Belgian Government Commission : do they think that we shall do as we have been done by? No ; Germany has been an apt pupil at the hands of Prussia, but there is no fear that the Allies will follow suit : we shall not destroy women's virtue, but we will destroy, so far as in us lies, the foul brood which has wrought the awful deeds of lust and rapine which are recorded against the German 'Nation in Arms.' We shall not destroy Heidelberg, Bonn, or Munich in expiation of the tragedy of Louvain ; or Cologne in revenge for that of Reims ; but we shall destroy Krupp's Works and all that appertains to the creation of German war material.

We are still dealing in a limp and casual manner with the Germans in our midst, the majority of whom are among us solely for the purpose of doing us deadly injury ; instead of segregating them all in concentration camps to prevent them from doing us an injury, we wait until there is sufficient evidence to show that they have actually perpetrated it, and then—they are taken before a magistrate and fined. We give German Prisoners of War cigarettes, while the Germans convey our prisoners in cattle trucks with the following superscription : 'These are English bears, it is forbidden to give them food or drink,' and they boasted that they had given them nothing for three days and nights.⁵ French prisoners were allowed to receive food and drink from the ladies of the Red Cross. Such discrimination shows perhaps better than anything the intensity of German hatred for the English.

If the German raid on the East Coast, which was planned as a curtain-raiser to this tragic drama, had come off, do we not know full well the part which our German guests, who have so long enjoyed our hospitality, were destined to play? And if the opportunity should come, they will play it none the less thoroughly for the loss of prestige which their country has suffered in the interim.

⁵ 'The Treatment of English Prisoners of War.' By A. D. MacNeill. *Morning Post*, September 14.

For Heaven's sake let us realise the character of the people with whom we now have to deal; they are not the Germans of thirty years ago, they are a poisonous growth of Kaiserdom; they are so organised as to be a menace not only to the peace of the world, but to the very existence of free institutions, religion, and public morality. There is no pledge of honour, duty, or morality that can bind this people; they have identified themselves utterly with the doctrine 'Might is right' and 'Necessity has no law'; 'Deutschland über alles' is ingrained in the very fibre of their being.

How then shall we deal with them when the day of settlement arrives? Not by putting our trust in any 'scrap of paper,' most assuredly; and as a preliminary to the stern justice with which we hope to treat them, let us disabuse our minds once and for all of any washy sentiment that 'they deserve our sympathy.' Let us keep our sympathy for the Belgian people, and if there is any over, there will not be too much to go round when it is divided up between France and Russia, Servia and Great Britain.

F. G. STONE.

*THE COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL
OUTLOOK: A CITY MAN'S VIEWS*

(I)

THE OUTLOOK AT HOME

MANY things have happened lately to make one prouder than ever of being an Englishman. I am not sure that the most remarkable of these was not the starting, before the War was three weeks old or a big battle by land or sea had been fought, of a movement to capture German trade abroad and replace German-made with British-made goods at home.

In its note of proud, confident, if somewhat premature assurance, this was fit work to put beside the silent despatch of the Expeditionary Force and the swift, successful measures that stopped a commercial panic. For a nation virtually on the threshold of the most tremendous struggle of history to sit down coolly and deliberately to map out a campaign for securing the trade markets of its opponents argues the dignified tranquillity of sedate security, as well as the alertness to seize a commercial opportunity. Yet, on the 18th of August, only sixteen days after the declaration of war, it was officially announced that the Board of Trade was sending out to the Chambers of Commerce, for the assistance of manufacturers and merchants, memoranda containing information about German goods and the countries to which, before the War, they were chiefly exported.

The amazing feature of this confidence lay largely in its quality of contrast. Only three weeks earlier there had been threatened one of the blackest panics ever known in the City. Like a bolt from the blue, a great slump fell on the Stock Exchange : there was a paralysis of credit, a scarcity of gold, and a currency crisis that, if it had not been taken in hand with swift decision, would have tied up all business transactions in a hopeless tangle of confusion. The Stock Exchange had to be closed indefinitely to prevent a further headlong drop in prices, the joint-stock banks either refused altogether to pay out gold or paid it out in relatively infinitesimal quantities ; people who ought to have had more sense and self-restraint rushed off to

Threadneedle Street and stood outside the Bank in patient queues waiting to change their bank-notes for sovereigns—ignorant, no doubt, of the fact that they were doing their worst to bring about a real panic. In the belief that foreign supplies might be cut off, food was rushed up, for a few days, almost to famine prices. Credit was refused in many quarters, merchants and shopkeepers, foreseeing a falling-off in receipts, made the conditions more acute by heavily reducing wages and salaries and, in some cases, by wholesale dismissals of their staffs. Yet, through it all, there was hardly a murmur of discontent. The whole community, with very few exceptions, realised that we were—or at least might be—in a desperately tight corner, and that self-denial on the heroic scale might have to be practised before we got out.

With the exceptions above mentioned, no one flinched. Teeth were clenched in a strong, silent mood of determination, and phlegmatic Britain, even in that dark and depressing hour, was equal to her reputation for putting her back to the wall. Her master-minds were at work on the financial situation, and almost before its gravity was apparent to the man in the street measures of relief were adopted, warnings and reassurances were issued, the Bank Holiday was extended by Proclamation to four days, the Government undertook to supplement the currency immediately with small fiat notes, and we were carefully piloted into less troubled, if not into actually smooth, waters. A fortnight later our liners and merchant ships were sailing as usual over all the principal trade routes, provisions were coming in plentifully and unhindered, nervous housewives no longer troubled themselves about scarcity, and, to crown everything, we began to work out an organised scheme for taking advantage of the enforced commercial inactivity of our chief enemy.

It must not be supposed, however, that the financial difficulties of a month ago are all out of the way. There has been a steady amelioration since the situation was boldly taken in hand, but it will continue to require careful watching for some time to come. The nature and extent of the crisis can be best measured by the treatment outlined above. It may be gathered that things were pretty bad for such drastic measures as a greatly extended fiduciary currency and a moratorium for debts and commercial bills of exchange to be found necessary, and for marine insurance against war risks to be made the subject of a Government plan to keep rates under a fixed maximum. What we were in immediate peril of was a complete collapse of credit. When it is remembered that credit is the most widespread form of currency, it will at once be realised what such a collapse would have meant. A huge fabric of international credit had

been erected upon a comparatively small foundation of gold—cheques, acceptances, and bank-notes doing by far the greater part of the work. An arrangement of this kind works admirably when there are no disturbing factors, because the credit is represented by material wealth in the form of everything for which there is a commercial demand. But the arrangement begins to totter directly public confidence is weakened and there is a widespread belief that the chief medium of exchange is running short. As soon as there is a scarcity of the gold which is, of course, the ultimate medium of exchange, and in relation to which everything is measured, people become uneasy, there is a tendency to hoard, bank reserves run down, and the mischief fast 'grows by what it feeds on.'

We had a striking example of this a couple of years ago during the Balkan War crisis. All over the Continent there was a scramble for gold, not confined to the ordinary public, and so serious were the effects that the backwash of the movement had not spent itself in Canada and South America when the present War broke out. The disturbance at the beginning of last month was much more acute. The action of Austria in declaring war against Servia revealed a cynical prearrangement with Germany to risk a European conflagration at any cost. Naturally there was a mad rush by holders of securities to turn them into money regardless of their investment worth. Owing to the international character of finance, this panicky feeling spread from capital to capital, and from bourse to bourse, with the speed of an electric current. London became the dumping ground for Continental operators who wanted to unload their inter-bourse securities and could not do it elsewhere. This brought down all quoted securities, good and bad alike. Such remote investments as Canadian Pacific Railway shares and such gilt-edged stocks as Colonial loans fell heavily. The worst of it was that trustee stocks and bankers' investments were equally prominent in the *débâcle*. This meant that the banks, if they had been forced to realise at the depreciated values, would have been the losers of vast sums. The comparative meagreness of their stock of gold, to which a bank chairman had called attention only a week or two before, made it at least possible that they might have to realise part of their investments in these ruinous conditions. But, worse still, the securities which they held as collateral against advances shared in the alarming weakness, and margins ran off with appalling rapidity.

The first thing to be done to save the situation was to nurse the gold. The banks, as already stated, fed their customers with notes, thus throwing on the Bank of England the full weight of a very grave position. It is quite probable that the Bank would

have been a good deal more embarrassed than it was if the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not been called in to the bankers' counsels and given his assent to certain proposals. It would have been an easy matter to suspend the Bank Charter Act and to authorise an issue of bank-notes without there being corresponding gold in the Bank's vaults. But that would not have met the real difficulty, which was largely one of small legal tender currency. An issue of 5*l.* notes would not have relieved the stringency, because no one is obliged to give change for them, and between silver to the limit of forty shillings and the 5*l.* note there was no legal tender except gold, and gold was the very thing it was imperative to economise. The issue of Treasury notes for 1*l.* and 10*s.*, with the Government's guarantee, practically solved an exceedingly awkward problem. These notes are redeemable at the Bank of England in gold the same as bank-notes are, but the fact that they are a guaranteed legal currency, and that every creditor is bound to accept them in discharge of a debt, up to any amount, entirely removes distrust in all classes. The extent to which the currency notes have been employed is shown by the fact that there were outstanding in the middle of September 27,416,931*l.* of both denominations.

The currency crisis was, however, only half of the difficulty. There were in the portfolios of bankers, merchants, and manufacturers a vast number of bills of exchange, which, if they had been payable on due dates, must, in the then state of confusion, have precipitated hundreds of bankruptcies. It became necessary to give the acceptors time to deal with the situation. It also became necessary at a later stage for the Government to guarantee the Bank of England in discounting re-accepted pre-moratorium bills, and this operation turned out to be on so large a scale that the mere physical work of dealing with it compelled the Bank to limit its activities from day to day. The abnormal pressure was, however, satisfactorily coped with, and the business world, instead of being thrown out of gear by a mass of disfavoured paper, was put in funds by the interposition of the National Treasury, which, in the event of any of the drawers or acceptors defaulting, will have to foot the bill. Very little damage of this kind is, however, likely to result, especially as the moratorium has been extended, and it is announced that so far as ordinary debts and rent are concerned it will come to an end the first week in the present month, and as far as Stock Exchange obligations are concerned early in November, when it will cease altogether.

Nevertheless, we are still a long way off normal conditions. Home trade is bound to suffer a rude shock by reason of the limitation of the people's spending power. This will be only tem-

porary, and the recovery depends very much upon the progress of the war. Things are already vastly better than anyone could have expected them to be, and had it not been for the precipitate action of certain company directors in suspending or withholding preference dividends, and of some employers, who did not stand to suffer appreciably, in cutting down salaries and putting workmen on half-time, they would have been even better still. Some of these precautions and economies were, of course, necessary, but that they were carried to an extreme length is shown by the fact that more than one leading West End firm in the retail drapery business has not found it necessary to dismiss a single employee or to make any reduction in wages.

What we have to deal with, however, as practical politics, is the serious diminution of general expenditure, especially on superfluities. Some trades, it is needless to say, will benefit from the War : manufacturers of war munitions, steel-plate makers, and competitors with German-made goods. Take Sheffield, for instance ; what has been lost in the general hardware trade has been largely made good by the abnormal activity of the big war firms. In Swansea, again, an important tinplate company has been able to re-open its works by reason of a contract coming to it that had gone to Germany, but which Germany was, of course, in no position to execute. These items, however, make only one side of the picture. There is no use in blinking the fact that, for some time to come, the general public will have no money to expend on luxuries. Jewellers, furniture dealers, and decorators, fine-art agents, costumiers, and wine-merchants, are only a few typical examples of the classes that will suffer. Manufacturers whose trade was largely Continental, whether they exported goods or were dependent on raw materials imported from Austria or Germany, constitute another class that must put up with losses until new areas of enterprise and new sources of supply can be exploited. Many of these will be hit all the harder by the obligation to pay, under their leases, rents calculated on the trading value of the premises in normal times. This question of rent, which touches so many of us, has not yet received the attention it deserves. Not only does it weigh heavily on the West End tradesman ; it weighs still more heavily on those clerks, managers, and working men whose earnings have been reduced by 40 per cent. or 50 per cent., but whose house-rent remains a fixed quantity. I know of several cases of men whose incomes have been reduced suddenly from 3*l.* 10*s.* a week to 1*l.* 15*s.* or 2*l.*, which, after payment of rent, fares, meals in town, and insurance, leaves only 7*s.* or 8*s.* for the food and clothing of from five to eight persons. If the war is going to be a lengthy business, it seems only reasonable that landlords should be called upon to make some sacrifice where it can

be shown that the incomes of their tenants have been seriously affected. In the case of business premises, they will no doubt see the expediency of imitating the action of country landowners, who often allow a handsome percentage off the rent in times of agricultural distress. It is better to take half a loaf than to run the risk of getting no bread.

Alleviations of this kind would materially lessen the severity of the struggle that we may have to face. It is quite possible that before these words appear in print something will have happened on land or sea, or both, either to strengthen our confidence or to put our powers of endurance to an exceptional test. There is, however, another factor to be reckoned with—the factor of finance and economic pressure. The fact that Germany's overseas trade is at a standstill counts for a good deal. The maintenance for a couple of months only of her enormous army will involve a big drain upon resources that cannot be replenished from outside, unless her fleet gains the ascendancy. Assuming the conditions of maritime commerce to be no worse for Britain than they are at present, we have an enormous advantage in being able to feed our population, whereas the Germans are cooped up in a ring fence through which no foodstuffs can penetrate. Moreover, our extra-Continental export trade is going on as usual ; theirs is not going on at all.

This article is not directly concerned with naval or military operations, but their possibilities are an essential quantity in estimating the trading and financial outlook for the immediate future. I trust that the optimists who think the Allies will be victorious in three or four months are right, but a much more cautious attitude is taken in the City, where a year, or even more, of sacrifice and tension is looked forward to. In the meantime, the movement that has been started to get hold of the foreign markets in which the bounty-fed German manufacturers have been able to undersell us, is an indication of what may happen in the way of a trade boom as soon as the War is finished, or, in a certain eventuality, even before. But to carry this movement to a successful end requires money, and after last month's financial shock the difficulty of obtaining overdrafts for trade purposes has become somewhat formidable. Nothing can be effectively done without the co-operation of the banks, and this may ultimately resolve itself into the co-operation, by means of guarantee, of the Government. There are many manufacturing firms whose excellent commercial records would fully warrant a Government guarantee, but whose new activities are at present checked by the abnormal character of the business situation. Whatever method may be employed with regard either to finance or freights, it is quite certain that we must make effective war upon German trade by

stepping in at once and securing orders before any other nation can do so. Somebody has got to benefit by the inability of the Germans to look after their Far Eastern and South American interests, and there is no reason why it should not be Great Britain. There is equally no reason why we should not also manufacture for home consumption most of the articles which hitherto have been imported from Germany. 'Counting one's chickens before they are hatched' is a foolish habit of the over-sanguine nature, and in the present state of affairs all that can be properly said is 'Here is the opportunity; go in and make the most of it.'

The fruits of such a policy cannot be gathered yet awhile; therefore, interest is centred in the immediate future. So far as can be humanly judged, we have seen the worst of the financial difficulties, although there are still troublesome fences to be taken, and it is at least a fair assumption that we have seen the worst of the commercial as well. Nothing less than a naval disaster can now upset our reasoned equanimity. An important German military victory might disturb our serenity for a few days, but we know perfectly well that so long as the British Navy dominates the situation there is no occasion for a renewal of the food panic, or for fears for our overseas trade. Trade in these circumstances should steadily improve, and if trade improves and is kept, as it doubtless will have to be, on very sound lines, the financial conditions will mend *pari passu*. We cannot be taken by surprise again. The bankers and bill-brokers have things fairly well under control, and the resources of the Government are not yet exhausted. There is plenty of legal-tender money, gold is no longer scarce in circulation, the Bank's gold reserve is steadily improving (there was over 48,000,000*l.* in coin and bullion in the vaults a fortnight ago), people are increasingly alive to the fact that there is no present cause for alarm, and all that is wanted to restore conditions to an *ante bellum* basis is for the Stock Exchange to be reopened for genuine cash transactions in British trustee securities, and perhaps for others a little later. International business will have to wait until the sky is ever so much clearer. London must not be again exposed to a flood of panic-stricken foreign selling. It may be that such an agitated state of public feeling will not recur—that the confidence of the whole world (except Germany and Austria-Hungary) will be restored by the speedy triumph of the Allies. In that case, it would not be a flood of selling but a flood of buying that would tax the energies of the London Stock Exchange, the Paris Bourse, and Wall Street. So that while the reopening of the Stock Exchange on normal lines *may* come sooner than is expected, it *must* come in a more or less restricted shape with very little delay.

These are times, not for over-confidence, but for quiet, steady, patient assurance. The hysteria of optimism and the panic of pessimism are alike undesirable and out of place. We have passed through the valley of unknown dangers with comparatively small damage, and if we keep our heads everything will settle down and come right in the end. Whatever happens, investors should not get frightened. To sell their securities now, unless they are absolutely compelled to raise money, is the most foolish thing they could do. It is highly improbable that (short of such a calamity as we have already named) there will be any further important fall, whilst there is a good chance of a quick rise. The new British loan that is coming out shortly is sure to be eagerly subscribed for, and that alone will encourage the holders of all other high-class securities. Britain's credit is still 'A1,' and the solid wealth of the Empire is practically inexhaustible.

(II)

THE OUTLOOK IN GERMANY

The announcement that was made in the German papers about three weeks ago that Germany proposed forthwith to raise a large part of the authorised loan of 250,000,000*l.* was an obvious corollary of the vote of the Reichstag passed immediately upon the declaration of war. It was never, of course, expected that the whole amount would be called for at once; but it must not be assumed that the present 100,000,000*l.*, or, according to some authorities, 200,000,000*l.*, will satisfy Germany's necessities for long.¹ Half of the amount, whichever it is, is offered in Treasury bills, and half in irredeemable stock, the price of both issues being 97½ per cent., and the rate of interest 5 per cent. Just before the Austrian note to Servia caused a flutter of consternation on the Continental bourses German Threes could be bought to yield close on 4 per cent. The fact that Germany has now to offer the temptation of nearly 5½ per cent. indicates the deterioration of her credit even in this early stage of the conflict. According to reports that have filtered through there is considerable hesitation in Germany itself about subscribing; it was recently stated in a London daily paper that in spite of full-page appeals

¹ A Reuter's telegram dated September 23 says it is 'officially announced' that the final result of the War Loan is as follows: £65,900,000 of Exchequer bonds and £153,550,000 of the Imperial Loan issued, making a total of £219,450,000. German 'official announcements' are generally made for foreign consumption, but if in this case 'issued' really means 'subscribed' the result only strengthens the argument that follows above.

in the German Press the response had been comparatively meagre. Yet the loan is essentially an investment for home consumption. Very few foreign investors are likely to be found amongst the subscribers. Neutrals are nowhere confident enough of Germany's staying powers to be tempted, even by the comparatively high yield of 5½ per cent. Even in the United States, at any rate outside the groups with German proclivities, there is but a poor chance of anything more than the most feeble contribution, if that. It follows that if the German people do not themselves find the money, no one else will; what is more, they must find it in conditions which, however stimulating to patriotism and alluring by reason of the rate of interest, are not in the least encouraging from the point of view of sound investment. Contrast this state of things with the ease with which 45,000,000*l.* of Treasury bills on account of Great Britain's war expenditure were placed in one month, with so little appreciable impression on the available resources of the country that money to almost any amount has been obtainable in the open market at from 3½ per cent. to 3¾ per cent.

So far as Germany is concerned, there is nothing extravagant or fanciful in looking for further issues at no distant dates, or in believing that the whole amount of 250,000,000*l.* will be added sooner or later to the total of her indebtedness. Assuming this to be so, the full interest that will have to be added to the fixed charges of each future financial year will be 12,500,000*l.*, which will more than double the amount now necessary for debt service, without taking into account the obligations of the individual kingdoms, grand duchies, duchies, Hanse towns, etc., that comprise the Empire. At the end of 1913 the interest-bearing part of the German Imperial debt, funded and unfunded, amounted to close upon 230,000,000*l.*; and, including the liabilities of the States as well, the total indebtedness was officially stated to be over 1,000,000,000*l.* To this the newly authorised 250,000,000*l.* will soon have to be added, bringing the total liabilities up to 1,250,000,000*l.* The Imperial portion of this will involve in interest a yearly charge (without making any provision for sinking fund) of at least 25,000,000*l.* This is pretty well for a nation whose whole Imperial debt in 1877 amounted to only three-and-a-half millions. To-day, if we reckon in the whole of the proposed new loan and the non-interest-bearing part of the existing loan, the Imperial debt is 520,000,000*l.* Yet the Empire by the end of 1874 had not only no debt, but had in hand a free capital of 200,000,000*l.*, which had been wrung from the French by way of a war indemnity. Truly, the financial progress of Germany has been wonderful!

This ominous growth of debt in peace time is going to play an important part in the present Titanic struggle. The present instalment of the 250,000,000*l.* will not go far, even when allowance is made for the war-treasure that is, or was, in the fortress of Spandau, and for the 29,000,000*l.* which Germany proposes to exact from the occupied cities of Belgium and France. That she hopes, and probably expects, to recoup herself for her vast military expenditure by means of another huge indemnity is taken for granted; but the best-laid schemes of men, even of German militarists and Potsdam professors, sometimes get disjointed and thrown out of gear. There is perhaps a more solid justification for believing that German indebtedness will have to go on increasing willy-nilly until the breaking-point of Imperial credit is reached. One enormously powerful factor in the ultimate issue is the agreement of the three Allied Powers not to entertain any terms of peace which do not meet with the entire approval of all of them. This means that they will go on fighting to the bitter end; as long, if need be, as they can raise the money to keep an army in the field. Germany has, therefore, to conquer three rich and determined nations before she can wrest the spoils of victory, or even an empty show of success, from any single one of them. Out of this outstanding fact leaps the true significance of her financial position. She will have to go on spending vast sums, and so shall we; but which of us can last longest at that game? Mr. Lloyd George, in a recent speech, said that finance would play a great part in the War. 'In his judgment the last few hundred millions might win this War. The first hundred millions our enemies could stand just as well as we could, but the last they could not.' One has but to recall the influence of finance in the Napoleonic wars, and the interests which Britain was able to command by financing some of the smaller States, in order to grasp the great importance of first-rate national credit and the power to raise money after years of prolonged and exhausting struggle. We are fighting now for civilisation, for the destruction of the military despotism that threatens Europe, and we are fighting *with clean hands*. This will undoubtedly carry weight with the big financial interests, just as Germany's appalling savagery will carry weight on the other side of the scale. The man who would lend a penny to Germany in her unholy enterprise is an enemy of the human race and to everything in the form of progress, culture and enlightenment.

But moral considerations apart, the older civilisation is built on a surer foundation, and is, in all that is connected with finance, a more stable and enduring structure. Germany as a commercial and manufacturing country may almost be spoken of

as of mushroom growth. Her energy and progress, her enterprise and organisation, have certainly been remarkable; but when one comes to consider the antiquity, strength and durability of Great Britain's national wealth, Germany is but an infant in arms in comparison. Britain has the accumulated resources of several hundred years to fall back upon; Germany's commercial prosperity is of quite recent origin. Britain is far and away the biggest creditor nation in the world, and a vast income from her foreign investments flows into her treasuries year after year. Such temporary derangements as are caused by events like the civil war in Mexico, or the default of Brazil, are, in the case of British investors as a body, merely incidents of relative unimportance. German capital invested abroad can less easily afford to stand the strain of such sets-back, because its proportion to the rest of its investments is so much greater. Germany's speculative interests in foreign countries have not so far been uniform successes, and a great amount of capital so ventured is not now, and probably never will be, remunerative. But it must be recognised that Germany's savings (and borrowings as well) have for the most part been poured into the development of her trade at home. New mills and factories have been built at a great rate, improved machinery has been laid down, new inventions have been exploited, scientific investigation has been encouraged—all very admirable and profitable in time of peace, but a very weak support in time of war. Something was seen of the precariousness of Germany's position a couple of years ago, when, on account of the monetary stringency then prevailing, the people found it impossible to raise funds either by mortgage or on the strength of the best collateral security. Things have recovered somewhat since then; the banks by last spring had the situation fairly well in hand, and there was over 300,000,000*l.* of money in circulation. Immediately before the War broke out the Imperial Bank of Germany had 67,200,000*l.* in gold coin and bullion and 16,200,000*l.* in silver in its vaults, and the notes in circulation amounted to 99,728,000*l.*, or 15,822,000*l.* below the tax-free maximum. During the preceding twelve months the bank had added 11,000,000*l.* to its stock of gold, and, as compared with the corresponding period two years ago, the stock was 22,000,000*l.* more. The Imperial Bank had also called on the other banks of the country to increase their holding of cash in proportion to their liabilities.

It would be idle to deny that these provisions afforded increased strength to meet the grave situation that has since arisen. Yet they cannot possibly avert the calamity that throws its ominous shadow over the economic outlook. The conditions in Germany to-day are infinitely more serious than they were during the

Balkan crisis, and in spite of the brave show that has been made for window-dressing purposes, no one need be surprised to see Berlin and the other big towns in the throes of an internal crisis directly the inevitable pressure of financial anxiety begins to be felt. Such relief as German traders have obtained in connexion with the non-payment of their foreign debts will be very short-lived. Repudiated liabilities are but indifferent permanent sustenance. As has already been said, the large sums sunk in productive works will not be of much avail if, as is already largely the case, the factories and workshops are closed. All this undeveloped enterprise will now be a millstone round Germany's neck. Even her principal colonies are not all self-supporting. They have been kept going largely by means of imperial subsidies—e.g., 117,250*l.* a year in the case of the Cameroons, and 737,000*l.* a year in the case of Damaraland. For the purpose, therefore, of carrying on a prolonged war, the greater part of Germany's wealth is unrealisable and consequently unavailable, and her credit will be affected thereby, whereas nothing is more notable among the lessons of experience than that the longest purse, more even than the biggest battalions, wins international battles to-day. The significance of this fact will be seen when we come to look at another phase of the financial situation—that of the Imperial revenue.

What in the first place is abundantly clear is that a heavily increased amount for annual interest will have to be paid, and that this and the later instalments of the new capital will have to be provided in the face of two tremendously disconcerting factors. In the first place, the imports of foodstuffs are seriously restricted, if not entirely stopped; and in the second place the exportation of manufactures is in an equally inanimate condition. In other words, Germany's foreign trade has been paralysed by the War. Concurrently with enormous additional expenditure which she has to meet, there will be a great falling off in revenue, and a partial and serious arrest of industrial production at the very time when industrial production, for the sake of employment, is most wanted. There is no need to dwell upon the terrible social and economic consequences of unemployment and food scarcity combined, especially as we are just now more particularly concerned with financial considerations; but the reports, presumably correct, that already it has been found necessary to make bread of potatoes owing to the scarcity of wheat, and that the women of Hamburg cannot get either fresh or preserved milk for their children, are not without a grim significance.

Germany's revenue is made up principally of customs dues, certain branches of the excise, profits of posts, telegraphs and

Government railways (not including those of the separate States), the matricular contributions of the States in proportion to population, and the product of the new graduated levy on property. The last-named impost was specially contrived for the purpose of raising at once four-fifths (40,000,000*l.*) of the expenditure contemplated under the new Army Law, but the amount actually collected last spring is said to have fallen short of the expected amount by 10,000,000*l.* With property of all kinds shrinking in value, and likely to shrink still more if Germany meets with serious military reverses, with revenue almost vanishing in many of her trades through the stoppage of exports, any future contributions from this new source of direct taxation are likely to become smaller rather than larger. Germany's estimated ordinary revenue for the current fiscal year was 174,785,683*l.*, about 10,000,000*l.* less than the year before, of which customs and excise were expected to yield, on the 1913-14 basis, 70,000,000*l.* (The figures include the contributions of States not in the Zollgebiet, but they are near enough for the inference it is desired to draw.) In conjunction with these particulars those of imports and exports must be taken, both of which will show a very large drop if the existing virtual blockade of German commerce continues. It may throw more light on the subject to tabulate the value of the imports and exports (including coin and bullion) at different periods :

Year	Imports		Exports
		£	£
1890	231,500,000		188,000,000
1900	320,500,000		255,000,000
1910	465,450,000		382,200,000
1911	500,350,000		411,200,000
1912	550,855,000		454,975,000

The rapid expansion of German external trade comes out strongly in this comparison ; but this facility of development cuts both ways, and what expands rapidly may shrink rapidly. If the contraction threatened by the present state of things continues, as seems probable, the effects will prove truly woeful for Germany. The greater part of her huge trade is menaced, in fact it is already virtually held up. Comparatively few German vessels venture on the high seas, the few that do are chased and captured,¹ and the result is that the Empire's revenue from Customs dues will almost entirely disappear, while the profits from manufactured exports will quite disappear. The former contingency touches the Imperial revenue directly ; the latter will

¹ Last month the Port of London held 56 of the alien enemy's ships with cargoes of 216,000 tons, mostly wheat and barley.

touch it indirectly, but none the less cruelly. Foodstuffs, agricultural produce, and live animals (most of the last-named intended for ultimate consumption) of an approximate value of 170,000,000*l.* a year are jeopardised ; and at the same time the home harvest will probably suffer in East Prussia by the advance of the Russians, and elsewhere by a scarcity of agricultural labour. In any case, apart altogether from the question of the people's sufferings, Germany's next year's budget is bound to be a disastrous one, and the German people will have an opportunity of realising not only what military glory means, but also how the lust for world-power affects them personally in the cost of living and other ways. If we exclude bullion from the exports we get a net value for 1913 of 437,000,000*l.*, a very large proportion of which will be *non inventus* in the present year's returns. It is the German working-man and his wife and family who will be the first to see what it means for a country's foreign trade to be suddenly closed down.

Our own trade has necessarily suffered to some extent, although nothing like as much as might have been expected. The Board of Trade figures for August showed a decrease of 13,613,670*l.* in imports (24.3 per cent.), of 19,899,458*l.* in exports (45.1 per cent.), and of 3,730,660*l.* in re-exports (45.7 per cent.), as compared with those for the previous August. A good deal of the falling-off in exports was attributable to the economic reaction following on the recent trade boom. Our trade to Germany and Austria, and also to Belgium and France, of course, has suffered a great decline ; our exports to Germany, for instance, falling from 2,249,067*l.* to 799,017*l.* Germany has suffered still more, her exports to the United Kingdom falling from 1,879,418*l.* to 195,835*l.* It will be noted that this result is for one month only, and is limited to trade with the United Kingdom. If the same ratio of loss continues, twelve months should show a drop of at least 20,000,000*l.* sterling in the value of Germany's exports to the United Kingdom alone ; and in Canada, South America, Africa, in fact all over the globe, the same sort of thing will be going on. Anglo-Austrian statistics, though interesting, are of less importance ; our imports fell from 298,676*l.* to 45,423*l.*, and our exports from 63,482*l.* to 18,371*l.*

It must not be inferred that the figures here quoted represent the full extent of our trade with Austria and Germany ; a not inconsiderable part is done through the medium of other countries. But they are sufficiently approximate, both for the purpose of comparison and for showing the general trend of war conditions. The point to be kept in view is, that whereas we are hit chiefly through the suspension of our trading relations with these two countries, Germany and Austria are hit all round. They cannot

send out a shipload of goods to any part of the world without running the risk of almost certain capture. Germany, measured by her shipping, is the second maritime country in the world, yet her commercial fleet has to hide itself in harbours in unenterprising idleness. We are, of course, more dependent than the Germans are on foreign foodstuffs, but they are nevertheless sufficiently dependent to make this condition of idleness an exceedingly ugly one to contemplate.

From every point of view, therefore, the financial position of Germany invites the conclusion that, on monetary grounds alone, without considering military or moral ones, the Allies are bound ultimately to win. Almost the only thing that could vitiate this conclusion would be the defeat, or practical impotency, of our fleet. It is due to its supremacy solely, and to the wholesome dread which the Germans have of it, that their commerce has been tied up with such disastrous consequences to their Imperial revenue, to their manufacturing industries, and to their financial outlook. If that supremacy were successfully challenged we might not be able to look forward so confidently to the ultimate collapse of Germany's credit and her inability, through lack of means, to continue the struggle. Estimates of what the War is costing her vary from 50,000,000*l.* to 100,000,000*l.* a month; and if the War is going to last a year she will, at that rate, find herself long before October 1915 in an exceedingly tight corner. The contents of the Spandau war-chest, which, if the proposed addition voted by the Reichstag has been carried into effect, amounted at the beginning of this year to 12,000,000*l.*, have no doubt proved exceedingly useful in accomplishing a rapid and, as it proved, successful mobilisation, and the proceeds of the property levy provided the very respectable item of 30,000,000*l.* of cash in hand for use in the War's early stages. The authorisation of a loan of 250,000,000*l.* and the issue of 100,000,000*l.* (or more) of it are, however, the clearest proof that it has already been found necessary to arrange for the supply of fresh funds. And we are only at the beginning of the War. It has lasted so far a bare two months. What will be the attitude of the German people when the next appeal is made to their combined regard for patriotism and 5 per cent.?

The force of the above deductions becomes more striking when the German military programme is remembered. Financial necessity was the underlying principle of that programme. Everything was to be done according to time-table in the hope that a swift blow might be decisive and bring things to a quick conclusion. The German armies were to be across the Belgian frontier by a certain date, in Paris by a certain date, confronting and beating back the Russians by a certain date. A time-saving

organisation was planned on a money-saving basis. The less money it was necessary to spend, the more net plunder there would be when it came to the indemnities being handed over. Somehow, as everyone knows, the wonderful mechanism did not work, accomplishment did not strictly run to the scheduled time-table, the triumphant entry of Paris was postponed *sine die*, and all the while the big bill keeps mounting up. The greater part of Europe will suffer financially as the result of this aggressive war; but unless the signs of the times are very misleading, and the Allies' spirit of resolution and endurance is vastly overrated, the greatest sufferer will be Germany. For behind the financial and economic chaos to which everything points stalk the spectres of Famine, Pestilence and red Revolution.

H. J. JENNINGS.

INHERITED VARIATION IN PLANTS

IN a series of articles published in this Review I endeavoured to sum up our present knowledge about the direct action of surroundings, considered as a factor in the evolution of new species. After having sketched, in a first article,¹ the development of Darwin's ideas on this subject, I analysed next the experimental researches into the effects of changed conditions of life upon plants and animals that had been made during the last twenty years.² Darwin lived only to greet the first steps made in this direction. But since then it has been proved by the most varied experiments that changes which we formerly believed would require scores of years to be produced by a natural selection of accidental variations are obtained in the experimental field or the laboratory in the lifetime of the individual by a mere change of environment.

Many biologists believed that by these researches the theory of evolution was going to be placed on a solid experimental basis. However, since 1888 it began to be contested by Weismann and his followers that such changes could be inherited, and thus might lead to the appearance of new species. So I discussed, in a fourth article,³ the hypotheses of Weismann. I pointed out that the origin of his hypotheses was anti-Darwinian. They were born, as he himself acknowledged in 1876, from his desire 'to combine in a theory of evolution a teleological principle with a mechanical principle'—that is, causality and purpose⁴—this desire leading him to admit the existence of a 'matter endowed with a soul,' represented by an immortal germ-plasm. As to the modifications which Weismann had to introduce later on into his germ-plasm hypothesis so as to make it agree with established facts, they are such that the difference between him and those who recognise the hereditary transmission of acquired characters is now only (as Delage has shown it) *as to the means of transmission*—direct

¹ *Nineteenth Century and After*, January 1910.

² *Ibid.* July, November, and December 1910.

³ *Ibid.* March 1912.

⁴ *Studien zur Descendenztheorie*, Leipzig 1876; English translation by R. Meldola.

or indirect—of the exterior influences to the reproductive cells. The biologist can thus safely return once more to empiric research, for ascertaining by experiment how far the transmission of acquired characters is actually taking place.

These experiments we have now to analyse, limiting our remarks to plants, and leaving the similar researches about animals for a subsequent study. True, that the results of all such researches have been obscured by many secondary matters introduced into the discussions, so that it is not easy to sum them up for the general reader. But the recent appearance of several general works by Karl Goebel, Kammerer, Przibram, Semon, and La Plate,⁵ where all these questions are discussed in full, and the deep interest of the main question will, I hope, facilitate my task.

I

It is well known that trees which shed their leaves every autumn in our temperate zone have a tendency to become evergreens when they grow in a moist, tropical climate. A certain modification of structure takes place in this case, and it permits the tree to grow, to flower, and to bear fruit without needing a period of rest. The fact is well known; but it was important to know whether this modification is transmitted by the thus modified trees to their descendants, and whether it is retained when the latter are grown in a temperate climate. That such variations are transmitted by grafts and cuttings was well known. But that they should be transmitted by seed was doubted. Now, Professor Ed. Bordage, who has spent twelve years in Réunion, a French island in the Indian Ocean to the east of Madagascar, gives to both the above-mentioned questions an affirmative reply. The peach-trees obtained in Réunion, by seed from European trees, fully retain their leaf-shedding habit when they are grown in the cooler climate in the interior of the island. On the contrary, if they are grown in the hot and moist climate of the coast region, they retain it only for a number of years, and the period during which they remain leafless is gradually shortened. As a rule, after ten years they still remain leafless for six weeks every winter; and most of them require full twenty years of growth in

⁵ Karl Goebel, *Einleitung in die Experimentelle Morphologie der Pflanzen*, Jena 1908; Paul Kammerer, *Die Abstammungslinie*, Jena 1911; Dr. Hans Przibram, *Phylogenie, eine Zusammenfassung der durch Versuche ermittelten Gesetzmässigkeit tierischer Artbildung*, being vol. iii. of his *Experimental-Zoologie*, Vienna 1910, with many coloured plates; Richard Semon, *Das Problem der Vererbung 'Erworbener Eigenschaften'*, Leipzig 1912; Dr. L. Plate, *Selektionsprinzip und Probleme der Artbildung*, fourth enlarged edition, Leipzig 1913. I take this opportunity to express my very best thanks to those institutions, such as the Carnegie Institution, the Russian Biological Station at Villefranche, the Svalöf Seed-Institute, and those numerous authors who have favoured me either with letters or by sending me their special publications.

the hot and moist seashore belt to become nearly complete evergreens. But when the seeds of the thus modified trees are sown in Réunion, they produce individuals which have inherited the evergreen character to the same degree as the mother-plant had acquired it. And this character is retained in the second generation, even when the tree is grown in the cooler part of the island, at an altitude of 3300 feet, where the peach-trees whose mother-plants have not previously been modified by the tropical climate continue to shed their leaves every autumn.⁶

Speaking of this observation of Professor Bordage, R. Semon makes the remark that the Réunion peach-trees, having obtained this new character in one generation, their descendants probably would return to the leaf-shedding habit if they were grown in Europe.⁷ Very probably so—but not unless the mother-plants had retained the acquired structure for a few years only. A rapidly established equilibrium of forces can be upset with the same rapidity, while an equilibrium of long standing requires a long time to be upset: this may be taken as a general law of Nature. At any rate, we have here a definite new habit—evidently the result of a modified structure—acquired in a new environment, inherited to the same extent, and retained by the progeny of the modified individuals, even when this progeny is grown under conditions approximating to those under which the grandparents used to grow before the modification took place.

Of another instance of a cumulative inheritance of an acquired character, observed by Lesage, I have already spoken in previous articles.⁸ As to inherited variation in the stems and the roots, due to changes in nutrition, we have many instances of it in our cultivated plants. Darwin knew them and mentioned them in words which modern biologists would do well to remember: ‘But scarcely any modification,’ he wrote, ‘seems so easily acquired as a succulent enlargement of the stem or root—that is, a store of nutriment laid up for the plant’s own future use.’ And he mentioned, as instances in point, our cultivated radishes, our beet, the turnip-rooted celery, the Italian variety of the common fennel, as also the experiments of Mr. Buckmann, who proved ‘how quickly the roots of the wild parsnip can be enlarged, as Vilmorin formerly proved in the case of carrot.’⁹

In all these cases, well-established varieties, now propagated

⁶ E. Bordage, ‘A propos de l’hérédité des caractères acquis,’ in *Bulletin scientifique de la France et de la Belgique*, 7e série, t. liv., Paris 1910. In chapter x. of *Variation* Darwin had already mentioned cases of a similar character.

⁷ Richard Semon, *Das Problem*, etc., p. 64.

⁸ *Nineteenth Century and After*, July and November 1910.

⁹ *Variation in Domestic Animals and Plants*, i. 402 and ii. 330 of the 1905 edition.

by seed, were obtained by a combination of an inherited, definite and cumulative variation due to a new environment and selection. Variation was provoked by growing descendants of wild plants in especially favourable conditions (rich soil, proper watering); the characters acquired in these conditions were inherited, and the variation continued to increase up to a certain degree; and then a selection was made by choosing for further propagation the seeds of those individuals which offered the desired variation, and rejecting those which did not offer it.

I know, of course, that there are now biologists who treat the facts of inherited variation taken by Darwin from the gardeners and seed-growers as 'unscientific.' But it is not possible to re-read Darwin's work on *Variation*, where he analysed, sifted, and discussed these facts, without recognising, on the contrary, the full scientific value of Darwin's assertions. One understands also at the same time why Darwin, in proportion as he advanced in his studies of variation, attributed more and more importance to the direct action of surroundings in producing those useful changes without which Natural Selection would have had no material to choose from. I will even permit myself to say that a number of arguments produced in the discussions of later years would never have appeared in print if their authors had been as well acquainted with *Variation* as they are with *Origin of Species*.

II

In a previous article the remarkable series of experiments made by Gaston Bonnier, of the French Academy of Sciences, upon the adaptations of plants to an Alpine and a Maritime climate has already been mentioned.¹⁰ As, however, in the literature on the Weismann side these experiments are either not mentioned at all, or their earlier portion only is referred to, I must once more return to the Alpine portion of these experiments, and analyse their bearing upon the question of inheritance of 'acquired characters.'¹¹

¹⁰ *Nineteenth Century and After*, July 1910.

¹¹ Gaston Bonnier, 'Recherches expérimentales sur l'adaptation des plantes au climat Alpin,' in *Annales des Sciences Naturelles*, 7e série, Botanique, t. xx. 1895, pp. 217-360, with 11 plates. Weismann, in his *Essays*, in *Keimplasma*, and in *Vorträge*, and the chief representative of the Weismann school in this country, Prof. J. A. Thomson, in *Heredity* (1908), do not mention them at all. In an elaborate and richly illustrated work, by the Berlin professor Erwin Baur, *Einführung in die experimentelle Vererbungslehre*, Berlin 1913, which represents an excellent compendium of Mendelism, only the earlier part of Bonnier's experiments is spoken of. Prof. Baur writes to me, however, that he has already made the necessary additions for a second edition of his work, which, I am sure, will soon be required.

The substance of these experiments can be given in a few words. Taking a great variety of plants originating from the plains, Professor Bonnier divided each of them into two parts, and planted the two parts in different surroundings : one of them in the plain, at a low level, and the other in the Alps, or the Pyrenees, at different altitudes, up to 6600 feet. After a year or two, and again four, six, and eight years later, the changes of general form and anatomical structure that took place in the plants grown at a high altitude were carefully described and illustrated by photographs and engravings. In several cases Bonnier studied also the modifications obtained by growing specimens of the same plants in ice-boxes, in darkened surroundings, and so on, and compared them with the modifications obtained by a change of climate. Finally—and this is an important part of the experiments—after the low-level plants had grown for one, two, four and six years on a high Alpine level, parts of them were taken back to a low level, and notes were taken there of the speed with which changes in an opposite direction took place.

It hardly need be said that the changes produced in the general aspects, the separate characters, and the anatomical structure of nearly all plants, after they had grown in an Alpine climate, were exactly those that are characteristic for the Alpine species of the same genera. On the other hand, these changes were identical with those which took place in low-level plants when they were grown in conditions artificially imitating those of an Alpine environment. All taken, Bonnier experimented upon 105 different species belonging to 34 different families, and in nearly all cases the results were the same. Almost all the plants planted at a higher altitude took, more or less, the characters of the respective Alpine species¹² : not only in their general aspects, but also in their tissues and cells, where intimate physical changes went on in consequence of the new functions performed

¹² To mention a few illustrations, our familiar friend, the Nodding Silene (*S. nutans*), after a six years' growth in the Alps, took all the characters and inner structure of the Alpine specimens of the same species, as they had been described by A. Wagner. The same with our common Potentil (*P. Tormentilla*) ; with the Lady Mantle (*Alchemilla vulgaris*, L.), which became rampant and acquired thicker leaves ; with the Umbellifer *Bupleurum furcatum*, L., which, after a ten years' growth at a high altitude, became strikingly like to the Alpine species of the same genus, as one may see it in the photographs given by Bonnier (p. 262). The same change took place in the Common Golden-rod (*Solidago Virga-aurea*, L.), which assumed all the characters of *S. alpestris*, Perr. et Souq. ; in the Wood Cudweed (*Gnaphalium sylvaticum*, L.), which took the aspect of *Gn. noricum*, Gunn. ; the Thistle (*Carduus defloratus*, L.), which, after several years' life on a high level, took more and more the aspects of *C. carlinae-folius*, L. ; the Basil Thyme (*Calamintha Acinos*, Clairv.), which was an annual in the plain, and became perennial in the Alps, approaching in its aspect the *C. alpina*. And so on.

by the cells and the tissues. Besides, these changes were—to use Darwin's expression—'cumulative.' They increased from year to year; and they acquired more and more stability.

Alpine plants, as everyone knows, are chiefly perennials. Their seeds cannot ripen during the short Alpine summer, and they propagate by the buds of their root-stocks, 'crowns' (Lily of the Valley), or 'runners' (Strawberry). Their mode of propagation is thus *vegetative*. The bushes propagate by producing new stems from their roots, while the perennial herbs die at the end of the summer, and new stems—complete new plants—grow every summer out of the buds of the root-stock, taking every year a more and more distinctly Alpine character. Besides, the inner structure of the root-stock itself is gradually modified. The whole plant thus takes a new Alpine character to such an extent that the botanist cannot but classify it as a distinct Alpine species. More than that. If, after a two years' stay in the Alps, a piece of the root-stock of the modified plant is taken back to the plain, it produces for two years plants having an Alpine character. But if the plant be kept in an Alpine climate for four or six years, and then only part of its root-stock is taken for propagation to a low level, its buds continue to give birth to Alpine plants in the lowlands for four, five, or six years. Unfortunately, the experiments were not continued for a longer period.

These being the facts observed by Bonnier, what light do they throw upon the part played by the direct action of environment in producing new varieties and species? If we put this question to a Weismannist, he will tell us that they throw no light at all, because 'the acquired "Alpine" habitus was and remained entirely personal.' This is what the Danish Professor W. Johannsen says in a very valuable book on the elements of heredity.¹³ No propagation having taken place *by seed*, a plant which grew out of the buds of the root-stock, or the runner of a perennial, remains for a follower of Weismann *the same individual*, no matter how different it may be from its ancestors. There is no *inherited variation*: we have only an *individual variation*, the possibility of which—it is added—nobody contests, as we know quite well that individuals vary when they are placed in new conditions. A propagation by *buds* which we have in the propagation by root-stocks, runners, cuttings, grafts, tubers, and so on, is for them nothing but a 'subdivision of the same individual.'

For those who know that to vegetative propagation by cuttings, tubers, bulbs, grafts, and so on, we owe thousands of new varieties and species of our cultivated plants, this assertion must

¹³ *Elemente der Exakten Erblichkeitslehre*, enlarged German edition, Jena 1909, p. 350.

sound rather strange. Our gardens and orchards are full of new varieties of fruit-trees, vegetables, ornamental bushes, and flowers obtained in this way; and while most of them are still propagated by buds, there are many other varieties, such as the eatable radishes, carrots, occasionally tulips, and so on, which are also propagated by seed, and nevertheless 'remain true'—that is, reproduce the variety primarily obtained by bud propagation. And we ask ourselves: Must we really consider the millions of fruit-trees, palms, rose-bushes, vegetables, dahlias, and so on, which our gardeners have propagated for scores of years by cuttings, grafts, tubers, and bulbs, as 'subdivisions' of those few individuals with which the new variety originated? Is it not paying too high a tribute to biological dialectics? The more so, as we know, or ought to know by this time, that propagation by buds is *not* a mere subdivision of the body-cells of a plant, as Weismann described it in 1888. Even under the Weismann germ-plasm hypothesis, every bud of a tree, a root-stock, or a tuber, if it is capable of reproducing the whole individual with its body-plasm and germ-plasm, contains *the same germ-plasm* that is contained in an ovule or in a grain of pollen. Therefore, shall we not better accept Darwin's view of the subject when he wrote that 'the difference between seminal and bud reproduction is not so great as it at first appears; for each bud is in one sense a distinct individual'¹⁴? Each bud contains, at any rate, like the ovule, *the germ of a complete new individual*.

The origin of the conception which refuses to see in vegetative propagation the appearance of new individuals lies in one of the early teachings of Weismann. When he revived, under the name of Amphimixis, the hypothesis of Professor Brook (already rejected by Darwin), according to which *all variation* was due to *sexual reproduction*, he evidently was compelled to refuse the name of inherited variation to variation propagated in a vegetative way. But the Amphimixis hypothesis could not stand; it was soon abandoned, even by its author; and with its abandonment goes also the fundamental difference that Weismann tried to establish between 'seminal' and 'vegetative' propagation.

In fact, in 1888, at the outset of his work on heredity, Weismann went even so far as to deny any transmission of germ-plasm

¹⁴ *Variation*, ii. p. 468. Perhaps I may also give here the opinion of a contemporary botanist, the Geneva Professor R. Chodat, who has seriously discussed in his *Principes de Botanique* (Genève 1907) the question of variation and heredity. 'Some have tried to go further,' he writes. 'They have asserted that in multiplication by grafts and cuttings, all the new individuals being originated by the fragmentation of the old one, represent the very same individual. We are going to see that such a view cannot be defended. For us, individuality ceases where there is disjunction: the individual is a harmonic

when a bud is transplanted by means of grafting¹⁵; and this assertion was accepted by his followers, who therefore described the experiments of Bonnier as an illustration of a purely 'individual' variation.

Need I add that Darwin, who had studied 'bud-variation' (that is variation inherited by bud propagation) with infinitely more care than Weismann had in 1888, held a very different view?

We have seen [he wrote] that varieties produced from seed and from buds resemble each other so closely in general appearance that they cannot be distinguished. . . . The law of analogous variation holds good with varieties produced by buds as with those produced by seed. The laws of inheritance seem to be nearly the same with seminal and bud varieties. Finally, the facts given in this chapter prove in how close and remarkable manner the germ of a fertilised seed and the small cellular mass forming a bud resemble each other in their functions (*Variation*, ch. xi. vol. i. pp. 526-527 and 529 of 1905 edition).

The same is true of Julius Sachs, whose authority in the physiology of plants will hardly be contested by the zoologist followers of Weismann. For him, as soon as the connexion of a daughter-plant with its parent plant has been destroyed by the dying off and final rotting of the older part of the runner or the rhizome, we have 'a new independent plant.' In such cases, Sachs speaks of 'the properties of the parent plant' being usually transmitted to 'its descendants.'¹⁶

whole, whose parts are consequently in a harmonic dependency' (p. 640). Further on, criticising Weismann's hypothesis of specialised 'determinants,' he makes the following correct remark : 'Consequently, if a fraction of a root, a leaf-stalk, or a leaf contains all that is required for becoming the starting-point of a complete individual, it is because it has in it *all* the supposed determinants' (p. 673). In other words, the bud contains the same germ-plasm as the seed.

¹⁵ 'Grafts,' he wrote, '*are parts of the soma* [the body-cells] of a previously existent tree, and we are not therefore concerned, in this method of propagation, with a succession of generations, but with the successive *distribution of one and the same individual* over many wild stocks. If, as I presume, the English in Ceylon do not care to eat wild cherries but prefer the cultivated kinds, it follows that the branches [of the cherry-trees] which bear fruit in that island *have not been developed from germ-cells* at any time since their introduction, and there is nothing to prevent them from gradually changing their anatomical and physiological characters in consequence of the direct influence of climate' ('On the Supposed Botanical Proofs of the Transmission of Acquired Characters,' in *Essays upon Heredity*, vol. i., Oxford 1891, pp. 420-421). The italics are mine. Is there now a botanist who would maintain that only somatic cells are transmitted in grafts, and that a plant ought to have *not* been developed from germ-cells, in order to be able to reproduce a variation due to the direct influence of climate?

¹⁶ *Lectures on the Physiology of Plants*, lecture lxi. pp. 721-723 of the English edition. For illustrations to confirm that in the immense majority of cases vegetative and seed propagation are identical as to their results, see, among others, Erwin Baur's *Einführung*, *l.c.*

As to Weismann himself, he, of course, was soon compelled to modify his views on vegetative propagation; and in his main work, *Das Keimplasma*, he not only came to the same conclusions as Darwin: he expressed them in almost the same words. Speaking of varieties obtained in cultivated plants, he recognised that those were right who saw 'in the influence of changed outer agencies the causes of modification,'¹⁷ and he admitted, like Darwin, the *cumulative effect* of changed environment.

Of course, I do not mean by that [he wrote] that there are not influences of surroundings and food which, after a prolonged action, would not be capable to modify most of the determinants of a certain part of the body, and thus to produce purely climatic varieties, in whose appearance natural selection has taken no part.¹⁸

And after having owned that when he wrote first he had not 'sufficiently appreciated at that time the *variation of the germ-plasm itself under the directly acting agencies*,' he added these words, which I permit myself to underline:

The ultimate cause of bud-variation must be the same as that of variation from seeds—that is, differences in the feeding of the germ-plasm, the word 'feeding' being understood in its widest sense, thus including variations of temperature and so on (p. 579).

In a still later work Weismann returned once more to bud-propagation, and here he definitely gave up his previous idea of 'grafts being parts of the soma'—that is, of the body-cells only. He recognised at last the fact, well known to every botanist, that

an enormous number of cells is spread over the body of the plant, each of which can become, under certain circumstances, the origin of a bud—that is, contains the complete germ-plasm in a latent state (*in einem gebundenen Zustande*), such as is required for producing a complete plant.

Consequently he speaks of 'the appearance of a new individual through budding.'¹⁹

All this sounds so elementary that I would not have dwelt upon this matter if there were not fervent Weismannists who continue to repeat the mistake which Weismann made at a time when he evidently was not yet sufficiently acquainted with the subject of bud-variation.

It is certainly a matter of regret that since 1895 nobody has made the experiment of transplanting some Alpine-born perennials to a level where they might ripen their seed, and then

¹⁷ *Das Keimplasma, eine Theorie der Vererbung*, Jena 1892, p. 573.

¹⁸ *Keimplasma*, p. 577. See also Darwin's *Variation*, ii. 300.

¹⁹ *Vorträge über Descendenztheorie*, 2nd revised edition, Jena 1904, Bd. ii. pp. 29 and 1.

sowing it. A continuation of Bonnier's experiments is most desirable. But to dismiss them, such as they are, by saying that they deal only with 'individual variation,' is totally to misunderstand bud-variation. On the contrary, when we remember that nearly all Alpine and Arctic plants are perennials, which propagate by buds and not by seed, and when we think of the immense numbers of perennials covering the woods, the meadows, and the steppes of the earth, we see what an immense number of varieties and species must have originated precisely by means of bud-propagation, especially in the earlier post-glacial flora.

III

To Professor Georg Klebs we owe an important series of experiments, carefully conducted for several years in order to study the modifications, or 'metamorphoses' as he describes them, obtained in plants under the influence of changed environment.²⁰ His first experiments, chiefly made with the Houseleek (*Sempervivum*), of which he spoke before the Royal Society in a Croonian Lecture in 1910, have already been mentioned in this Review²¹; but his subsequent experiments, dealing especially with the inheritance of the 'metamorphoses,' offer a still deeper interest.

The leading idea of this last series was to cultivate the plants in a rich soil, in a warm frame, and after the main flower-bearing branches (the 'terminal inflorescences') had been produced, to cut them off; whereupon 'side inflorescences'—i.e. flowering branches growing from the sides of the stem—made their appearance. The flowers borne by these side inflorescences, described by Professor Klebs as 'neogene' flowers, offered quite a number of variations in the numbers of their petals and stamens, as also metamorphoses of the same—stamens transformed into petals, and the like.

Further experiments proved that these modifications were inherited. When the just-mentioned side inflorescences were planted in the soil, or when their modified 'neogene' flowers were self-fertilised and their seed was sown, it appeared that some of the modifications reappeared in the second generation, even

²⁰ *Willkürliche Entwicklungsänderungen bei Pflanzen*, Jena 1905; 'Ueber Künstliche Metamorphosen,' in *Abhandlungen der Naturforschenden Gesellschaft zu Halle*, Bd. xxv., Stuttgart 1906, pp. 133 seq., and in a separate edition; 'Ueber die Nachkommen künstlich veränderten Blüten von *Sempervivum*' in *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberg Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Jahrgang 1909; and *Proceedings of the Royal Society*, vol. 82, 1910, Croonian Lecture. Also 'Ueber die Rhythmis in der Entwicklung der Pflanzen,' and 'Ueber das Verhältnis der Aussenwelt zur Entwicklung der Pflanzen,' same *Sitzungsberichte*, 1911 and 1913 (separate reprints).

²¹ *Nineteenth Century and After*, July 1910, p. 67.

though the latter was grown under the ordinary conditions of garden culture. In some individuals they were even reinforced. At the same time, some other modifications were *not* inherited, and Professor Klebs intends to make further researches in order to see what are the conditions furthering inheritance.

In another series of researches Professor Klebs took a species of *Veronica* which had never been cultivated, and in its wild state offers very few anomalies. He cultivated cuttings of this plant in different conditions : some of them in a garden soil, others in nutritive solutions, others again under glass, or in a darkened space. After having obtained in these conditions a development of leaves, instead of flowers, on the flowering branches, and thus transformed reproductive organs into vegetative, he planted these branches, and cultivated them, so as to obtain 'neogene' (modified) flowers. Their seed was collected and sown, and the results, carefully described and tabulated, were very interesting.

To begin with, in three years a relatively very constant species of *Veronica* gave a great number of modifications which were not previously known, and probably never existed before. As to the inheritance of these modifications, and their persistence after the plants had been taken back to their normal conditions of growth, the results varied, both for the different new characters and the descendants of different stocks. At any rate, a tendency towards producing leaves instead of flowers *was* inherited in a sense : it was maintained when the descendants of a modified plant (obtained in a glass-house) were grown in conditions more normal, on a moist bed. Besides, the tendency towards a leaf-metamorphosis was 'undoubtedly increased.'²²

Altogether the conclusions of Professor Klebs may be summed up as follows : (1) 'Most of the anomalies [the so-called inheritable "sports" and "mutations"] can be obtained, like individual variations, through the action of modified surroundings'; and (2) 'Most of the anomalies, after having appeared accidentally in separate individuals, can be transmitted to their descendants; by means of a good supply of nourishment and selection they can be made inheritable race characters.'²³ Being drawn from a wide

²² *Abhandlungen*, l.c. p. 285 (p. 153 of separate reprint). The same experiments were made with Beet, as also with Scurvy Grass (*Cochlearia officinalis*), the Creeping Bugle (*Ajuga reptans*), Lysimachia (*L. thyrsifolia*) and Sorrel (*Rumex acetosa*).

²³ *Abhandlungen*, loc. cit. p. 255. In another place (p. 286) Professor Klebs writes : 'New races can originate as a result of changes in environment. These changes provoke inner changes in the plants, in consequence of which, according to the intensity of the [external] action and the time it has lasted, the possibilities of the forthcoming structure become visible as new characters; they become reinforced and are maintained in different degrees of hereditary trans-

series of well thought out experiments, these conclusions deserve full attention.

One more remark must be made in connexion with these researches. In speaking of the 'metamorphoses' which he obtained by experiment, Professor Klebs shows how great was the service that Goebel rendered to biology by proving that every real change of form in a plant means a modification in the functions of some of its organs. This fact renders it highly improbable that the evolution of new forms should result from a succession of accidental modifications of the elements of the germ-plasm.

At the same time, Professor Klebs was brought, by his many years' experiments, entirely to part with the conception of an immutable species, which still underlies many of the present-day discussions :

All properties of a species—Professor Klebs writes—however definitely inherited they may seem to be, can be altered within certain limits. In fact, all of them must be liable to change, as they are the products, on the one side, of certain given specific possibilities (*Fähigkeiten*), and on the other side of the ever-changing external world.²⁴ Only experiments can decide to what an extent variability can go and determine the conditions that caused it.²⁵

This is the language of Lamarck. With all that, Professor Klebs does not exaggerate the importance of his experiments. He fully recognises that they do not solve the question as to whether it is possible to obtain experimentally new species. But the very fact that certain changes, produced in the mother-plant under exceptional conditions, reappear in the seedlings of the second generation, when they are grown under normal conditions, must not be minimised. And this fact does not stand alone. More and more similar facts become known. And even if it were found later on that under normal conditions the acquired new characters would gradually disappear, the fact of an hereditary transmission to the nearest generations would retain its importance.²⁶ It certainly renders it very probable that modifications produced by changes in environment, if they have lasted for a considerable number of years, will be retained for a correspondingly longer period. And

mission' (*Potenzen der vorauszusetzenden Struktur als neue Merkmale sichtbar werden, sich steigern, und sich in verschiedenen Graden der Erblichkeit erhalten*).

²⁴ In his work, 'On the Relations of the Outer World to the Evolution of Plants' (*Sitzungsberichte*, 1913), he gives striking data in proof of all the characters of a species being liable to change under the influence of changed conditions. And he attempts an explanation of this fact on the ground of purely physico-chemical causes, without any incursion into the domain of teleology for which a number of 'Neo'-Lamarckians have a decided predilection.

²⁵ *Ueber künstliche Metamorphosen*, p. 206.

²⁶ *Sitzungsberichte*, 1909, pp. 27-29 of the separate reprint.

we have already seen that the observations of Bordage and Bonnier give hints in the same direction.

Speaking further of the countless experiments that have been made lately to verify the Mendelian rules relative to crossings, and in which some writers saw a disproof of the inheritance of characters acquired under the direct action of environment, Professor Klebs makes a very true remark. When we obtain bastards by crossing a blue-flowered variety of some plant with its white-flowered variety, and see that the hybrids follow the Mendelian rules, we must not forget that under certain external conditions the blue-flowered individuals also will produce white flowers, independently from any crossing, and the white-flowered individuals, under certain conditions, also may produce blue flowers.²⁷ The fact that the causes which produce blue, white, and variegated flowers are transmitted by heredity in certain proportions is well proved; but how far the variability of plants under external influences may go to modify their forms, structure, and colours has yet to be studied.²⁸

IV

Some interesting experiments dealing with inherited variation were made with our familiar Shepherd's Purse (*Capsella bursa pastoris*) by Professor Zederbauer. He noticed during a journey to Asia Minor that this weed gradually changes its aspect along the route followed by man from the Steppes, nearly 3300 feet high, to the higher pasture grounds, or *jailas*, reaching an altitude of nearly 7000 feet. On the lower levels the Shepherd's Purse has a stem 12 inches to 16 inches high, thickly haired, Dandelion-like leaves, and whitish flowers. On the higher level—where, notwithstanding a careful search, it was found only near the camping-places of the shepherds, thus showing that the weed had followed man—the same plant becomes dwarfed (like the variety *pygmaea*, Holmboes), has long roots, small, dry, or 'xerophytic' leaves, and red flowers. It thus has the same characters which A. von Kerner and Bonnier found characteristic for plants growing in an Alpine climate.²⁹

That the high-level Shepherd's Purse must have originated from the low-level plants has to be concluded, not only from a

²⁷ *Abhandlungen*, 1906, pp. 220-221.

²⁸ It would be impossible to enter here into the discussion of this question. So I must refer the reader interested in it to De Vries's *Mutationslehre*, Leipzig 1901-1904, and *Arten und Varietäten*, Berlin 1906; Correns's *Ueber Vererbungsgesetze*, Berlin 1905; E. Strasburger, *Die Stofflichen Grundlagen der Vererbung*, Jena 1905; E. Ziegler, *Die Vererbungslehre in der Biologie*, Jena 1905; J. P. Lotsy, in *Recueil de travaux botaniques Néerlandais*, t. i. 1904; and so on.

²⁹ Zederbauer, *Botanische Zeitschrift*, Jahrgang lviii., Vienna 1908, p. 233.

study of its extension along the routes followed by man, but also from the fact that the same high-level variety was obtained by experiment. When seed, collected from the low-level plants, was sown in the high Alps at Bremerhütte, it soon produced plants similar to the high-level plants of Asia Minor. On the other side, when seed collected in Asia Minor at an altitude of about 6700 feet was sown in the Vienna Botanical Garden, 'the assimilation organs [the leaves] changed at once under the new conditions of life'; while 'the reproductive organs (the flowers and the seeds), as also those which are in a near connexion with them (the flower-bearing stems), displayed on the contrary a greater steadiness of character, changing very little, or not at all.'³⁰ For four consecutive generations, in 1903-1906, the stems and roots offered no substantial changes, the habitus of the plants remained Alpine, only the leaves were modified.³¹

The results of these experiments are so definite that Professor MacDougal, who formerly was sceptical as regards an hereditary transmission of somatic modifications (the modifications in the cells of the body),³² and who is now doing such excellent work at the Arizona Desert Laboratory in the way of going deeper into these questions, fully recognised in 1911 the inheritance of the characteristic features of the Alpine form. They are—he wrote—'clearly direct somatic reactions; and that they have become fixed and fully transmissible is demonstrated by the fact that in a series of generations grown at lower levels the stem characters, as well as those of the reproductive branches and floral organs, retained their Alpine characters, although the leaves, as might be expected, returned to a mesophytic form with broad laminae.'³³

The observations and experiments of Professor Zederbauer are thus especially valuable, as they give us an instance, taken from free Nature, of that definite and cumulative variation under the direct action of new environment, which Darwin came to consider necessary for the evolution of new varieties and species with the aid of Natural Selection.

³⁰ Zederbauer, *loc. cit.* p. 288.

³¹ *Loc. cit.* pp. 234-235.

³² See his 'Address before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Chicago, 1907-8,' in *Science*, New Series, vol. xxvii. p. 123.

³³ D. T. MacDougal, 'Organic Response,' in *The American Naturalist*, vol. xlv., January 1911, p. 39 of separate reprint. After having quoted the words of Professor MacDougal to the same effect (from *Science*, N.S., vol. xxxiii. 1911), R. Semon expresses the hope, which all students of this question will share with him, that 'the comprehensive experiments which are now carried on in several Acclimatisation Laboratories in America will contribute to place the very promising researches of Bordage and Zederbauer on a broader basis' (*Das Problem*, pp. 65-66).

V

An instance of inherited variation in plants which has often been quoted, and also often contested in the present controversy, is that of Schübler's experiments on wheat. This well-known Norwegian botanist wrote on the influence of climate on cereals in the 'fifties of the nineteenth century. Later on he himself made some experiments, chiefly on a certain summer wheat which used to take in Germany an average of 100 days to ripen. Sown in Norway, where the summer days are longer, and the plants are thus exposed for a longer time to daylight, the same wheat ripened in 75 days.³⁴ And when, after a few years' culture in Norway, seeds of that wheat were sown in Germany, they produced wheat which ripened much more quickly than previously—namely, in 80 days. It was concluded, therefore, that this wheat had acquired in the higher latitudes a character which was transmitted to its progeny.

Other similar variations were mentioned lately—the most typical being those observed by Wettstein on flax and Cieslar on trees.

The Vienna professor, R. von Wettstein, experimented for six years on flax, and he found that,

if we examine the same sort of flax in regions possessed of a different climate, we find that it offers various adaptations to the local conditions, both as to the times it requires for ripening and various peculiarities of form. The shorter the warm period in a given locality, the more rapid is the development of the sort of flax which is cultivated in this locality. And if the seeds of this sort be sown in another locality, the plants they produce do not take at once the structure appropriated to the new conditions; they retain for some time their adaptation to the previous conditions of life.³⁵

A similar observation was made by A. Cieslar. Trees growing at different altitudes differ, as foresters know, in the rapidity of their growth. These characters are inherited. When Pines and Larches were grown from Alpine seed in the lower valleys they retained the feature of slow growth.³⁶

Several objections were raised against the conclusions of

³⁴ The rapid ripening of barley in the province of Yakutsk is well known. Professor Beketoff explained it by a long exposure to daylight in high latitudes during the long summer days.

³⁵ Dr. R. von Wettstein, *Der Neo-Lamarckismus und seine Beziehungen zum Darwinismus*, Jena 1903, pp. 20-21.

³⁶ A. Cieslar, in *Centralblatt für das gesammte Forstwesen*, 1890, 1895, and 1899, quoted by Wettstein, *loc. cit.* p. 21; 'Die Bedeutung Klimatischer Varietäten,' etc., in *Zentralblatt*, 1907. The experiments made with different Gramineae by Weinzierl, who obtained under the influence of a greater intensity of light in the Alps new, morphologically different acclimatisation races, belong to the same category. I know that they are mentioned by Wiesner in *Der Lichtgenuss der Pflanzen*, Leipzig 1908, but I have not yet consulted that work.

Schübeler, and they apply also to those of Wettstein, Cieslar, and several others,³⁷ the chief of them being those of the Danish professor, W. Johannsen, the author of an elaborate work on the elements of the science of heredity. He pointed out that the wheat cultivated by Schübeler was not 'a single pure race.' Like all our domesticated plants, it represented 'a population,' a mixture of different races. Some of these races ripened sooner than the others, and when this mixture, imported from Germany, was sown in Norway, the rapidly ripening sorts came to maturity during the short northern summer, while the later sorts contained in the mixture did not ripen at all. There was *no variation*; no new characters were acquired—merely an unconscious selection took place. And when the seeds were taken back to Germany the later-ripening sorts had been eliminated.³⁸

Johannsen's suggestion *may*, of course, be correct; but nothing has yet been produced to give it any *probability*. One would like to know how it happened that 'the early-ripening pure lines' should not have been eliminated during the long succession of years that this summer wheat was cultivated in Germany before its seed was taken to Norway. What was it that prevented the individuals which ripened their seed in 80 days from dropping it on the ground during the 20 additional days that the wheat had to stand in the field before the harvest began? We know, indeed, that when wheat is ripe, a delay of two or three days in harvesting means the loss of 10 per cent. or more of the crop. And then would it not be necessary to prove that when the German wheat was harvested in Norway, 80 days after it had been sown, instead of 100, only a portion of the 'mixed population' had come to maturity, so that the crop was reduced in proportion? So long as this has not been done, Professor Johannsen's suggestions can hardly be considered as a disproof of the conclusions of Schübeler, Wettstein, Cieslar, and many others.

³⁷ N. Wille, in *Biologisches Centralblatt*, vol. xxv. 1905, especially pp. 564 and 569, has tried altogether to discredit Schübeler's work. But Professor R. Semon (*Das Problem*, p. 63) has already shown that 'Wille took no notice of the experiments made by Schübeler himself; he believed that this writer had drawn his conclusions exclusively from other people's reports and from an old Swedish paper.' Let me add that the data which Wille gives concerning the rapidity of growth of cereals in different parts of Norway, and which he opposes to the conclusions of Schübeler as to the influence of light, might have been of great value; but the altitudes of the different localities and the amount of sunshine having not been indicated, they are of no use in this controversy.

³⁸ W. Johannsen, *Elemente der exakten Erblichkeitslehre*, German enlarged edition, Jena 1909, pp. 351 seq. This argument is frequently produced on the Weismannist side. For a good summary of the question see Erwin Baur's 'Die Frage der Vererbung erworbener Eigenschaften im Lichte der neuen experimentalen Forschung mit Pflanzen,' in *Archiv für Soziale Hygiene*, Bd. viii. 1913.

It must also be added that Dr. H. Nilsson-Ehle, who certainly has acquired at the Swedish Experimental Seed Station of Svalöf a wide experience of 'mixed' and 'pure' races of cereals, warns us against hasty conclusions in this direction. His experience has also brought him, like Professor H. Nilssen, to the conclusion that the old races of cereals, hitherto considered pure, represent in reality mixtures of maybe twenty or thirty different races. But he also points out how difficult it is to distinguish between what is a racial inheritance and what is individual, fluctuating modification, due to the always fluctuating exterior conditions. The 'races' overlap each other, and 'a small change in the average character can easily be due to the exterior conditions which are never the same in an experimental field.'³⁹ In fact, although care is taken to grow all the individuals of a pedigree culture under the same conditions of soil, manure, temperature, moisture, and sunshine, these conditions, as Nilsson-Ehle reminds his readers, are not fully realised. The outer conditions—he writes—are never the same in two adjoining beds, still less so in different years. Not even—shall I add?—for two plants on the same bed, or even two pods, or two ears of the same plant. The Jersey growers know that quite well, and therefore they take separate care of each one of the half-dozen apples, or pears, or the bunch of grapes which they single out for an exhibition, or for selling them to the dealers who supply choice fruit for dinner-parties. This is why such 'characters' as the size or the weight of individual beans, the shade of colour in the grains of wheat or oats, and the like, are so unreliable in the supposed 'pure lines.' Even if they are inherited for two or three generations in accordance with the Mendelian rules, this must very often be due to the fact that the effects of an especially healthy (or unhealthy) constitution, due to accidental combinations of external influences, are felt in the next two or three generations.⁴⁰

In these researches, as in all others, we thus come to the result that always the *two* factors of variation must be taken into account : the inheritance of the previously established characters, and the transmission, be it only for a few generations, of the new variations due to the direct action of the surroundings. This is also why Nilsson-Ehle, even though he considers the

³⁹ Dr. H. Nilsson-Ehle, 'Om lifstyper och individuell variation,' in *Botaniska Notiser*, 1907, pp. 113-140; analysed by Dr. C. Fruwirth in *Journal für Landwirtschaft*, Berlin 1906, p. 296.

⁴⁰ Thus H. Tedin, one of the Swedish explorers of this subject, points out that the amount of protein contained in different sorts of barley can hardly depend upon the 'pure line,' or 'sort.' It is, to begin with, a result of the soil, the manure, the climate, the weather (Fruwirth, *loc. cit.* p. 311). And we know how such a 'character' influences all others.

inheritance of newly acquired characters as problematic, adds nevertheless that

the possibility of a real acclimatisation of a constant form through the prolonged action of the surroundings cannot be denied without further proof. For deciding the question definitely a long succession of experiments would be required.⁴¹

This attitude of doubt, I must add, is the attitude now taken more and more by those botanists who a few years ago considered the inheritance of acquired characters as absolutely impossible.⁴²

VI

The researches briefly passed in review in the preceding pages undoubtedly represent a substantial addition to our comprehension of evolution. In addition to what Experimental Morphology had already taught us as regards variations due to changing conditions of life, we now learn that each time experiments were made to ascertain whether such variations are inherited, the reply was: 'Yes, they are inherited, with certain limitations—provided the modifying causes acted for some time and at the proper time. Different characters are inherited in different degrees, and the number of generations which will retain the variation depends upon the number of ancestral generations influenced by the modifying conditions.'

It thus appears that variability, which Darwin described as a 'handmaid to Natural Selection,' offers to her lady such a profusion of variations that the lady's preferences are determined beforehand. All that she has to do is to weed out those, probably sickly, individuals which are not plastic enough and do not answer rapidly enough the requirements of a changed environment by corresponding structural changes.

Already in 1862, when Darwin began to prepare his work on *Variation*, he saw the importance that this distinctive feature of variability would have for the theory of evolution, and he recognised—not without a touch of quite natural regret—that it would diminish the importance of Natural Selection.⁴³ But, as an honest student of nature, he did not say that his critics had to

⁴¹ 'Sammanställning af hösthvete sorternas vinterhärdighet'; analysed in German by Fruwirth, *loc. cit.* p. 293.

⁴² It would be impossible to analyse here the immense amount of work done lately in the study of the 'pure lines,' and especially the Mendelian rules of inheritance in crossings. So I must refer the reader to the already mentioned work of W. Johannsen and to two works of Erwin Baur—one in the *Archiv für Soziale Hygiene*, 1913, Bd. viii. pp. 117-144, and his last, already mentioned book.

⁴³ *More Letters of Charles Darwin*, London 1903, vol. i. p. 214. Also *Life and Letters*, ii. 390. Compare also *More Letters*, ii. 235, 300.

prove that : he was the first to collect data in favour of this view ; so that in *Variation* he himself substantially reduced the part he attributed at the outset to Natural Selection.

Since that time evidence in favour of the direct action of environment has rapidly accumulated, and now the hereditary transmission of its effects finds acceptance with a growing number of followers. Biologists begin to see that at the bottom of the present controversies there lies still the pre-Darwinian conception that the agencies which have been at work in centuries past to mould a species, and the effects of which are transmitted by heredity, are so powerful that no amount of action of a new environment can alter them ; and, in proportion as they better study heredity, they abandon this conception.

Of course, a Palm remains a Palm, whether it be grown in Tunis, or in the warm coast-region of the Riviera, or in a glass-house at Ghent ; and a South African Cactus retains its weird features in the Mortola garden—if it grows at all. But it must not be forgotten that the imported plants are placed, as much as possible, in conditions similar to those of their mother-countries —otherwise they perish—and yet all of them undergo certain changes. When we see a Buttercup or a Shepherd's Purse growing in the prairies of both Southern Siberia and Southern Canada, we must not exaggerate the differences of climate in these two regions, nor must we forget how much this same Buttercup varies in our own meadows, according to its growing on a dry ground, or half immersed in water. We have just seen how much so stable a species as the Shepherd's Purse varies when it is taken from Fontainebleau to the Alps, or from a high plateau in Asia Minor to Vienna. Altogether, when we think of the variability of all our plants, or of the numbers of 'genotypes' of wheat or oats established by our seed-growers, the hundreds of 'small species' of *Draba* produced by Jordan, and the modifications of nearly all species obtained at the Alpine, Maritime and Desert Experimental Stations, we understand why botanists begin to consider every race of a species merely as a temporary equilibrium between two factors : the resistance to change opposed by the inherited features, and the transforming influences of the surroundings. The species thus appears like the course of a river that has been determined first by the general relief of the country, and then has never ceased to be altered by all sorts of local physiographical processes.

It may be asked, however, 'Why should the modifications produced in plants by new surroundings ever prove to be useful ? Why should they represent adaptations to new conditions ?' Taking a familiar example from an English garden, we see that with certain frost-resisting Rhododendrons, such as the Hima-

layan species, the leathery leaves, covered with a sort of felt on the under side, and usually standing upright, droop as soon as it begins to freeze, and roll themselves into a tube. When the frost is over they return to their natural position. Similar movements, we all know, are performed by the leaves of scores of plants as soon as the temperature of the air sinks after sunset. What is the cause of these 'adaptive' movements?

They so well answer a purpose that there are biologists who attribute them to an inherited 'instinct.' Others explain them as a result of Natural Selection, which means the survival of those plants which 'by chance,' for some unknown cause, began to perform these movements. But neither of these two 'explanations' reduces a complicated fact of unknown origin to simpler, elementary facts of which we comprehend the cause. This is why, after the experimental researches made by Sachs, Goebel, Wiesner, Warming, Costantin, Kny,⁴⁴ and so many others, botanists come now to the opinion that, as Johannsen has expressed it, 'adaptation—the self-preserving reaction—is a necessary consequence, or, to express it more correctly, an expression of the fact that organisms are systems in equilibrium.'⁴⁵ I should even suggest that in 'adaptations' we have the effects of that fundamental principle of the Newtonian philosophy—the equivalence of *action* and *reaction*, from which Mendeléef derived all the laws of chemical reactions.⁴⁶

Finally, modern research having shown that *time* is an important element for obtaining inheritable variation, it is interesting to see how Weismann, the chief adversary of the inheritance of acquired characters, accounted for this fact. Since he published (in 1888) the essay in which he denied the possibility of an hereditary transmission of acquired characters in plants,⁴⁷ he re-studied the subject, and in his next work, *The Germ-Plasm*, he evidently had to explain why, under his germ-plasm hypothesis, the effects of the modifying influence of the surroundings were transmitted in certain cases, especially when these influences had acted for a certain time. His explanation was: that when a plant or an animal is placed in new conditions of life, the nutrition of the germ-plasm determinants of a given organ may be altered. But the determinants of every organ are many, and not all of them will be affected at once. Therefore it may be necessary that a number of generations should be submitted to the modifying influence, before the majority of the determinants of that organ are modified, so as to produce a modified organ in

⁴⁴ *On Pressure Favouring Cell-Division, and Consequently Growth.*

⁴⁵ *Loc. cit.* p. 357.

⁴⁶ In a lecture delivered in 1889 before the Royal Institution, and published in the Appendix to his *Principles of Chemistry*, London 1891, vol. ii.

⁴⁷ *Essays upon Heredity*, Oxford 1891, pp. 397-430.

the progeny. This explanation is quite probable, and it can be accepted, equally well, under Darwin's Pangenesis hypothesis, or any other hypothesis of inherited germs or 'physiological units.'

In conclusion, I can only express, in common with Professor D. T. MacDougal, the hope that decisive facts proving this inheritance will soon be obtained now that the subject is studied empirically at several experimental stations of the United States.⁴⁸ This is also the opinion of those botanists who have lately paid attention to Experimental Morphology as a branch of plant physiology. The results of the later years' experiments have certainly turned the scales in favour of the inheritance of acquired characters, and proved the importance of the direct action of environment in the evolution of new species.

The same change of opinion is taking place as regards the animal world. But this vast subject must be treated separately.

P. KROPOTKIN.

⁴⁸ D. T. MacDougal, 'Organic Response,' Presidential Address delivered before the Society of American Naturalists, reprint from *American Naturalist*, vol. xlv. January 1911. See also Giesenhausen, 'Erblichkeit in Pflanzen,' *Archiv für Entwickelungsmechanik*, xxx. pp. 310 seq.

VENETIAN SCHOLARS AND THEIR GARDENS

Veri paradisi terrestri per la vaghezza del aere e del orto, luogo de' ninfe
e de' semi-dei.—ANDREA CALMO.

FEW Italians take greater pleasure in flowers and gardens than the people of Venice, the city in the sea. These dwellers in the lagoons, whose houses rise from the water's edge, and who seldom own more than a few feet of ground, are passionately fond of plants and blossoms. They cultivate every inch of soil within these narrow bounds, and grow vines and acacias round every *traghetto* and *osteria*. Their balconies are hung with wistaria and Virginia creeper, their roofs and window-ledges are gay with flower-pots. Every visitor to Venice remembers the glimpses of leafy arbours, of palm and myrtle and pomegranate, that charm his eyes as his gondola glides along the Grand Canal, the flowery paradise behind the iron gates of Ca' Foscari and Casa Rossa, the gardens of Palazzo della Mula and Palazzo Venier, the trailing roses and white convolvulus of the loggia at Ca' Capello—that fair house which few of us to-day can see without a sigh for the gracious presence which has passed away. Even in the densely populated quarters of the city, at the back of the Carmine and San Pantaleone, spacious gardens are still to be found, where you can walk between rows of tall cypresses and rosy oleanders, and discover ancient wells, carved with the arms of Venetian families, hidden in a tangle of briar rose and jessamine, or, following Byron's example, pick bunches of purple grapes from the pergola overhead. The palace where Bianca Capello lived still retains its stately Renaissance terraces, adorned with classical peristyles and moss-grown statues, nymphs and fauns, and planted with avenues of ilex and cypress. And there are other gardens in the outlying parts of the city where you can wander at will among tall Madonna lilies and bowers of honeysuckle, and look across the pearly lagoon to the long shores of Lido and the open sea, without hearing a sound but that of the waves lapping against the low sea-wall. But these, for the most part, are only fragments of what they were, and we are reminded of the saying of our fellow-countryman Lassels, who declared that in Venice gardens were as wonderful things as

coaches, and complained that, looking down from the top of the high steeple, he saw only two places where there were any trees! This, however, was at the close of the seventeenth century, when wealthy Venetians were forsaking the city for villas on the mainland.

In the great days of the Republic, when the lion of St. Mark floated over distant lands and cities, the gardens of Venice were famous for their extent and beauty. They excited the wonder and admiration of every traveller who saw 'the triumphant city' for the first time—such, for instance, as Pietro Casola, the Milanese Canon who came to Venice in 1494, on his way to Jerusalem, and waited a fortnight to sail with Agostino Contarini in the pilgrim-fleet for Jaffa. 'I cannot refrain,' he writes in his Journal, 'from repeating that nothing has surprised me more in this city than the many beautiful gardens which are to be seen here, especially, I must say, those belonging to the different religious orders.'¹ In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries these communities were as wealthy as they were numerous, and their churches and convents were among the most imposing buildings in the city. There were the Benedictines of S. Giorgio Maggiore, who numbered as many as two hundred in the palmy days when Cardinal Pole paid them a visit and expressed equal admiration for their fine library and shady garden. And there were the Augustinian Canons attached to the well-known church now known as the Madonna dell' Orto, who had a spacious orchard full of apple and quince trees and a hermitage on the island of S. Cristoforo, where, Casola tells us, they made white wax enough to supply all the churches and chapels in Venice. The ancient shrine of S. Francesco della Vigna took its name from the Friars' vineyard, which was said to be the largest in Venice. This convent in the poorest quarter of the city was the home of the Osservanti brothers, and its gardens were a favourite haunt of S. Bernardino of Siena, the founder of this reformed Franciscan order, who enjoyed the peace and seclusion of this quiet retreat in his brief intervals of repose.

Nor were the nuns without their gardens and orchards. Several of these communities were notorious not only for their riches and popularity, but for the freedom which they enjoyed. According to Casola, they might be divided into two classes, the nuns who were secluded, and those who ought to be secluded. Among the former were the holy sisters of the order of Santa Chiara, whose convent was attached to the church of 'La Madonna dei Miracoli,' that marvel of decorative beauty reared by Tullio Lombardi early in the sixteenth century. Among the latter were the Benedictine nuns of S. Zaccaria, who, in Casola's words,

¹ Canon P. Casola's *Pilgrimage*, ed. by M. Newett, p. 142.

'let themselves be seen very willingly, both young and old,'² and the 'Vergini,' a community of Augustinian nuns, whose convent stood opposite to S. Piero di Castello. The members of this order were all ladies of noble birth, who often appeared in public clad in sumptuous clothes and rich jewels, and gave festive entertainments to illustrious visitors, such as the Duchess of Ferrara and her daughters Isabella and Beatrice d'Este. Another community whose irregular practices gave rise to considerable scandal was that of S. Maria della Celestia, whose convent was destroyed in the last century to make room for the Arsenal. The 'Zelestre' nuns, as they were commonly called, adopted a very becoming white habit, and went so far as to lay aside their veils and wear their hair in ringlets, a practice which drew down upon them a solemn rebuke from the Patriarch of Venice. In their convent Easter was kept with as great mirth and festivity as if it had been another Carnival, and on the election of a new Abbess in May 1509 they gave a *festà* at which several young patricians were present and danced all night with the nuns, to the music of trumpets and fifes. Even in Venice such orgies could not be permitted within convent walls, and on the following day two of the young nobles who had led the revels at the 'Zelestre' were summoned to appear before the Magnifico Bernardo Bembo and duly reprimanded for the disturbance which they had caused.³

Most of these convents and gardens perished long ago, but the memory of one of them is still fresh in the remembrance of many lovers of Venice. Close to the Public Gardens, on the little island of Sant' Elena, there stood an ancient church and convent with a graveyard which held the ashes of the Empress Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, and where many noble Venetian families had their burying-place. It was the most romantic spot in the world. Violets and periwinkles carpeted the grassy glades under the elms and pines, tall cypresses and slender marble columns framed in the cloister garden, where pomegranates and oleanders blossomed, and red roses hung in profusion over the wall. Far away to the north-west, across the open sea, you could see the mountains of Cadore, and beyond the spires of Venice rose the long range of Euganean hills. But campanile and convent garden, marble columns and cypress groves, have alike vanished before the relentless march of civilisation. An iron foundry has now taken their place, the smoke of furnaces blackens the pure atmosphere, and this once lovely isle, hallowed by the worship and memories of past ages, has been utterly ruined.

In the golden days of Venice, when Casola and de Commines

² Casola, p. 136.

³ M. Sanudo, *Diarii*, viii. 307.

wrote of her glories, the gardens of the patricians were as numerous as those of the religious orders. Thirty or forty years later, Sansovino counted above a hundred palaces which had gardens of their own.⁴ Many of these were in the heart of the city, in the populous quarters of S. Canciano and Canareggio. Cardinal Grimani's palace with its wonderful library and paintings stood near S. Maria Formosa; Marc'Antonio Michieli, the Anonimo who has left us a record of contemporary works of art in Venice and the neighbourhood, and was himself a distinguished collector, lived in the parish of S. Trovaso; and Bembo's kinsman Donato Marcello had a villa which was described as a *luogo delicissimo* in the Vignole—that cluster of green islets between Murano and the Lido, which are still planted with vineyards. In the narrow Calle della Pieta, behind the church which holds Moretto's masterpiece, was the little garden belonging to Alessandro Vittoria, where the accomplished sculptor tended his favourite flowers, and planted sweet-scented herbs and trained the roses with his own hands. The master's portrait-bust remained in the garden until the last century, and his ashes rest in a tomb designed by himself in the neighbouring church of S. Zaccaria. But most of the finest villas and largest gardens were to be found in the island of the Giudecca. There the Doge Andrea Gritti and the Barbaro brothers, the illustrious families of Mocenigo and Vendramin, owned spacious gardens where carnations from Damascus and other rare plants from the East blossomed among the roses and lilies, the citron and orange trees. The delicious verdure of the lawns round Benedetto Cornaro's house, in Pietro Aretino's words, 'surpassed all the splendours of this favoured shore,' while the same writer extols the gardens of the scholar-printer, Francesco Marcolini, in no less impassioned language. Marcolini himself was a very remarkable man, the chosen friend of Titian, of Bembo and Sansovino, excellent alike as goldsmith, architect, printer, and poet. He was called in to alter the works of the clock on the tower of S. Stefano, and in 1545 Sansovino employed him to design the wooden bridge at Murano, which was removed only twenty-eight years ago. That he was a good gardener, too, we learn from the Aretine, who declares that in the summer heats Marcolini's villa on the Giudecca was the most enchanting place in the whole world.⁵ 'Where else can you find deeper and cooler shades, more fragrant flowers, where else can you listen to the songs of endless birds, which with their Petrarchean music refresh the weary soul and charm the tired senses to sleep?' In this same quarter of the Giudecca was the villa of Santo Cattaneo, with its stately columns and marble halls after the style represented in Bonifazio's

⁴ F. Sansovino, *Venetia*, p. 369.

⁵ Lettere, i. 107, v. 222.

well-known painting of *L'Epulone*, or the parable of Dives and Lazarus. A long marble colonnade led to a paved courtyard, surrounded with fountains and grottoes of shells and corals, and at the end of the garden was a pillared loggia decorated with landscapes by the best Venetian painters and commanding a superb view of the lagoon towards Chioggia.

Thus [writes Martinioni, the continuator of Sansovino] you are able at the same moment to enjoy the splendour of the sea and the beauties of mountains, woods, and flowers—in short, of all that pleases both the eye and the heart of man.⁶

On the opposite side of Venice, at Biri Grande, in the north-east quarter, behind the great Dominican church of SS. Giovanni and Paolo, was the house where Titian lived so long. Here the great master received his illustrious patrons, the Dukes of Mantua and Ferrara, Cardinal de Granvelle, the Spanish prelate Pacheco, and King Henry the Third of France. Here Isabella d'Este came, still full of vitality in spite of her declining years, to examine the painter's latest works and endeavour to secure a Magdalen or a St. Jerome for her studio. In the summer of 1534, her son-in-law and daughter, the Duke and Duchess of Urbino, often rowed across from their home at Murano to visit the artist and give him sittings for their portraits. Here more than thirty years afterwards young Giorgio Vasari came from Florence and found the old master of eighty-nine, brush and palette in hand, still painting pictures 'worthy of immortality.' The delightful situation of the house, the beauty of the garden along the edge of the lagoon, have been praised by many of his contemporaries, but in Titian's eyes its greatest charm was the prospect which it commanded over the mountains of Cadore. From his window the great master could look across the open waters to the blue hills of Ceneda, and on clear days could see the sharp peak of Antelao rising above his native home. Here on summer evenings he loved to entertain a few chosen friends—Sansovino, the great Tuscan architect, who had fled to Venice after the sack of Rome to become the master-builder of the Republic; the Veronese master Sanmichele, the printer Marcolini, the wonderful gem-cutter Lodovico Anichino, and the witty and unscrupulous Pietro Aretino, and his merry supper-parties lasted far on into the night. The Roman grammarian Priscianese has left us a graphic picture of these lively entertainments, at which he was a guest :

On the first of August, the feast of Augustus, now known as the festival of the Chains of St. Peter [he writes], I was invited to supper in a most beautiful garden, belonging to Messer Tiziano, an excellent painter, as all the world knows, and a person whose graceful courtesy would lend lustre to the most splendid banquet. Several other remark-

⁶ Sansovino, *Venetia*, p. 370.

able men were present on this occasion—Messer Pietro Aretino, that miracle of Nature; Jacopo Tatti, called Sansovino, who is as renowned a sculptor as our host is a painter; and Messer Jacopo Nardi. The heat of the sun was still great, although the garden is shady, so, while the tables were being carried out and supper laid, we spent our time in looking at the admirable paintings which adorn the house, and in enjoying the rare beauty and delights of the garden, which lies on the sea-shore at the far end of Venice, looking towards the lovely island of Murano and other fair places. As the sun went down the lagoon swarmed with gondolas full of beautiful women, and the sweet sounds of musical instruments and singing floated over the water and charmed our ears, as we sat at this delightful supper till midnight. The garden is beautifully laid out and excites universal admiration. The supper also was most excellent, rich in choice viands and rare wines. In short, nothing was lacking which could heighten the charm of the summer evening and the pleasure of the company. The fruit had just been placed on the table when your letter came and Aretino's wrath was excited by your assertion of the superior excellence of the Latin tongue. He called for ink and paper, and was with difficulty restrained from committing his fierce invectives to writing. And so the supper ended as gaily as it began!'

The garden in which Titian gave these joyous supper-parties has been built over, and the noble tree which he introduced into his altar-piece of S. Pietro Martire, and which was still standing fifty or sixty years ago, has been cut down. But another charming garden in this quarter still remains, and has been little changed since the days of Titian and Aretino. It belongs to the Villa Contarini del Zaffo, so called because its owners were patrons of the galley which yearly bore pilgrims for the Holy Land to the port of Jaffa. This house was the birthplace of Gaspare Contarini, the distinguished scholar and statesman, whom his friend Bembo justly called the pillar of the Church and the brightest ornament of the Republic, who, to the joy of his fellow-citizens, was in his last days made a Cardinal by the enlightened Farnese Pope, Paul the Third. The Cardinal's portrait still hangs in the salon of the villa, with the finely painted roof, and his bust adorns the family chapel, where his ashes rest, in the neighbouring church of the Madonna dell' Orto. The garden of Villa Contarini, which three hundred years ago was one of the most beautiful in Venice, has been carefully reconstructed by its present owners on the lines of the original design, and affords a typical example of a Venetian Renaissance garden. The formal parterres are divided by yew and hornbeam hedges and adorned with fountains and red-brick exedra, and at the end of the cypress avenues three gateways with finely moulded pilasters and cornices open on to the blue lagoon. Through these arched portals we look out across the shining waters to the white

⁷ Priscianese, *Della Lingua Romana*; Ticcozzi, *Dizionario*, iv. 79.

towers and dark cypresses of San Michele and the distant furnaces of Murano. In one corner of the gardens stands the Casa degli Spiriti, a pavilion where festive gatherings were held in days of old, and the midnight echoes of the revellers' voices borne across the waters gave rise to the legend that the house was haunted.

As one looks from the steps of Villa Contarini at the dense cloud of smoke rising from the chimneys of Murano on the opposite shore, it is difficult to realise that this island was once famous for its pleasure-houses and gardens. Yet so it was in the days of Gaspare Contarini and Pietro Bembo, of Titian and Aretino. Then poets and travellers alike extolled Murano as the most delightful place in the world, dear above all to scholars and thinkers, and meet to be the home of nymphs and goddesses. They praised its balmy breezes and sparkling fountains, its fields of musk and damask roses, of violets and narcissus, its groves of citron and orange, and beds of sweet-smelling mint, of rosemary and lavender. 'Much more,' exclaims Casola, 'might be said of Murano and of its thousand delights, how the island is surrounded by waters and has the most beautiful gardens in Venice; but I will leave something for other writers to tell.'⁸

A few months before the Milanese Canon wrote these words Murano was the scene of a splendid fête given by Caterina Cornaro, Queen of Cyprus, in her villa gardens in honour of Beatrice d'Este, the young Duchess of Milan, whose coming as her lord's ambassador was celebrated with great honour by the Doge and Signory. And in the same year Queen Caterina received Beatrice's sister, the Marchesana Isabella, when she paid her first visit to Venice at Ascension-tide, and showed that accomplished lady the rare flowers and fruits that were sent her from Cyprus. When, seventeen years afterwards, Caterina died and was buried with due pomp in the church of the Apostoli, the funeral oration was pronounced by an eloquent young Venetian patrician, Andrea Navagero, who was one of her neighbours at Murano. This fine scholar and distinguished public servant, who held the office of librarian and historiographer of the Republic, and went as Ambassador to Spain and France, cherished a passionate love of gardéning. There was a vein of melancholy in his nature which made him sigh for peace and repose in the midst of his political labours, and whenever he had a chance he fled from the din and turmoil of the city to enjoy the rural delights dear to his soul. It was 'to please Messer Andrea' that Bembo and Castiglione joined Raphael and their Venetian friends, one June morning, in a memorable excursion to Tivoli, there to explore the ruins of Hadrian's villa and walk by the rushing

⁸ Casola, p. 142.

waters of Anio, in the dewy orchards sung by the Latin poet. And he was never so happy as when he could spend a week with one or two chosen friends in his own garden at Murano. Here Navagero devoted himself to the cultivation of flowers and plants with the same ardour which he showed in the study of letters, and clipped his yews and pruned his roses as carefully as he composed his Latin verses or edited Virgil and Lucretius for the Aldine Press. An eloquent description of Messer Andrea's garden has been left us by Christophe Longueil, the Flemish scholar who was driven by the jealousy of the Roman scholars at Leo the Tenth's Court to take refuge at Padua.

I have been at Venice for a fortnight [wrote Longolio, as he was called by his Italian friends, to Bembo, in June 1520], and spent a week of the greatest enjoyment with our dear friend, Messer Andrea Navagero, in his country house at Murano. The garden belonging to this villa was a very pleasant sight, since all the trees in the orchard and plantations are laid out in the form of a quincunx.

This method of planting trees, to which Sir Thomas Browne alludes as 'the quincuncial lozenge in use among the ancients,' consisted in setting trees in a square, with a fifth in the centre, and repeating this device again and again, so that whichever way you turn your eyes parallel alleys may be seen.

All the trees and hedges [the writer continues] are clipped in different shapes, and are exquisite examples of topiary art. The sight, indeed, greatly exceeded my highest expectations. The apple trees are all planted in regular rows, at discreet intervals, and have grown with amazing rapidity, since they were put in the ground by our Navagero himself, only a few months ago. Nothing could be more beautiful in shape, colour, nothing sweeter in smell or taste, or more excellent in size and variety than the fruit which this orchard bears. For Messer Andrea, as you know, takes the greatest delight in rural pursuits and is more industrious than most agriculturists, devoting the same diligence and careful attention to his garden that he does to our own art.⁹

In his reply, Bembo expressed the greatest satisfaction at Longolio's account of Messer Andrea and his garden.

What you wrote of Navagero [he says] was very pleasing to me. The man is admirable, because he does not cultivate learning and gardening in solitude, but shares both his studies and rural pleasures with his friends. I am delighted to hear that he is spending the summer in his garden at Murano, and feel no doubt that much fruit will spring from these joyous days passed in the shade of the citron trees which he brought from the shores of Benacus.¹⁰

Six years later, in April 1526, during Navagero's absence in Spain, Bembo himself visited the villa at Murano, and addressed the following letter to his generous host :

⁹ C. Longolii Epistolae, i. 108.

¹⁰ P. Bembo, Epistol. Fam. v. 201.

I have been staying for the last fortnight in your own pleasant villa, at the invitation of our Ramusio [the son-in-law and intimate friend of Messer Andrea], and have enjoyed myself so much that I am quite sorry to go. We have talked of you very often, as you may imagine, in the most affectionate terms. I rejoice to hear the great and singular renown which you have acquired on this your first foreign embassy. Everyone praises you so much that I can only say—go on as you have begun and you may be sure that the State will be grateful to you and that you will be remembered in days to come, not only as a great and illustrious citizen, but as having had no equal among the servants of the Republic. Keep well and remember me to our dear Messer Baldassare Castiglione. From your Murano. 7 April, 1526.¹¹

In another letter, addressed to Gian Battista Ramusio, his dear and too courteous friend, Bembo thanks Heaven that Messer Andrea has escaped the perils of the sea and reached Spain in safety.

I see [he adds] that this pilgrimage will be pleasant to him, if only it enables him to discover new plants and other rare things, and, as he says himself, I am sure that he will return laden with them.¹²

The letters which Navagero wrote his son-in-law during his absence abound in descriptions of the wonderful gardens which he saw in Spain, and which he confesses are even more beautiful than those in Italy. The Moorish Alcazar at Seville seemed to him the most perfect of summer palaces, and its lovely *patio* planted with shady orange and lemon trees, and watered with streams flowing from marble fountains, was the most delicious place which he had ever seen. In company with his noble friend, Count Baldassare, he visited the gardens of the Certosa on the banks of the Guadalquivir; and as they lingered in the pillared loggia, among myrtle groves fragrant with the scent of roses, he envied the fortunate Carthusian monks who need only leave these enchanted regions to go to Paradise. From Granada he wrote glowing descriptions of the Alhambra halls and the Court of Lions, with its marvellous tiles and myrtle trellis, ‘a place,’ he remarked, ‘where it is always cool and fresh on the hottest day.’ Leaving the Alhambra by a little door, he and Castiglione climbed the heights of the Generalife, and sat in a balcony cut out of the myrtle grove, watching the rabbits peep out of the bushes and looking down on the foaming waters of the Darrò in the gorge below. ‘Nothing is lacking,’ wrote Messer Andrea, ‘to complete the charm and perfection of this spot, save the presence of a scholar who would enjoy its beauty. Such a man might live here in peace and quietness, engaged in those studies that would make him happy and in which he would be content to spend the rest of his life, careless of wealth or fame.’¹³

¹¹ *Lettere Famigliari di M. Pietro Bembo*, ii. 112.

¹² Cicogna, *Iscrizioni*, vi. 305. ¹³ Navagero, *Viaggio in Spagna*, pp. 20-25.

The quarters occupied by the Ambassadors at Granada were in the upper city, which was still inhabited by the Moors, whose carefully cultivated and well-watered gardens filled Messer Andrea with admiration. But the period of forty years' grace granted them by the conquerors had almost expired, and in a few months the Inquisition was to be set up in Granada. Already many of the wealthier Moors were gone to Africa, and the kind-hearted Venetian looked with a sigh at those gardens of myrtle and musk-roses, and thought sorrowfully of the doom which hung over them.

But none of these brilliant and varied scenes could make Navagero forget his own gardens at Murano and Selve, his other villa in the Trevigiana district.

Sweetest Ramusio [he wrote from Toledo], I care more for my gardens at Murano and Selve than for anything else in the world. You will wonder that I have time to think of them in the midst of all my labours, but I am a true Epicurean, and should like to spend my whole life in a garden. Therefore, as you love me, dear Ramusio, take care of those beloved groves while I am absent from home, for this is the truest service that you can render me.¹⁴

No joy is greater, he often repeats, than to receive his son-in-law's letters, at the end of a long and tedious journey, and to hear how his trees and plants are doing. From Barcelona he sent some carouba trees to be planted at Murano, and from Seville he forwarded seeds of sweet orange and of a flowering shrub called *ladano*—with a blossom between a cistus and a white rose—as well as some curious roots called *batate*, which had lately been brought from the Indies, and were good to eat, tasting something like chestnuts. There was also a new and delicious fruit (apparently a banana), not unlike a melon, but with a flavour something between that of a quince and a peach, of which Navagero sent home specimens, together with a beautiful dead bird, called a Bird of Paradise, also from the New World, which was to be given to Gaspare Contarini. There are frequent allusions in these letters to a certain Frate Francesco, who seems to have been Messer Andrea's head-gardener and had charge of both his gardens in his absence.

Tell the Friar [he writes] that new trees must be planted in the grove at Murano, and let him take care to see that they are placed in formal rows at some interval, and above all let him put in plenty of roses between the grove and the boundary wall, and see that they are trained to grow on a trellis, after the fashion which I admire in Spain. And see that in the autumn he goes to Selve, to see how the laurels are growing, and if the fruit-trees have done better than they did last year. And I beg of you, my dear Ramusio, to adorn your own villa with fair trees, so that when I return home we may enjoy what remains to us of life with our books in the shade of our own groves.¹⁵

¹⁴ D. Atanagi, *Deuter Public 676* main. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar.

¹⁵ Atanagi, p. 668.

But the peace and leisure for which the scholar-poet yearned never came. At the end of four years he at length returned to his beloved home, but he had hardly set foot on Venetian soil when he received orders to go to France as Ambassador to King Francis the First. Before he had been at the French Court three months he fell ill of fever, and died at Blois on the 8th of May 1529, to the infinite grief of his friends in Venice. He was buried by his own wish in the church of S. Martina at Murano, in a grave touching the garden which he loved. Poets and scholars lamented him in elegant Latin verse, and Sadoletto linked Messer Andrea's name with that of his friend Castiglione, in a memorable letter, deplored the heavy loss which Italy had sustained by the death of two of her noblest sons.¹⁶ 'Poor Navagero,' wrote Bembo, 'was a most rare being who could not fail to do honour to his country. If he had been an ignorant fool, he would have lived.'¹⁷

Another distinguished friend of Navagero and Bembo who owned a villa at Murano was Trifone Gabriele, whom Ariosto calls the New Socrates. So great was his reputation for learning that, at the prayer of Cardinal Pole and Bembo, the Pope released him from a rash vow made in early youth to take priest's orders and abandon the study of pagan literature. Trifone would never accept any office or preferment from the State, and when he was offered the Patriarchate of Venice replied in the following words :

Siano degli altre le mitre e le corone,
Rura mihi et rigui placeant in vallis amnes.

He loved the woods and waters of his villa in the green Euganean hills, and planted pergolas of rose and honeysuckle, of vine and jessamine, in his garden at Murano. Here, in the happy days before Messer Andrea was sent abroad, he and Trifone studied the MS. of Bembo's *Prose*, and revised the text of the classics which they edited for Aldus. Like Navagero, Trifone shared his good things freely with poorer scholars, and threw open his gardens to the members of the Aldine Academy. When, in 1525, the Vicentine poet Giangiorgio Trissino came to Venice as Papal Legate, he took a house in the parish of San Donato at Murano, and spent much of his time in Trifone's society. On summer mornings the Legate would join the youthful scholars who met daily at Trifone's villa, and hold learned converse with them in his friend's garden, or in those of Navagero and Alvise Priuli. These discussions were often prolonged to a late hour, and after vespers this enthusiastic band of scholars might still be seen pacing up and down the shores of the lagoon, drinking in every word that fell from their teacher's lips.

¹⁶ Sadoletto, *Epist. Fam.* p. 106.

¹⁷ *Lettere*, v. 65.

But even Murano could not satisfy the new passion for rural delights which had sprung up among these Venetian humanists. They sought the hills and forests of the mainland, the 'Marca Amorosa' of Treviso, the mountain region of Castelfranco under the dolomite peaks, which Gian Bellini and Cima never tired of painting, where Giorgione was born and Titian had his home. Or they settled in the pleasant district of the Euganean hills, where Arqua and Monselice and half a dozen other bright little towns nestle among the woods. Trifone Gabriele found the seclusion which he loved in his villa at Ronchi, and Bembo spent the happiest years of his life in his '*dolce Noniano*,' that delightful country house between Padua and Cittadella, far from the noise and smoke of Rome. Further still from Venice, in the distant hills of Friuli, Bembo's kinsman Giorgio Gradenigo spent the happiest days of his life in a villa at Cividale.

Oh! how I enjoy my summer here [he writes]. I spend the whole evening, until two hours after sunset, walking about the fields, and the dawn of day never finds me in my bed. For at Cividale the sky is bluer and the sun and stars seem to me to shine more brightly than in any other place on earth. Sickness is unknown there and melancholy flies away.¹⁸

A curious treatise on Venetian villas was written by the Florentine Antonio Doni, originally a Servite friar, who gave up his vows and sought refuge in Venice, where he became intimate with several of the above-named scholars and spent his last years in a villa at Monselice. The writer divides Venetian country houses into four classes: first, the superb palaces laid out on a vast scale by wealthy patricians, with frescoed halls and colonnades, chapel and cloisters; secondly, the more modest villas where tired officials and overworked scholars sought repose and leisure in the brief intervals which they could snatch from their public duties; thirdly, the houses and estates bought by merchants as a profitable investment; and fourthly, the *podere* cultivated by farmers and peasants who made a living out of the soil. The villas of Bembo and Trifone were good instances of the second class, while a splendid example of the first class is still to be seen in the palatial Villa Maser, which the Barbaro brothers employed Palladio to rear on a spur of the Julian Alps, and brought Paolo Veronese and his pupils to adorn with frescoes that are still in existence.

On the heights of Asolo, in the dolomite country, was the stately home where the widowed Queen of Cyprus, Caterina Cornaro, held her court and made the foremost poets and scholars of the day welcome. The massive tower of her Castello still

¹⁸ L. Dolce, *Lettere*, ii. 467.

rises above the picturesque streets of the old mountain town, and from its battlements we look down through a tangled mass of briar rose and acacia on the Lombard plain stretching far away to the wide horizon. Little is left to-day of those wonderful gardens where courtiers and maidens sang and danced and talked of love and poetry through the long summer days, but Bembo has given us some idea of their beauty in the poem of *Gli Asolani*, which he wrote in the first years of the new century and dedicated to the Duchess Lucrezia. In language recalling Boccaccio's immortal prose, the young Venetian has told us how he arrived at this 'vago e piacevole Castello,' in the Alps above the Trevigiana, on a day when the marriage of one of the Queen's maidens was being celebrated. The wedding feast was over, the guests were gone, the Queen had retired to her rooms, and, of all the company, only three youths and three maidens were left sitting in the marble loggia. And, 'since sleeping after meals is not healthy and the summer days were too good to be wasted in slumber,' one of the cavaliers, Gismondo, proposed that they should go out into the gardens and tell one another stories, resting on the grassy lawns. His companions agreed gladly and the speaker led the way.

The garden [continues Bembo] was of rare and marvellous beauty. A wide and shady pergola of vines ran down the centre, and the walls on either side were concealed by thick hedges of box and juniper, while laurels arching overhead afforded the most refreshing shade, and were so carefully cut and trimmed that not a single leaf was out of place. None of the walls could be seen, only at the end of the pergola, above the garden gate, two windows of dazzling white marble let in a view of the distant plains. Down this fair pathway the little troop walked, sheltered by the dense foliage from the fiery rays of the sun, until they reached a little meadow at the end of the garden. Here the grass was as fine in colour as an emerald, and all manner of bright flowers sprang up on the fresh green sward, and just beyond was a shady grove of laurels, not clipped or trained like the others, but allowed to wander at will. In their midst was a beautiful fountain, from which a jet of clear water out of the mountain-side fell with joyous sound into a marble basin and thence flowed in gently murmuring rills through the garden. Here the fair maid Berenice paused. 'Madonna,' said her cavalier, Gismondo, 'shall we rest awhile? We could hardly find a more delicious spot, for here the grass is greener and the flowers are gayer than anywhere else. The trees will shelter us from the sun, and the murmur of the running waters and the romantic charm of these shades will dispose each of you to talk of what you like best, while we will gladly listen.' So the three youths and three maidens sat down in a circle on the grassy banks of the stream flowing from the fountain, in the laurel grove, and sang love-songs and recited verses. Berenice told the old tale of Dido, and Gismondo sang the praise of Love and how as in spring the air is full of light and song, and woods and valleys, mountains and rivers, laugh for joy, so when Love takes hold of the heart our looks and thoughts are full of rapture and the whole being of man rejoices. So the

day wore on, in light and happy converse, until the trumpet gave the signal for renewed feasting and dancing, and youths and maidens rose, not without a sigh, to return to the palace.¹⁹

Another famous villa in this same district of Asolo, 'on the borders of La Magna,' was that of Messer Alvise Priuli at 'Tre ville.' This *ricca e grandissima casa*, worthy, as Bembo wrote, of the noble owner, was built by Palladio and adorned with frescoes by the Tuscan master Francesco Salviati. The interior was furnished in the richest style, the polished marble floors shone like mirrors, the bedsteads and chairs were carved and painted, the hangings were of costly Oriental brocade. In the words of the poet Calmo, 'this was a palace where a monarch might fitly make his home, and Jove himself might worthily be received.' Priuli's lifelong friend, Cardinal Pole, was often his guest at 'Tre ville,' and wrote many letters to Messer Alvise—'*ex villa tua*.' 'This angelic spirit,' as Cardinal Contarini called the saintly English prelate, was always happy in the country and in one of his letters from 'Tre ville' he says that he may well call Priuli's villa 'a Paradise, because of its situation in these delicious hills, and even more because of the friends whose company I am enjoying.' When Priuli came in his turn to pay the Cardinal a visit at the monastery of Carpentras, Pole wrote to their mutual friend, saying that 'Messer Alvise was most diligent in the study of philosophy and agriculture and thinks of turning horticulturist, in which idea he is encouraged by the beautiful garden belonging to these good Fathers and their truly excellent gardener.'²⁰

Another interesting Venetian who, like Priuli, engaged the friendship of Bembo and his circle was Alvise Cornaro, whose treatise on the Simple Life (*La Vita Sobria*) became first known to English readers through Addison's paper in the *Spectator*. This scholar and philosopher lived to be over a hundred, and his portrait, painted by El Greco in extreme old age, may be seen in the National Gallery, where it goes by the name of 'St. James.' He wrote his famous book at the age of eighty-three, and describes how, owing to careful and temperate habits, he has kept his full powers of body and mind, and can mount a horse without help, and enjoy walking and travelling and take part in the pleasure of the chase, as if he were still in the prime of life. A wealthy and liberal patron of art, Cornaro had a fine house in Padua, close to the church of Il Santo, which he built in 1524 from the designs of the Veronese architect Falconetto. The painters Domenico Campagnola and Girolamo of Padua, who worked with Titian in the Scuola del Santo close by, were employed to decorate the interior, and, according to Michieli, the painted ceilings were executed by Domenico Veneziano from the

¹⁹ *Gli Asolani*, pp. 6-8.

²⁰ CC-0, In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

cartoons of Raphael. Unfortunately this once splendid palazzo has now been entirely rebuilt, and all that remains of Messer Alvise Falconetto's creation is the elegant garden-house, with its open loggia and charming decorations in white stucco and fresco, in the style of the Vatican loggie. Besides this town-house, Cornaro built two fine villas, the one at Este, in the Euganean hills, the other at Codevigo, in the plains near the mouth of the Brenta. Their venerable owner attributed the robust health which he enjoyed in old age chiefly to his love of gardening and of all outdoor pursuits, and congratulated himself that, more fortunate than most of his contemporaries, he had lived long enough to enjoy the houses which he had built and the gardens which he had planted.

Each September and October [he writes] I spend at my villa, which stands in the most beautiful part of the Euganean hills and is adorned with gardens and fountains and a fine loggia, where I entertain my friends, and occasionally give large hunting-parties. Later in the year I go to my other villa in the plains at Codevigo, on the shores of the Brenta. This house is built in the form of a quadrangle, with the river running through the gardens, and contains ample accommodation for my family and guests, as well as a chapel and altars for the worship of God.²¹

Contemporary Venetian writers describe the gardens of Villa Cornaro at Este as being among the finest of their kind. They wax eloquent over the pergolas and fountains, the porticoes and antique statues, the urns and vases, with which the grounds were adorned, and the excellent grapes and wine which the vineyards produced. There was a theatre in which admirable concerts were given, and the popular actor Ruzzante frequently appeared in his own pastoral comedies.²² But Messer Alvise was above all a practical man. He devoted much time and money to agricultural experiments, and introduced the system of the *mezzadria* or metayer system among the peasants on his estates, with the happiest results. More than this, he spent large sums in building bridges, making new roads, and draining the marshes of the Brenta, being convinced that he could do the State no better service than to reclaim these waste lands and make them fit for cultivation. Happily, Alvise Cornaro's example was followed by many of his countrymen, and the last half of the sixteenth century witnessed an extraordinary outburst of activity in this direction. The ever-increasing passion for *villeggiatura* life led wealthy patricians to build sumptuous pleasure-houses all along the shores of the Brenta, and in the course of the next hundred years this fertile district between Padua and Mestre became practically a suburb of Venice. When, in 1574, the last of the Valois kings, Henry the Third, visited Venice on his return from Poland he was lost in wonder at the splendours of the palaces—*luoghi di*

²¹ A. Cornaro, *Ed. Vita Sovrana Lovanio in Parte*, ii. 199.

delizie—which lined the banks as he rowed down the Brenta in his barge. The Palazzo Malcontenta, where the royal guest was entertained on this occasion, was built for the Foscari in the sixteenth century by Palladio, and decorated with frescoes by the painter Zelotti. Its stately Ionic portico commanded a superb view of the Alps and looked down on a piazza surrounded by colonnades which rivalled those of St. Mark's. The memory of the fêtes given by the Contarini in honour of the French monarch is still preserved in the noble frescoes with which Tiepolo adorned the ceilings of the Villa of Lions at Mira, and which have now found a home in the Musée André in Paris. There we may see the long procession of richly decorated barges which used once to float down the stream, and the delicious gardens and wide terraces and flights of steps that led to the pleasure-houses along its banks. The Mocenigo family owned a fine villa at Dolo, which boasted a façade painted by Varotari, while the palace of the Pisani at Strà was even more imposing, with its vaulted halls decorated by Tiepolo and its vast park and gardens.

To-day all these splendours have vanished like a dream. As you float in a gondola down the Brenta, between banks of vivid green, under a sky of still more radiant blue, a straggling row of ruinous houses and squalid peasant-huts are the only buildings that meet the eye. The glorious loggia of Malcontenta is a mere shell. A few desolate ilex groves and cypress avenues are all that remain of the once famous garden at Strà. Here and there you may see a pair of ragged, black-eyed children peering out between the delicate marble shafts of an arched window, with a pink oleander flowering overhead. A little further you may come on a clump of cypresses and a carved marble bench standing in the midst of a field of young wheat, and beyond these may discover the pillars of a gateway, mossy with age, still bearing stone shields with the armorial bearings of some ancient family. But the hinges of the gate are rusty, and the path through the cornfield leads nowhere. A profound melancholy broods over the scene. Villas and gardens alike have vanished. The men and women who lived there are dead and gone. Their names, even the most illustrious among them, have been forgotten, and the very site of Bembo's '*dolce Noniano*' is unknown. Only the nightingales which charmed his poet-soul still sing in the silence of the summer night, and the roses which Navagero loved hang in clusters over the low red wall of the lagoon. Nature renews her youth, and year by year the spring returns with her perennial charm.

JULIA M. ADY
(*Julia Cartwright*).

AT COMPIÈGNE

Another glorious feat is to be recorded for British arms near Compiègne; two opposing bodies of cavalry came in contact, and our men captured ten guns.

THIS brief announcement, which appeared in an evening paper on the 4th of September, records a by no means isolated incident of the manner in which the British troops demonstrated to Germany that the forty-fourth anniversary of the battle of Sedan was not to be one of further boastful memory. We have since heard more of this fierce and brilliant mêlée, in which our men were so enormously outnumbered and performed their splendid feat under a furious and unceasing storm of the enemy's shells. We have yet much more to hear, and meantime a correspondent, writing to *The Times*, who watched them march through the town of Compiègne to action, relates that since the start of hostilities no sight had been better calculated to inspire confidence that 'to our arms victory will come calmly and definitely in the end.'

He reminds us that these men had been fighting for four days in a retreating action, the full horror of which we shall probably never hear; that they were moving to a front which might be anywhere, and was, as it transpired, very close, and he tells us that 'they went with less fuss than men go to the office in London.' It is a further magnificent testimony, if such be needed, to the *moral* of our troops. But to those of us who know Compiègne this one of many such heroic occasions during the present war has another and even more poignant interest.

We can see the khaki-clad officers and men, horse and foot—'the way of both of them was the same,' writes the correspondent—with their steady, unconcerned demeanour, smoking their pipes, nodding good-naturedly to the few remaining inhabitants who have turned out into the narrow streets to wish them an enthusiastic God-speed, an occasional bandage or an absence of smartness in their headgear the sole reminders that this is business. We can hear them clattering across the wide cobbled *Place*, past the shuttered Palace, where the bugles and the steady tramp of the little French soldiers going and coming on their route marches in the forest have roused us each day at dawn only five short months ago.

But it is much more difficult to associate the clash and din and horror of battle with the green enveloping quiet of the forest as we knew it in the early days of last May.

The spring sunshine, glinting through the gold and green of young beech and oak, threw a delicate tracery upon the thick carpet of last year's dead leaves. Here and there in large, uncertain patches the fresh green leaves of wild lily-of-the-valley forced their way up through the brown coverlet, holding ensheathed the tiny buds which were presently to fill the air with fragrance. Scattered among them were bluebells, shaken as it were out of those thick blue carpets—surely nowhere are bluebells so blue or grow so thickly as in the Forest of Compiègne—which spread themselves for half an acre at a time along its more favoured places. Far overhead, at the top of the tall, slender beeches the jays screamed and flapped and quarrelled, the sun catching their bright plumage. Wood pigeons, intent upon house building, flew heavily across, and far in the distance the cuckoo marked time with soothing monotony. There was little else to break the extraordinary stillness and the solitude. We knew that half the children of Compiègne were in the forest somewhere, gathering lilies for the Paris market, but we never met them. A charcoal-burner's cart would amble along the road, the man stretched out on his sacks, slumbering peacefully in the dappled shade, while his horse, with bells nodding cheerfully, followed the road with calm assurance. Very rarely a party of riders might canter up a grassy glade, or we might find our way barred by a sentinel, stationed to warn off pedestrians from the butts where the soldiers were practising, his blue and red uniform a vivid patch in the green mist of the undergrowth.

So it was in the May of this fateful year 1914. To-day the scene must be a sadly different one. Since our own men rode out of Compiègne the invading army of Huns have marched through on what appeared to be their way to Paris, in all the lust of brutal and self-imagined conquest, and again we believe more hurriedly on their retreat, leaving, we do not yet know how much, ruthless devastation behind them. The forest has echoed, and is again echoing, to far other sounds than the daily rifle practice at the butts. There are no wandering tourists to be warned off; the charcoal-burner and probably his cart and horse also have gone to the War. The quiet roads and glades have been ploughed up by guns and military waggons, and where bluebells and lilies spread their magic carpets in the spring the ground has been trampled by many desperate men and horses.

In a time of racking anxiety like the present it is sometimes wholesome to turn our thoughts deliberately to the past, and it may be remembered that the tramp of men and the rumble of waggons

have been familiar sounds enough in the forest during the annual manœuvres for at least two centuries. When Louis the Fifteenth built his new palace at Compiègne, it was no doubt partly to be in touch with the great military camp which was established in the neighbourhood each autumn. It was while in camp in the autumn of 1765 that his son, the Dauphin, that admirable gentleman who, had he lived, might have considerably altered the history of France, had contracted his last illness. As colonel of the Dragons-Dauphin, he was in the habit of living under canvas during the manœuvres and in the simplest manner, getting up at dawn and doing his day's work like any other soldier. When his wife, Marie Josèphe of Saxe, who stayed meantime at the palace with her children, came to visit him, he would introduce her to his brother-officers simply as *ma femme*, and she would enter whole-heartedly, with that ready sympathy which was one of her chief attractions, into all their little bachelor arrangements and contrivances. Then came the sad day when the Dauphin stood about in a damp meadow in a soaking mist and went back to Compiègne without waiting to change into dry clothes. A bad cold was neglected, and presently developed into the serious illness of which he died at Fontainebleau in the following December. His much-loved and devoted wife only survived him two years, during which time she heroically struggled to educate the children on the lines laid down by the wisdom of the late Dauphin, but the time was all too short.

For the next three years the King's palace at Compiègne, built for him by the architect Gabriel, the furnishing and fitting of which had been a great diversion, fell into disfavour for its sad associations, and was the scene of no court functions or royal gatherings. Then suddenly, in the early days of May 1770, the Princesse de Lamballe received a summons from the Grand Master of Ceremonies to repair to Compiègne on the 13th of the month, to be ready on the following day to accompany the King and the Court to meet Madame la Dauphine *à quelque distance au delà*. Those of us who wandered in the Forest on the warm May days of this year, which now seem so far away, could easily picture the scene as described for us by M. Pierre de Nolhac on that other May day, nearly a hundred and fifty years ago, when the royal blue carpets of the forest were spread out to greet a little Austrian Archduchess who well knew her own value.

The afternoon shadows were lengthening when the old King drove proudly back through the forest from the Pont de Berne with the very new little Dauphine beside him. The immense and picturesque procession of state coaches rumbled heavily along the road, and in front came the royal trumpeters, the King's Body-guard, the Musketeers, Gens d'Armes and Light Horse, and the

jays had they been there would have flown away indignantly chattering from the noise of drums and hautboys. The Princes of the Blood were wearing the *cordon bleu*, and the King's daughters and the Court ladies were all in their robes of ceremony. And all through the forest the peasants followed and shouted and acclaimed the youthful bride, and the townspeople from Compiègne poured out in the same manner to meet her. Discontent and disloyalty may have been seething beneath this joyous exterior, but curiosity was stronger, and the little Archduchess, on this her first drive into her kingdom which she was never to leave again, had no foreboding of the tragic future which lurked for her behind this pleasant wooded landscape and the acclaiming populace. Did she indeed feel a chill of disappointment as her eyes fell on the heavy face of the youth opposite, her husband, who seemed less interested in herself and so much less stirred by the emotions of the hour than the grandfather beside her? No record can tell us. We hear only of the pretty eager child of fourteen, filled with her own importance and her mother the Empress's instructions, which, however, could not check her natural impulsiveness. It was long indeed since the old King had had anything so pretty and pleasant to think about as the childish grace and intelligence of this little girl, who had leapt from her coach on the bridge of Berne and had run impetuously to kneel before him, and who the day after her official marriage by proxy at Vienna had addressed so charming a letter to '*Monsieur mon frère et très cher grandpère.*' Indeed he was frankly delighted. Here was a little lady worthy, as consort of the next Louis, to sit upon the throne of France, to be Queen of the first Court of Europe. *Elle a la meilleure volonté, mais à son âge j'ose La prier d'avoir de l'indulgence* wrote Maria Theresa, and the King, thankful to forget for the moment the intrigues of the Du Barry, the disapproval of his daughters, and the subtlety of de Choiseul, was ready enough to extend that indulgence.

The château of Compiègne to which Marie Antoinette was taken that May day in 1770 is not greatly altered. With its cold neo-classical design and its elegant open portico giving entrance to the Cour d'honneur, it has little of the varied charm and character of the much older palace at Fontainebleau. The richness of the Renaissance is missing here, as is also the strength and weakness and withal magnificence which breathed from the Court of the Roi Soleil. There would be nothing very splendid in the atmosphere of Louis the Fifteenth's pleasure house, and but for being dismantled and used as barracks during the Revolution, its stones before 1914 had witnessed little history in the making.

Yet there is a calm dignity in the classic outlines of the palace

and in its aloofness from the town which falls away leaving it alone to gaze out upon the forest behind it. The grey stone mellowed by nearly two centuries of summer suns and winter damps has acquired that warm yellow tone peculiar to French buildings. The palace stands back on a wide *Place*, which is intersected with narrow avenues of pollarded limes, giving out a delicious scent into the warm air and winding away like green ribbons to join the greater greenery of the forest. Beneath the limes are ancient stone posts with chains between, on which the children sit, or sat in happier days, and swung themselves under the leafy roof overhead and watched the soldiers march across from their barracks to the forest and back again, and the tourists dash up in their motors to the elegant colonnaded entrance opposite. Just so the children might have sat and swung on these same chains and watched the old King and the little Dauphin lumber up in the great state coach when the palace was comparatively new.

About thirty years later another Austrian bride, the Empress Marie Louise, came to Compiègne to meet her husband. When Napoleon the First decided to spend his honeymoon there, he did much to embellish the palace in her honour, and he laid out the magnificent wide, grassy avenue which stretches from below the terrace right up to the heights of the Beaux Monts, several miles away. Marie Antoinette would find much in the interior of the palace that was altered from her own day. She would scarcely recognise the furniture of the First Empire, and she would certainly be surprised at the florid decorations chosen by the Empress Eugénie. But in room after room in the long gallery she would still find the incomparable collection of Gobelin tapestries, with their Biblical and classical subjects, placed there originally by Louis the Fifteenth and successfully preserved during the Revolution. Here also are the chairs, the settees, and the *tabourets* of Beauvais needlework upon which the company of princes and princesses sat round the little bride on her arrival and greatly embarrassed her by their august silence! Very elaborate and beautiful, worked in minute stitches, are the landscapes and flower pieces of these famous chairs, and the colours are almost as fresh and the materials as good as when they were first brought from Beauvais to the new palace. Was it for the little Dauphin and his brothers and sisters, we wonder, that the King hung those delightful tapestries of the *Jeux d'Enfants*? We can imagine the joy with which all successive royal children must have studied the fascinating little figures. There they are, as fresh and smiling as when some ingenious mind and many skilful fingers produced them, innumerable little boys, inappropriately clothed in the togas of ancient Rome, with large hats

covered with ostrich feathers. Against a background of trees and classic temples they are enjoying every sort of childish pleasure. Here are two playing battledore and shuttlecock, a third is driving two more with reins, and another, disproportionately large, is flying a kite. In the corners are little groups telling one another secrets, and in the foreground kneels a small urchin hugging himself, his eyes tightly closed, yet giggling fearfully, while his companion beats him soundly with his feathered hat. Never surely was a chastisement so well enjoyed by both parties; the childish laughter seems to ripple off the walls as we look at them. Even the great Napoleon's sad little son, who spent some time here with his mother during the painful days of the Emperor's downfall, must have laughed with and at these absurd but merry young Romans.

There is a small room opening out of Marie Antoinette's bedroom, upholstered in pale blue silk and described as the room of the Dauphin who should have been Louis the Seventeenth. The miniature gold tent bed with its blue hangings might have harboured this child of tragic memory, but the little writing cabinet, the candelabra, and the ornaments on the mantelpiece are those of the First Empire, and were probably chosen by the later Austrian Archduchess for her little son. In one of the rooms off the gallery we may still see the small and pathetic harp and chair of the Roi de Rome, placed beside his mother's larger instrument. Did he, we wonder, ever run and shout along the tapestryed galleries and through the magnificent *Galerie des Fêtes*, the pride of his father, with its twenty Corinthian stucco and gilt columns and heavy cut-glass chandeliers, like any other well-ordered boy; or did he, with that inborn and instinctive passion for all things military which seems to have absorbed his short and melancholy existence, creep into the Salle des Gardes to admire its wonderful collection of weapons, trying not to be frightened of the depressing busts of Roman Emperors and the black Moors' heads with which it is furnished?

Fifty years later another boy, whose destiny was also to be linked with tragedy, must have enjoyed all these things a great deal better. The Prince Imperial, our own particular Prince, as we may well gratefully regard him, spent much of his time at Compiègne as a child, and had his own rather solemn suite of apartments. A solitary child he must have been among all the grown-up people of the Empress Eugénie's brilliant gatherings. Mme. Octave Feuillet, in her charming book, *Quelques Années de ma Vie*, describes how on a visit to her husband, who was a guest at the palace, she heard through the half-open door of the large and formal dining-room devoted to the Prince Imperial and his tutor a happy, confidential murmur of voices, and peeping

through she saw the Emperor seated on the floor beside his little boy, busy in the manufacture of toys. It was the children's hour before dinner, no less a joy to the father than to the son.

The Empress Eugénie made the château of Compiègne her own as none of her predecessors had succeeded in doing, and the long and stately avenue which leads from the *Place* into the heart of the forest still bears her name. No effort has been made by the Republic to replace it, and the gamekeeper's lodge at the Etang de Saint Pierre, which was the favourite rendezvous of her hunting parties, is still known, if it exists, as the *Chalet de l'Impératrice*. It was in the Forest of Compiègne that Napoleon the Third first courted the beautiful daughter of the Countess di Montijo, so it is not surprising if the place always had a special hold on her affections. For reasons of *la chasse*, the months of October and November were those chosen for the annual residence of the Court at Compiègne, as they had been from the days of Louis the Fifteenth onwards. They are not the months which the ordinary visitor would choose. Octave Feuillet speaks of his pleasure in one visit when he was given a room looking over the Petit Parc and away beyond the Champs de Tir to the Beaux Monts, and he could watch the golden mists of a fine November morning creeping up the broad avenue and embellishing the inferior marble gods and goddesses on the *parterre* below the terrace. More often, however, it was a lament over sopping fogs and shivering mists and sodden leaves, and the Empress's guests had cause to wish that their royal hostess might show less indomitable courage in facing the elements, since they were obliged to follow her.

The Empress was fond of gathering literary people about her at her country palaces, especially those who could contribute to the entertainment of her guests in the evening by preparing charades and plays. So, in the autumn of 1858, when *Le Jeune Homme Pauvre* had just been produced at the Vaudeville, the gifted author, Octave Feuillet, received royal recognition and an invitation to spend some little time at Compiègne. Mme. Feuillet was naturally desolated at not being included in the invitation, and, to console her, her husband suggested that she should take her little boy André and go to the Hôtel de la Cloche in the town. The recent visitor to Compiègne, with two admirable hotels to choose from, will not wonder that Madame was not happy in the little, old-fashioned inn in the Place de l'Hôtel de Ville. In draughty and stuffy rooms, and provided with unappetising food, she spent a miserable night, and her little boy, disgusted with such unfamiliar discomforts, refused for long to be comforted or to sleep in his own bed. All night long as she lay and shivered she heard each hour and quarter struck on the clock

of the Hôtel de Ville next door by those three industrious wooden figures known as the Picantins. In the morning, however, things looked a little better. The untravelled Madame from Paris, who had been no further as yet than her native country of Normandy and to Brittany, was pleased to find herself in what she considered *un pays étranger*. Taking her little boy by the hand, and quite in a spirit of adventure, she set forth to explore the town.

The old *Place* is in itself an attractive centre, surrounded by old and irregular houses, most of which are shops; all the busy little streets converge here, climbing up from the river and continuing on their way to the palace and the forest. In the middle of the *Place* stands the more than life-size figure of Joan of Arc, who, after defending the town, was taken prisoner by the Burgundians on the banks of the Oise in an unfortunate sortie and sold to the English. Hers was probably the only hostile eye which watched the British troops march through the town on their painful and dignified retreat, and on their way to that brilliant action in the early days of last month. Did she feel more kindly towards the Teuton hordes who presently followed them? We doubt it.

In happier days this rather fearsome Maid has been accustomed to preside twice a week over a blooming garden of plants and cut flowers ranged about her pedestal, where in the early days of May for a few sous may be had more lilac than can conveniently be carried. Behind and around her, and stretching away down the streets to the Church of St. Antoine, with its flying buttresses, almost to the river, are the stalls of the open-air market, where the thrifty housewife can provide for all her personal and household wants and pass the time of day with her friends and acquaintances from the country.

One side of the *Place* is occupied by the old Hôtel de Ville, with its Gothic Renaissance front, its steep-pitched roof and pointed belfry and turrets, and the famous clock which had marked the sleepless watches for Mme. Feuillet. Over the doorway is a fine modern statue of Louis the Twelfth on horseback, while others of such heroes as Charles the Seventh, Louis the Ninth, Charlemagne, and Joan of Arc replace earlier statues which were torn down during the Revolution. Next to the Hôtel de Ville is the very beautiful gate of the old Armoury, and opposite was the stand in time of peace for taxi-cabs and fiacres. These latter, however, feeling themselves in no danger of neglect, made a point of disappearing whenever it suited their convenience, and especially at midday, while an afternoon engagement was seldom considered binding. If *ces dames* wanted to potter in the forest, and that was all as a rule that they did want, well, they could find another fiacre; for his part Jean, now he came to think of it,

preferred possible business and a good gossip down at the station. So off he went, cheerfully leaving the ladies to waste half the afternoon waiting for him, and then to rattle off further and faster than at all pleased them in the more dependable taxi. If Jean or his substitute could be found, however, he would know exactly where to take his ladies to give them two hours of the best enjoyment to be had near Compiègne, either to the heights of the Beaux Monts, where they might gaze down the long avenue to the severe façade of the palace in the distance on one side or away over the forest and the then smiling valley of the Aisne on the other; or, if it were their fancy to gather flowers, he would take them to the most fertile patches and leave his horse to snooze in the shade while he himself ran hither and thither, collecting the tiny green lily buds with apparent zest and enjoyment. Where now are these peaceful, casual Jehus scattered? How many of them are now fighting, or sleeping their last sleep in that smiling valley which they were wont to exhibit to visitors from the heights of the Beaux Monts with all the pride of personal possession?

None of these pleasures of spring were spread before Mme. Feuillet on that chilly morning fifty-six years ago, and of her impressions of the town she says nothing at all. But when the November dusk began to fall she unpacked her prettiest dress from the large trunk, and leaving the little André, by now acclimatised to the rigours of his strange surroundings, to be put to bed by his *bonne*, she set out in mingled trepidation and joyful excitement for the palace. She had not far to go. A few minutes' walk through the Place St. Jacques, past the Gothic church with its tall stone tower and cupola of the fifteenth century, where the Maid of Orleans heard her last Mass before her capture, and she found herself on the great open space in front of the palace, which looked to her cold and inhospitable on this dull November evening. The dry leaves fallen from the pollarded lime trees crackled under her feet as she crossed the cobbled *Place* and passed under the open portico into the *cour d'honneur*. So foggy was it that she could see no welcoming lights in the windows, and the silent sentinels looming large on either side of the gate gave her an uncomfortable sense of being an intruder.

Once inside the palace, however, all was well, and she was conducted safely through the long, over-heated corridors, through the State dining-room where the dinner table prepared for the evening was resplendent with gold plate and crystal, past a veritable army of valets and footmen in livery coats and knee breeches, until at last she reached her husband's rooms. She tells us with charming naïveté how afraid she was that in these sumptuous surroundings he would have changed towards her, that he would

find her plain and provincial in comparison with the Court ladies, and especially with the wonderful Empress, whose beauty was talked of all the world over! Her fears on this score were soon set at rest, however. M. Feuillet, in an old coat and slippers, was smoking his pipe over the fire, and greeted his young wife with even greater affection than ever. He told her all the gossip of the palace; the adventures, scandalous and otherwise, of his fellow guests, and of how his luggage had been lost and had arrived only two minutes before he had to go and drink tea with the Empress in her own boudoir. And then he told her that *Le Jeune Homme Pauvre* was to be performed at the palace, that she was to be invited, and also to the next Royal Hunt that was to be held.

Madame returned enchanted to her hotel, and, as she says, slept that night in her wretched little room as if it had been Aladdin's Cave. But, alas for human hopes and expectations! Two days later she was indeed invited to a stag hunt, and attended in solitary state in a hired fiacre. She describes the tumult and excitement at the start, the cries of the huntsmen, the sounding of horns, the rattle of wheels, the ground shaking as if an army of elephants had been set in motion. She drove behind brakes full of guests, among whom was her own husband, the ladies enveloped in thick furs. So furious was the pace that in the damp mist the trees slipped by like phantoms, and the huntsmen, in the costume they have worn since the days of Louis the Fifteenth, and still wear, were ghosts from the past, returning to their old haunts for this special occasion.

Presently, Madame, cold and a little bored at being alone in the midst of so much gaiety, ordered her *cocher* to drive down a deserted avenue, and got out to walk and warm her frozen feet. Attracted by the sound of laughter and voices, she peeped between the young trees of a small enclosure and saw a gay group of ladies outside a little lodge, beating their hands and stamping their feet, and among them stood a gentleman, warming something over a spirit-lamp. It was the Emperor, serving out punch to the ladies. Madame discreetly retired, the rain began to fall heavily, the bugle sounded the retreat, and, having had no reviving punch, she retired to her dreary hotel, chilled to the bone. Then followed a night of high fever, and instead of being present at the representation of her husband's play at the Palace on the following evening, she felt there was nothing for it but to drag herself home to Paris by the earliest train. M. Feuillet was sent for, and together they wept over the pretty dress in which she had looked forward to doing him credit. But worse was to follow. At midnight, as the successful author was being overwhelmed with congratulations in the Royal Box, he received an urgent

summons, and arrived in Paris by daybreak to find his wife seriously ill.

This was only the first of many of the novelist's visits to Compiègne, until he was ultimately appointed librarian at Fontainebleau. Madame did not again brave the terrors of the Hôtel de la Cloche, but she faithfully preserved all the letters which he daily wrote her from the Palace and which give a singularly vivid description of the gay life and movement which the Empress liked to keep about her. Each week the company of the Comédie Française came out to give a command performance, but private theatricals were her favourite amusement, and one of Feuillet's duties was to bring a considerable number of charades for the Court to act, and these his wife and family were called upon to perform beforehand that the author might judge of their effect.

Prosper Mérimée, who had known the Empress from her childhood, was naturally another familiar visitor at Compiègne, and one who was pressed into the service of entertaining her guests no less than Feuillet. On one occasion he writes to the *Inconnue* that he has been leading *la vie agitée d'un impresario*. 'I have been author, actor, and stage manager!' That was the day after the Emperor's birthday, in November 1863, always a great occasion, when he had presumably been the only literary star at the Palace.

Each autumn during the Second Empire the varied round of pleasure and amusement began afresh at Compiègne. Even as late as 1868, when the Prussian storm clouds were gathering thick over the horizon, the Court routine at the Palace was little altered. Each day, rain or shine, open brakes were drawn up at the terrace, and the company, reluctant or otherwise—and we gather that M. Feuillet, a delicate man, and one, moreover, who among others would gladly have remained absorbed in his own affairs, was often reluctant—were borne through the forest. Sometimes it was to follow the hunt, sometimes a picnic to Pierrefonds, that stupendous fourteenth-century fortress of Louis d'Orléans which towers above the village on the outskirts of the forest, one of the company, and the guide on these expeditions, being frequently the architect, Viollet-le-Duc, who was responsible for its rather over-complete restoration. And at night there was the brilliant round of banquets, receptions, theatrical entertainments and concerts, at which, as we know, assisted the greatest geniuses and some of the most distinguished men and women in Europe, and of which the Empress herself was the life and inspiration. And then in the summer of 1870 the tragic storm broke, and the tottering Empire fell finally into ruins.

The Palace of Compiègne, while the invading Prussian army marched to Paris and during the frenzy of the Commune, stood,

deserted and silent, not again to shelter Royalty until the Emperor and Empress of Russia were for a few days the guests of the President in 1904. Only one wing is now occupied by the President himself ; the rest of the château, long since despoiled of all the personal possessions of the Empress, who loved it as her country home, remains cold and empty and formal, as is the way of show palaces. To what use it may be put, if any, at the present time, we have no word to tell us. But in the Petit Parc and up the wide grassy avenue there has been, until the August of this year, no lack of life. The grass is long and rank, and a thrifty Republic puts no flowers in the borders before midsummer. But it was the children's Paradise, their open-air nursery. From early morning until dusk they spent the hours there, babies of all sorts and sizes and classes, and if there were no flowers there were magnificent trees to shelter them, and in the spring there were pink and white chestnuts, lilacs, and flowering shrubs of every description.

At the entrance is, or, I should say, was, and we hope will be again, one of these delightful stalls which contained everything that the infant heart can desire : rattles, gaily coloured balls, spades, and buckets, and for the more advanced, tin railway trains, motor cars, and of course aeroplanes. For the nourishment of their small bodies were *brioches* and *petits pains* and bottles of liquid of a sort unfamiliar to the British eye. And the babies who had a sou to spend, or could extract one from an elder, must spend it, and that is no easy matter with such a varied choice. They made sand pies round the classic statues which M. Octave Feuillet with his critical temperament only found bearable in the golden mists of early morning, and they wandered along the wide terrace with its shuttered windows and explored the Empress's favourite pergola, on which the wistaria in pale mauve buds was just bursting into life.

The spring came with a rush this year after a spell of cold rain, the very day we arrived in Compiègne. We met it in the morning at Amiens, where the lilacs were out, and as we travelled through the cultivated fields to Compiègne we told one another what a rich, prosperous, almost dull country it would be in the autumn ; those fields where the harvest, ripening in the wonderful summer of which we saw the first days, has been trampled under foot by the heavy guns and baggage waggons alike of retreating Allies and invading enemies, and even fired, a sad necessity, to hinder the pursuers.

In Compiègne we found a singularly brisk and cheerful town, with a very friendly people delighted to welcome the first spring swallows, as they regarded the early English visitors. The hotels were full of Parisian families for the Easter *vacances*, the fathers going into town every day for their business, and the

mothers taking the children and their smart nurses to spend long and happy days in the park and the forest.

The shops in Compiègne showed an activity which was probably largely independent of the visitors' season. In the *pâtisserie* every afternoon the very charming Madame, who made all her customers equally welcome, had her hands full. As we sat drinking our tea at a little table in the middle of the small shop, much of the social and domestic life of Compiègne was revealed to us. There was the wife of a local celebrity who came in to order the cakes and the *entremets* for a large *déjeuner* on the following Sunday. It was the Sunday after Easter, but it was evidently to be a great occasion and required much consultation between the hostess and the pleasant lady who was so anxious to meet her requirements. Only once did the latter's smiling equanimity threaten collapse, and that was when the housekeeper of the bachelor doctor complained that a dish ordered for her master's dinner had been so late in arriving that he had to go out to see an urgent case without waiting for it. This was indeed a tragedy, but Madame was not at once so apologetic as might have been expected. If Monsieur will live so far away as the Rue Jeanne d'Arc (from which it may be presumed that Monsieur was a newcomer), what else could be expected? However, the threatened storm soon blew over, and the ladies parted with smiles and mutual apologies, the best of friends. Madame turned beaming to welcome a tiny boy, who was supplied with an equally small table and a large *baba*, while his stout grandfather lamented loudly that his age and size did not permit him to receive the same kind attentions. And so it went on every afternoon, the population of Compiègne pouring in and out of the little shop in the Rue des Pâtissiers.

The lady in the hat-shop down the street, opposite the old house in which the beautiful Gabrielle d'Estrées lived her sheltered early girlhood, was more tranquil. It amused her to make hats for *les Anglaises*, and she did not at all mind how often she altered them, since she always had her own way about them in the end! At the chemist's, on the other hand, business was fast and furious. In stout and majestic calm Madame, it is true, sat behind her *comptoir*, always adorned with a bunch of lilies of the valley or a spray of lilac, doing endless accounts in a large ledger and issuing commands, principally as to what sums—extremely modest ones—were to be paid by the clients. The young man, her son, in a white overall, with a shock of black hair and fierce black moustaches and a very wild eye, flew about with fearful activity and entirely unassisted. With one hand he would dress a wounded finger with a deftness and rapidity equally

astonishing and callous, while with the other he would silently deal out packets of mysterious remedies to the row of waiting customers, young shopmen and old women with market baskets who unblushingly explained the nature of their discomforts. Occasionally 'Maman's' superior wisdom was referred to, but as a rule the young man was quite equal to the situation. On one market day, when the shop was unusually full, Madame arose and walked solemnly to the telephone. She made no mystery of her business : she was interviewing an apprentice, or, as she called him, a *nouvel élève*. ' You will have ten francs a day,' she informed him at the telephone. ' You will not work on Sundays, and you will not be paid on Sundays. We open at seven in the morning, and we close towards 9.15 at night. *Bien ! Monsieur*, you will have one hour for *déjeuner* and one hour for dinner.' Then, as Monsieur at the other end appeared to be wriggling, the impressive voice continued, ' *Non*, Monsieur, three months will be no use ; you will not come for less than a year.' There was a pause while Monsieur tried to collect himself for a further effort at self-assertion, and then, in accents of calm finality, ' You will think it over, Monsieur ; you will let me know in the morning. You will come the day after to-morrow.' She cast an eye round the crowded shop and at her son's swift and silent ministrations. ' *Nous sommes très pressés*, Monsieur,' and she hung up the receiver. Before leaving Compiègne we had the satisfaction of seeing that he did arrive, this apprentice, a weedy, amiable youth, born to be the slave of some large and competent woman, and quite unable to keep up with his master's fiery activity. Where is he now? Where, indeed, are all these busy, friendly people? When the British troops passed out of Compiègne they blew up the bridges over the Oise in face of the advancing enemy. And on the long road to Paris was a dreary procession, in carts and on foot, of women and children, old men and infants, flying from the wrath to come, from the dreaded advance of Prussian civilisation, the civilisation by fire and steel.

The tide of war rolled through Compiègne, and in the great ebb of German retreat has rolled back again, leaving, at best, it is to be feared, a deserted town of shuttered windows. And yet, we wonder, how far is it really deserted? How many of the flying inhabitants, assured two or three weeks ago that for the time, at all events, the enemy had passed on their devastating way, and that the capital was in even more imminent danger, crept back to their own homes? But the terror of the Uhlan is still abroad. Death and corruption are on every side. There will be no children swinging on the chains ; there will be little or no business in the Rue des Pâtissiers. The

lady of the hat-shop will scarcely have returned to take down her shutters. And yet we are sure that Madame of the Pharmacie of the Place St. Jacques is there. Her son, as active in the field as in the shop, is fighting in the great army of the Allies. The *nouvel élève* has gone also. As these words are written the great battle on the River Aisne, beyond the forest, a few miles away, is still being fought. But Madame is not only too old to fly before the Germans, but she is a true Frenchwoman of the middle classes, one of those whose thrift and capacity have done so much to build up her nation. She believes in the Republic, and she has an equally profound belief in her own business and of its importance to her country. Twice in fifty years has she seen the devouring Prussians march upon Paris and her country fighting for its bare existence. She remembers the sorrows of 1870, and she does not believe that they will be repeated. She knows that a newer and a stronger France has come into being in these last forty years. When she was a girl in Compiègne the palace opposite and the park were reserved for the frivolity and the enjoyment of the few. Now for nearly forty years they have stood with gates wide, and the honest bourgeois could walk in the late Empress's garden, and his children could treat it as their playground. That is her reasoning, which not even the fear of the Germans can alter. Moreover, she has seen the army of the Allies, and has watched and appraised the British troops as they passed and perhaps re-passed through Compiègne.

There has been a time of fearful uncertainty. There will be many more such times before the enemy is finally routed. Anxiety must gnaw sometimes at the stoutest bulwarks of our confidence in the ultimate triumph of a righteous cause. But that that cause will triumph not one of us any more than Madame has a shadow of doubt. Had we seen our small army, as she did, march down the hill into the storm of German shell which burst on it out of the mist by the river, we might humbly have remembered the words of an old prayer out of our Prayer Book, too little heard at present, 'Thou givest not always the battle to the strong, but can save by many or by few.'

ROSE M. BRADLEY.

OPPORTUNITIES OF THE WAR

(I)

AN URGENT PLEA FOR STATE SUGAR FACTORIES

EXACTLY a century ago our admirals, struggling with Napoleon, forced on the Continent the manufacture of beet sugar; and last year 8,000,000 tons, or nearly half the world's supply of sugar, was made there.

To-day a struggle forced upon us by another System which aims at the overlordship of Europe gives us an opportunity, such as we could never have dreamt of, to set about sugar making ourselves.

FOOD BY THE GRACE OF GERMANY AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

The facts of the situation are easily grasped :

1. *As much as 82 per cent. of the sugar consumed in the United Kingdom last year was Beet sugar:*

Beet sugar imported in 1913	1,570,053 tons = 80 per cent.
Cane , , , ,	<u>399,834 , , = 20 , ,</u>
Total Beet and Cane	1,969,887 , , ¹

2. *Of this 80 per cent., some 68 per cent. cannot be counted upon in the future, as we have been indebted to Germany and Austria-Hungary for it:*

Beet sugar imported from Germany	938,438 tons
" , , Austria-Hungary	<u>359,469 , ,</u>
Total from Germany and Austria-Hungary	1,297,907 , ,
Total from the rest of the world	<u>272,146 , ,</u>
Total Beet sugar imported in 1913	1,570,053 , ,

3. *Not only, however, is our 68 per cent. from Germany and Austria-Hungary stopped. A great deal of the remainder of our supply from the rest of Europe is temporarily unobtainable, for the remainder of our supply reached us in 1913 as follows :*

Russia	2,940 tons
Belgium	52,446 , ,
France	26,594 , ,
Holland	<u>190,166 , ,</u>
Beet sugar from other countries than Germany and Austria-Hungary in 1913 . . .	272,146 , ,

¹ A little over 1 per cent. was re-exported, but the amount is too small to affect the figures seriously.

Belgium is now largely devastated. Many beet districts of France have also been overrun, and she is likely to need for herself all the sugar she can manufacture. The quantity of sugar available for export from Russia, with her fields receiving no more attention than is possible in war time, will be variously estimated, but it cannot be large, and considerable shipments would have some difficulty in reaching us, with the Baltic closed, the Dardanelles in Turco-German keeping, and the Archangel route frozen up. Holland, if she is not actually drawn into the war, may be hampered in her production to some degree by the mobilisation of so large a proportion of her adult population.

Nor is it possible to bring in a beet sugar of the New World (or of Asia or the Colonies) to redress the balance of the European sugar world. The beet sugar we consume is a European product only. (American and Canadian beet sugar does not cross the Atlantic.)

There remains cane, which furnished last year 20 per cent. of our supplies. The cane import of 1913 was made up as follows. In two instances I also give the 1912 figures :

	Tons		Tons
Java (1912=182,544)	99	Brazil	5,141
Cuba	223,980	Mauritius	20,178
Dutch Guiana	4,501	British India	3,850
Hayti and San Domingo	9,409	West Indies (1912=41,062)	47,711
Mexico	4,132	Other countries	53,313
Peru	27,520		399,834

No doubt the cane sugar supply can be increased to some extent. (In 1912, following a bad beet year, we had 624,885 tons of cane.) It may be expected that every effort will be made by the planters to take advantage of an unexampled opportunity. But the output of cane sugar cannot be increased in a hurry. And a source of supply which last year did not meet a quarter of our requirements can hardly be counted upon to do very much for us. 'The great demand for the immediate future,' as the *International Sugar Journal* says, 'will be direct consumption sugars which do not need to pass through the congested British refineries.'

I have stated that in 1913 the sugar we consumed was, as to 80 per cent. of it beet, and as to 20 per cent. of it cane. But our indebtedness to beet is in reality heavier than appears from these percentages. If we average the imports of sugar of 1912-13 with the imports of 1910-11 we find an importation of only 340,000 tons of cane to 1,577,000 tons of beet. This shows an import of only 17½ per cent. of cane to 82½ per cent. of beet. In other words, if, in order to get a vivid impression of the situation, we picture the sugar we consume in this country as lump

sugar only, then, roughly speaking, *for every cup of tea sweetened with cane sugar, five are sweetened with beet.*

By this time the reader is naturally asking why we are not making a considerable proportion of our own sugar in England. Sugar beet can be grown perfectly here. In fact, there is only one Continental country, Norway, which does not make sugar.

It is not as if we were not large consumers of sugar. In the whole world two countries only, Denmark and Australia, consume more per head than we do.²

Yet every pound of all the immense quantity of beet sugar we consumed last year, with the exception of a small quantity, such as might supply the Isle of Man, manufactured by the pioneer factory in Norfolk—to be referred to later on—was made on the Continent out of beets grown there.

POPULAR MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT BEET SUGAR

If there had only been something in the appearance or the flavour of refined beet sugar to distinguish it from refined cane sugar, our people might have taken more interest in the sugar-beet question. But there is nothing to distinguish it. When we drop a lump of sugar into a teacup, or sprinkle sugar on strawberries, there is nothing whatever in the appearance or the taste of the sugar to remind us that we are, ordinarily, using, not cane sugar, but beet. The resemblance between the two sugars prevents any visualisation of the preponderance of beet on the table, in the pantry, or in the jam or confectionery factory.

Plenty of people imagine, of course, that they know cane sugar from beet, whether in the lump, granulated, or soft; but they are mistaken. Quite recently a medical knight extolled in the *British Medical Journal* the superior virtues of cane sugar, and went on gravely to assure his professional colleagues that the test for cane sugar was to rub two lumps together in the dark and see if they glowed, as if two lumps of beet sugar, subjected to the same treatment, would not glow too! Many housewives insist, however, that they can identify cane sugar by the size of its crystals, by the shape of the lumps, and by its degree of whiteness. But the fineness or coarseness of the crystals of cane or beet or any other sugar, whether they are the crystals of icing sugar, granulated sugar, or 'Demerara,' is due wholly to the degree of refinement to which the sugar is brought. French lump sugar is composed of very fine crystals, English of coarse. The French prefer a small-grained sugar, which is dull. Whether the lumps shall be the cubes known to English tea-tables, or the flat oblongs seen in Continental restaurants, depends simply on

² Australia, 109 lb. per head; Denmark, 99; United Kingdom, 95½; Germany, 49; France, 43; Belgium, 39; Austria-Hungary, 28.

whether the market which is being catered for prefers cubes or oblongs. The fact that some sugar is bluer than other sugar means merely that the workmen in charge of the centrifugals from which it came poured in more ultramarine! Sugar is sugar ($C_{12}H_{22}O_{11}$), whether it is cane or beet, looks the same, and tastes the same, if fully refined.³ It is possible that a small quantity of cheap imperfectly refined beet sugar is sold for direct consumption in the poorest districts; but, counting this and the low-grade beet sugar used in some factories, it is doubtful if there are 250,000 tons in all which an expert could possibly tell from cane.

HOW WE HAVE POTTERED WITH SUGAR BEET

It is more than a century since Europe first began (in Silesia) to make sugar for itself. Very soon, thanks to our Navy, Napoleon could point to forty factories in France. As to the modern industry, Germany alone has beet crops on more than a million acres.

When the solitary sugar factory existing in England started work three years ago at Cantley in Norfolk it was thought that beet sugar had never been made among us. The product of the factory established at Lavenham during the Franco-German war did not count because it sent its juice to London, where it was mixed with cane juice; but I believe that two young Quakers set up a beet sugar factory in Essex as early as the thirties, at the modest outlay of 2000*l.*⁴—a modern factory costs 200,000*l.*—and made a certain amount of sugar, the quality of which was pronounced ‘various.’ For the rest we have gained some distinction from the number of our experiments in beet growing. There was an experiment in Surrey in the last years of William the Fourth, and experiments are going on still. If the six-thousandth experiment has not been reached it very soon will be!

But beet-growing experiments are one thing and the production of sugar is another. ‘It is only England,’ said the *Bulletin des Sucres* of the year in which Queen Victoria came to the throne, ‘which takes no interest in the production of home-grown sugar.’ The Ministers of that time thought that sugar beet would be fatal to the cane industry of the West Indies, whereas the truth is that that industry was never modernised until it felt the competition of beet. As very little was known of the agriculture of the Continent, much less of the progress of beet-

³ There is, of course, a difference in the taste of raw cane and raw beet sugar, just as there is a difference between cane molasses—which is palatable—and beet molasses—which cannot be used for human food. The characteristic flavour of the unrefined ‘Demerara’ sugar is due to the aromatic impurity.

⁴ In 1873 a Mr. Campbell had extensive premises at Buscot to distil alcohol from beets. In 1850 there had been a pioneer factory in Ireland.

growing there, people, who at this time and at a later period gave the sugar question a thought, no doubt assumed that, as sugar is the creation of sunlight, Providence had intended that we should draw our sugar from the tropics. Of recent years the lack of interest in the possibilities of producing Great Britain's sugar in Great Britain has been largely due to the fact that there seemed to be no urgency in the question. Owing to the bounties, no country has had cheaper sugar than we have had. Beyond this, beet sugar did not sufficiently advertise itself; the country consumed sugar in the proportion of five lumps of beet to one of cane without knowing it.

THE FACTORIES WHICH DID NOT WORK

But beet sugar propaganda has never ceased for long in this country. The experiment which James Duncan carried on at Lavenham for nine years came to grief principally because he could never get the farmers to grow more than 8000 tons of the 20,000 tons of beet he wanted. The roots were good, but there was trouble over transporting the loads from heavy land, and some of the disaffected, I have heard, put nails among them, to the destruction of the knives of the factory machinery. The Lavenham factory has long been a matting warehouse. Since its time, it is worthy of note, science and practice have nearly doubled the percentage of sugar in the beet, and a very much larger proportion of that sugar is extracted than formerly.

Six years ago there was a prolonged flourish over a factory to be established at Sleaford. Though a few thousands were raised, the scheme had to be abandoned. A year later what seemed to be in many ways one of the most promising proposals which have been made for a sugar factory in England came from a Dutch sugar firm of repute, acting in conjunction with men well known in the agricultural world, among them the Hon. Edward Strutt and Mr. Trustram Eve. An experimental crop was produced by Essex and Suffolk farmers and sent over to Holland. But some of the land in which the beets were grown was ill-chosen; the farmers, who were imperfectly instructed or supercilious, were discouraged by small yields, by the heavy work of getting up the beets from the sticky land, and by the deductions from weight for dirt—in some cases amounting to 70 per cent.!—and the East Anglian Beet Sugar Company never built the factory for which it had bought land at Maldon.

About the same time a movement was set on foot for a factory in Norfolk, and Mr. Courthope, M.P., tried to establish one in Sussex. There were also schemes for factories in Worcestershire and Cornwall, and further projects were mentioned from time to time in the papers. There were soon in existence three propa-

gandist organisations—one at Liverpool and a British Sugar Beet Council (with Mr. Courthope at the head of it) and a National Sugar Beet Association, of which Lord Denbigh was chairman. This was certainly a period of tall stories about the yields of the beet crop and of the financial return to the farmer. It was also a time when large demands were made on public sympathy by directors of companies which were just about to float, but were unavoidably prevented from getting a brick on the site of their factories owing to the deplorable delays of German sugar machinery firms. '40,000,000*l.* might be safely invested' in sugar factories, Mr. Stein persisted, but not even 40,000*l.* was put down.

WHY THE PROPAGANDA CAME TO NOTHING

Sometimes the company promoters abused landowners for people who would not, by entrusting them with capital, demonstrate that they had the interests of rural England at heart. The company promoters also abused the farmers for not showing alacrity in putting down their names to grow beet. The farmers muttered that they might perhaps grow beet if they could see any sign of a factory being built. The rejoinder was, What is the use of building a factory without guaranteed areas of beet? But, however company promoters and farmers might abuse one another, they were at all times ready to join together in abusing the Government. It was loudly declared that if it were not for a Free Trade Government there would be a fine chance for the new industry. In order that there should be no possibility of Protection, were not the Authorities waiting to clap an excise duty on the first sugar which might be made, a duty equal to the import duty paid by foreign sugar at our ports? What chance had an infant industry in such conditions, particularly as the Continental sugar industry had been fed into such a flourishing condition by bounties?

It is doubtful, however, if it was the apparent determination of the Government to uphold the Free Trade policy of the country which brought to naught so many factory proposals that, according to their advocates, were just on the point of coming to something. Our commercial capitalists are not without enterprise, and it has not been their way to fight shy of new industries unless they were backed by Government. What had most to do with keeping people from putting their hands in their pockets for sugar factories was uncertainty as to whether beet-growing would pay the farmer and sugar manufacture would be profitable to factory shareholders.

Press and platform talk which was intended to dissipate that uncertainty did not effect much. Beet tonnage per acre was exaggerated in the wildest way, while, as to the financial return

to agriculture, enthusiasts let themselves go in a fashion which most of them lived to regret. 'A net profit of 9*l.* per acre to the farmer' was the undertaking of one evangelist. Mr. Stein, in his turn, showed a balance of from 6*l.* to 7*l.* Then Mr. Courthope declared that, 'on any decent land which would grow a decent crop of mangolds,' the farmer 'ought to make a profit of at least 6*l.* to 7*l.*, in addition to other advantages in the shape of bonus, free lime and cheap cattle food.' There was a time, too, when Lord Denbigh, who first and last has done a great deal for sugar beet, talked of much bigger profits than he does now.

No Continental experience supported a belief in these short cuts to rural affluence. The case for sugar beet is not that there is a remarkable cash return, but that the result of the sound cultivation which goes with successful beet-growing, along with the deep-rooting habit of the plant, the immense crop of leaves and tops which can be ploughed in, the cheap cattle food obtained by the farmer in the form of the returned 'slices'; the free lime,⁵ and the factory bonus for intelligent culture, is considerably to increase the cereal-growing powers of the fields in which beets are produced.

My own interest in the sugar beet question was awakened when gross exaggerations as to the farmers' profit were followed by proposals for factories by men who were unfitted for their management, by their inexperience of sugar manufacture or of the control of large industrial enterprises. As a resident in one of the propagandised counties, I ventured to indulge in some plain speaking in the agricultural and sugar trade press and in a book, the tone of which may be judged from its sub-title, *Some Facts and Some Illusions*.⁶ The sharp criticism of others as well as myself gradually found its way into the daily and weekly papers of the districts which were being particularly urged to undertake beet-growing and sugar-making, and aided by one of the periodical fluctuations in the price of sugar, had undoubtedly a great deal to do with the collapse of one factory proposal after another.

Nevertheless the case for a culture which teaches good farming; for a crop that, unlike mangolds, is saleable for cash; gives the agriculturist a storable winter food supply for his stock supplementary to mangolds, turnips, and hay; and, in effect, returns to the soil all the crop but the sugar it contains,⁷ was plainly worthy of examination. And the case for the sugar-beet

⁵ The beets are sliced at the factory into square strips of about the diameter of macaroni. The slices are infused, like tea, in great urns, in order to extract the sugar, and, when exhausted, are available for use as cattle food. The lime used in the sugar manufacture is given away to the beet-growers.

⁶ *Sugar Beet; Some Facts and Some Illusions: a Study in Rural Therapeutics* ('Field' Office).

⁷ The sugar is not, however, derived from the soil, but from the air.

crop was reinforced by the case for the sugar factory. Here, it might well be urged, was the promise of a new industry which would not only increase the population of the rural districts in which the factories are built, but would make us independent to a considerable degree of foreign sugar. It was not surprising that sober students of the rural problem, while regretting the excesses of some rural sugar-beet propagandists, should have desired to see a trial of beet growing on a commercial scale and to witness the experiment of a sugar factory. But the Act constituting the Development Commission forbade it to do anything towards the establishment of an enterprise 'trading for profit,' and, while all sorts of ingenious schemes for getting round the Act were suggested to the Treasury, the official reply was always that the course suggested would infringe the Brussels Sugar Convention.

The full story of that Convention—for which Great Britain is no longer responsible—is not the least extraordinary thing in the sugar-beet serio-comedy. But it must not detain us. What may be noted is that the history of the beet-sugar movement up to this date might be not unfairly represented by its critics as a story of unsuccessful finance and a great deal of inaccurate talking and irresponsible pamphleteering. A distinguished public servant might well ask, on one of the occasions when the Government was being invited by the Sugar Beet Council to do something, 'Was there a National Taxi-Cab Council haranguing the authorities before the advent of taxi-cabs?' And even taxi-cabs had to bear an excise duty from the start. But the sugar-beet enthusiasts were buoyed up by a somewhat rash utterance of a junior representative of the Ministry to the effect that 'this was precisely one of those cases where those interested might approach the Development Commission with a view to seeing whether some assistance might be rendered.' And before long Mr. Asquith said practically the same thing. Happily, while hugging hopes of Government help in the future, the propagandists also set themselves to do some spade work. The Beet Sugar Council, to the extent of the somewhat discouraging support it received, conducted experiments and carefully collated the results. Lord Denbigh's better-off National Sugar Beet Association, which had received help from, among other landowners, the Duke of Bedford and Lord Lansdowne, and had a Mincing Lane broker on its board, sent a representative to the Continent, who brought back authoritative data as to the best methods of working the beet crop and harvesting it, and the costs and profits of factories. It also conducted, at considerable expenditure, a number of experiments, and introduced Continental beet-working implements.

A FACTORY AT WORK

And at last there came into existence a company which set itself to build a factory. This enterprise was engineered from Holland, but not by the people behind the Maldon project. Although the company's preliminary finance was the subject of some criticism on both sides of the North Sea, the general desire in this country was to see the Anglo-Dutch venture successful. Confidence was expressed in the integrity of Mr. Courthope, the chairman, who is entitled to no little credit for his devotion to sugar beet; and it was felt that if the scheme now brought forward failed, an opportunity of testing beet-growing and sugar-making in this country might not offer for some years. The share capital of the company was large : 400,000*l.* and a debenture issue of the same amount. 300,000*l.* was offered to the public, but the underwriters had to take up a large proportion. No excuse need be made for quoting figures because, until the war, the future of the beet-sugar industry in this country seemed to be largely bound up with the fate of the Anglo-Netherlands Company. According to the prospectus, the company took over factories and other interests in Holland, valued at 367,000*l.* and 242,000*l.* respectively, or 609,000*l.* in all. The profit shown on the factories was 50,000*l.* a year, but no allowance was made for commission, interest, or depreciation—10 per cent. is a usual factory depreciation. The purchase price was 500,000*l.* in cash and shares, and 77,900*l.* debentures were exchanged for Dutch debentures. It was estimated that 158,000*l.* would be available for building the factory at Cantley, in Norfolk, and—alas!—that the profits would be 'at least 62,000*l.* per annum.' The first balance-sheet, up to the 31st of March 1913, was not available to the public until nine months or so after that date. It showed that 168,000*l.* had been spent on the factory. The preliminary expenses amounted to 9000*l.*; the discount on debentures had come to 36,000*l.* The expenditure on the 1912-13 sugar campaign^{*} was given as 83,000*l.*, the receipts as 31,900*l.*, and the stocks as (at sale value) 6000*l.* This showed a loss of 45,000*l.* But to this loss was to be added the interest on debentures, directors' fees, and depreciation.

The company had all sorts of difficulties, not only of its own household but in respect of the crops grown for it. They were short, of course, but they were also grown by comparative novices, though Dutch instructors and harvesters and Dutch machinery

^{*} The campaign is the term applied to the manufacturing season, which in the case of an ordinary sugar factory may last sixty, seventy, or eighty days. A factory may start work in October and keep going until the turn of the year, working night and day. It stands idle the rest of the year.

had been imported by the company. The weather had also been unpropitious. The second campaign, last winter's, of which we have as yet no financial report, was also attended by difficulties, some of the company's and some of other people's making. The beets in East Anglia are now maturing for the third campaign, but they must have been hindered by the dry weather.

Mr. Courthope has been understood to take a favourable view of the prospects of Cantley—the rise in the price of sugar must be a godsend to its directorate—but at the beginning of the year there was litigation over a proposal, made in view of the company's lack of funds, to sell 70,000*l.* of the Dutch debentures. The decision come to by the directors was sustained in the law courts, but as the value at which the Dutch interests had been taken over at the formation of the company had already attracted attention, the action of the company excited some comment.

HOW THE GOVERNMENT HELPED

When all allowances are made for the difficulties of preliminary finance, for difficulties with the farmers, and for difficulties in getting a large enough supply of beet, the fact remains that this pioneer sugar-beet factory has been substantially helped in two ways. In the first place, it has sold its sugar for two years, and is going to sell it a third year, with the Protection represented by the 1*s.* 10*d.* per cwt. duty imposed on foreign sugar. Extraordinary though it may seem, a Free Trade Government has altered the Free Trade Policy of the country in its interests! For three successive years, as each Budget day has approached, there have been heavy insurances at Lloyds against an abolition of the sugar duty. It was generally believed that the Chancellor would do away with the impost he had so heartily denounced, and would provide 'a free breakfast table.' In spite of vigorous criticism from his own party, however, he has left standing the tariff wall of 1*s.* 10*d.* per cwt. within the shelter of which the Cantley factory is trading. Mr. Lloyd George, when attacked, replied with resolution that it would be 'perfectly absurd' to impose an excise duty in 'the experimental stage.' The Prime Minister and he looked forward, he said, to the building up of an industry 'equal to anything that has been done on the Continent.' During the past month the Chancellor has given the assurance that an excise duty will not be imposed during the war.

But Cantley has not only been aided by 'Protection.' It has been helped to a larger crop of sugar beet than it was able to obtain by its own efforts. As has been explained, the Development Commission could do nothing for companies 'trading for

profit.' The difficulty has been got over, in the case of the infant industries of tobacco, flax, and sugar beet, by the formation of co-operative organisations not trading for profit, which undertake the preliminary work of encouraging growers of the new crops by providing seed, implements, instruction, and bonuses. In the case of the Sugar Beet Growers' Society, the idea was that a sugar factory was at last in existence, and that it was important to have a fair trial made of sugar-beet growing and the cost of manufacturing the beets into sugar. In January, when the formation of the Sugar Beet Growers' Society was announced, it was stated that a liberal grant of 11,000*l.* had been made to it in respect of an expenditure, not during the current year, but during the previous year. Lord Denbigh's Sugar Beet Association, which had laid out a good round sum in encouraging growers in various parts of the country, and had latterly examined the case for getting over the difficulty of the shortage of beets by starting in the first instance a yeast factory or an alcohol factory⁹—both of which require a smaller supply than a sugar factory—naturally wondered why it had been denied help. But a louder protest came from the cane-sugar interests. It is true that the demand of the West Indies for favoured treatment, corresponding to the rebate of taxation which the Cantley factory enjoyed, had been pronounced even by the sympathetic *International Sugar Journal* as far from urgent; but the announcement of the 11,000*l.* grant provoked comparisons with the action of the Home Government in regard to St. Kitts. This colony had proposed to guarantee the interest on the capital of a second central sugar factory in the island, and the Colonial Office had vetoed it on the ground that it would be an infringement of the Brussels Sugar Convention, 'to the terms of which the Home Government are determined to adhere.'

There was also criticism at home from those who questioned the stability of the Cantley enterprise, and suggested that, if it came to grief, the prospects of successful sugar-beet growing and beet-sugar manufacture in this country would be extinguished for a generation. Would not the agricultural and investing public conclude that, if an enterprise which had had an officially subsidised organisation getting beets grown for it, and the Free Trade policy of the country altered in its interest, could not earn a dividend, a home sugar industry was impracticable?

And so the sugar-beet question in England stood at the outbreak of the War.

⁹ Just before the War the Imperial Transport Council appealed for 30,000*l.* with which thoroughly to investigate the question of alcohol as a motor fuel.

CANE *versus* BEET

With regard to the general prospects of beet sugar in comparison with cane, it may be noted that in Germany and Austria-Hungary,¹⁰ where there was perhaps the best beet-growing and sugar-making, the rise in the area given to sugar beet has been, between 1909 and 1913, 433,000 acres. Omitting what Mr. Martineau calls 'that delusive, confusing, imaginary figure of 2,451,100 tons for British India, which does not or ought not to concern practical sugar statisticians'—it is consumed locally—the 8,341,000 tons of European sugar represent more than half the visible sugar production of the world :

Beet sugar—		
European	8,341,063	tons
American	624,064	"
Cane sugar	6,764,537	"
World's visible sugar production . . .	18,180,764	"

Mr. Martineau was doubtful, however, if Germany and Austria could maintain their present large exports in competition with cane. In view of the War, we can be certain on the point. As to cane sugar, Formosa may one day produce beyond the requirements of Japan; but Cuba and Java, the largest producers of cane sugar—they made 2,400,000 tons and 1,300,000 tons respectively in 1912-13—seem to be the governing factors in the future of the cane industry. The export of these islands has increased enormously. Their sugar is the product of the highest technical skill and the best equipped factories. The natural fertility of some parts of Cuba is amazing, and the planter in Java has also natural advantages to counteract the disadvantages of distance from Europe.

Attempts are made from time to time to compare the cost of the production of sugar in the tropics from cane and in the temperate zone from sugar beet, but it is difficult to get comparable up-to-date statistics. A few years ago the cost of producing beet sugar (88 per cent. n.t.) in Germany was estimated by one authority at from 9s. 9d. to (in the best conditions) 8s. 6d. a cwt., and by another (for Germany as a whole) at 9s. 6d. The cost of producing cane in Cuba was put, about the same time, at 8s. 6d. f.o.b., or, assuming delivery in Europe, 9s. 3d. The cost of Java sugar was estimated by Dr. Geerligs at 7s. 6d., or, delivered in Europe, 8s. 9d. But last year Dr. Geerligs raised his Java estimate of 7s. 6d. to 8s. 3d. (90 per cent. pol.), and the United States Consul General in Cuba quoted 8s. 2d. for Cuba sugar (ordinary), exclusive of cost of carriage to the shipping port.

In favour of tropical sugar there may be set down tropical

¹⁰ There have again been 'cartels' in both these countries.

sunshine (sugar is the carbonic acid in the air plus water plus sunshine) ; large expanses of fertile soil ; cheap black labour ; the superior yield of cane (put at four or five tons to the acre in comparison with the $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 tons from beet) ; the steady development of tropical hygiene ; the somewhat despondent views of beet taken by some European experts who know the position of the beet industry ; and the fact that, as far as the cost of ocean carriage is concerned, it may be cheaper to bring sugar from the Philippines to San Francisco than from the Colorado beet fields to Chicago.

As against cane, and in favour of beet, it may be urged that black labour is uncertain, and likely to be dearer ; that if cane has so many natural advantages over beet, it is not easy to see how, even with political advantages, beet growing has got such a hold ; that—though this will no doubt be questioned—there is a larger area adapted to an economical production of beet than of cane ; that in spite of the facilities for cane production in the Southern States, and in Cuba and the American Colonies, beet production has increased in North America ; that beet sugar is made close to the best science and the best markets, and by the most skilled workers in a bracing climate ; and that the sugar contents of the beet have increased and are increasing, and beet seed is capable of improvement.

Whatever the facts of the case may be, the *International Sugar Journal* early this year expressed the view that the competition between cane and beet was 'entering a new era.' As the commercial development of South America proceeds—and the Panama Canal must hasten it—its cane-sugar production is likely to prove a greater factor in the world's supply. And now comes the War to stimulate cane planters to the utmost. No doubt the cost of production in the tropics is rising ; but in Java the natives do not care to work longer per day than it takes them to earn 7d. or 8d., and 4d. for children. It is conceivable that the experiments which are being made in Java in the manufacture of refined sugar—the tropics have largely exported the raw sugar, which is refined in Europe or the States—may have results of some importance. One thing is certain, that the world's consumption of sugar must increase. The European consumption alone has risen in three years no less than half a million tons.

STATE FACTORIES AND REFUGEES FROM THE BELGIAN SUGAR BEET DISTRICTS

Here, until war broke out, was one of the strongest arguments in the case of the beet-sugar enthusiast. The strongest argument now is that sugar is, and must remain, at a price the friends of beet never dreamt of, and that, as far as Great Britain

is concerned, the countries on which we have relied for 68 per cent. of our supplies are our enemies, and that other sugar-producing nations are unable, because they are also fighting, to make the sugar from which we might have been expected to make up our deficiency.

The War, during which so large a proportion of our sugar must be cut off,¹¹ will not be a short one, and when it is over it must leave the beet-sugar industry of Germany and Austria and other parts of Europe in a crippled condition. *There is, therefore, an extraordinarily favourable chance of establishing in this country the production of a necessary article of food, for which we ought never to have relied so largely on the foreigner.*¹²

What is also of great importance is that there is a chance of establishing the industry without the intervention of the company promoter, from whose self-seeking the sugar-beet movement has suffered so much. There is this chance because *sugar production in this country should be set going by the Government boldly going into the sugar business and building State Factories*, which at the end of the War might be leased to approved, and, as I hope, largely co-operative companies. (Two of the most successful sugar factories in the world are the co-operative factories in Zeeland. The Dinteloord factory has made a profit from its first year, as, in the exceptional conditions of the sugar market, our State Factories ought to be able to do.) The alternative to State Factories is lending Government money at a moderate rate to sugar companies; but the starting of State Factories is obviously the more satisfactory plan.

Hitherto the difficulty has been not only to get the factories built, but to secure a sufficient acreage of beets to keep them going. It is doubtful if the Cantley factory, in two campaigns, has had beets to make more than five or six thousand tons of sugar. But an appeal to the farmers, *made on behalf of the*

¹¹ The reader will understand, in reference to the phrase 'cut off' and the figures on the first page of this article, that, owing to European stocks and to the exertions of the Government in buying cane-sugar—at the time of writing half a million tons seem to have been purchased—there can be no immediate scarcity. But this perfectly justifiable, but none the less high-handed, making of prices in the sugar market cannot continue indefinitely. The cure for a shortage of sugar is not the buying up of other people's sugar, but the starting of a new source of supply, which is exactly what the establishment of State Sugar Factories in England would be. One fact which may be very easily overlooked is that, in buying Colonial sugar cheap, the Home Government is placing itself under some obligation to our sugar-producing islands.

¹² In mentioning 'the foreigner' in connexion with a proposal to establish the beet-sugar industry in England, it is only just to acknowledge the courtesy and kindness which German and Austrian sugar firms have shown during the last few years in furnishing information and in offering their factories for the inspection of every student of the sugar question in this country who has applied to them.

Government, for beets for factories which were actually being built, is a very different thing from the pleas of the past by foreign propagandists on behalf of uncertain enterprises. I have no doubt whatever that if agriculturists, in districts suitable for sugar beet growing, are offered a reasonable price a ton and the opportunity of doing a patriotic service, the beets will be forthcoming.

But there is no time to be lost. *Farmers must be approached during the present month if the right preliminary treatment is to be given to the soil; and a decision must be taken at once as to the building of, say, two factories in England and one in Ireland.* In the degree to which Mr. Runciman, President of the Board of Trade, and Lord Lucas, President of the Board of Agriculture—for their departments are jointly concerned—are able to rise above precedent in this matter of State sugar factories,¹³ we shall have the measure of their statesmanlike qualities.

There is one other consideration. In the management of the beet crop and in the manufacture of sugar we shall need for some years not only agricultural labourers accustomed to working beets, but experienced factory hands. (Cantley has had to import Dutch labourers.) On the farms which all State Sugar Factories should have attached to them, in order that they may grow a large acreage of beets of their own, and on the land of farmers supplying beets to the factories, no less than in the factories themselves, *there will be openings for a large amount of skilled labour which can be perfectly supplied by the refugees from the beet districts of Belgium and Northern France.*¹⁴ From the idle factories of Belgium and Northern France it will also be possible to obtain some of the machinery which the cane-sugar industry engineering firms in Glasgow are unable to supply.

J. W. ROBERTSON-SCOTT ('Home Counties').

¹³ But not above Colonial precedent, for the Queensland Government took over the management of a number of cane-sugar factories. It is interesting to notice that one of the difficulties of the factories under private management was Cantley's difficulty—the small number of growers. Under the Queensland Government's management the number of growers increased 72 per cent. in three years. I may add, as a striking illustration of what the national authorities can do in connexion with the sugar question, if they are so minded, that as this article goes to press I hear that the Dutch Government, in order to ease the strain on the national exchequer (see 'Our Nearest Neutral Neighbour and the War') is taking all the raw sugar of the next crop in Holland and having it refined for Government account.

¹⁴ Some of these skilled refugees ought to be employed in harvesting the Cantley beets this year.

1914

OPPORTUNITIES OF THE WAR

(II)

THE WAR AND THE TARIFF QUESTION

IT is to be regretted that one of the first results of the war is the announcement that *Monthly Notes on Tariff Reform*, the organ of the Tariff Reform League, is to be suspended while hostilities continue. There are good reasons for this, of course—for one thing, the public has weightier matters on hand than the consideration of a new economic policy, however important. A fight for national existence is a more intimate concern with us, and necessarily so, than a fight for Germany's oversea trade. Still, let us not forget that our vast commerce with foreign countries is itself an integral part of the national existence for which we are fighting, and that when the war is at an end the negotiations of the diplomatists when they discuss terms of peace must be guided by economic considerations. The wealth of Germany, as we have been told again and again, consists largely of paper ; and there is no doubt that nearly every banking institution in Germany, and particularly in Prussia, has lent money for the purpose of developing industries on security which would not appeal to even the most speculative and liberal banking houses in this country. We may grant all this, but certain facts nevertheless remain.

For the time being the German producer is engaged in anything but production ; but sooner or later he must return to his work. Commercial development must go on, and the political fate of the German Empire will make little difference to its economic future. The Empire may split up into a dozen different States, each under a king or a governor ; it may be divided among France, Russia, Belgium, Denmark, and Holland, or it may remain as it is. What concerns the British manufacturer is the knowledge that no Power on earth can take away the iron and coal mines which have turned Westphalia into a second Lancashire, or prevent the crops from growing when the seed is sown again. After a temporary check, Germany's industrial resources will be again exploited by somebody, under some form of government, and the competition from that part of the world will soon be as brisk as ever. We cannot forget that modern countries

'settle down' in a surprisingly short time after a war. The United States hardly felt the effects of the war with Spain; and Spain herself, in spite of the men and money she lost through the Cuban war, has since flourished so well that she was able to wage a campaign against the Moors for nearly six years—a campaign which for at least three years was carried on with considerable vigour. Similarly, both Russia and Japan were making astonishing commercial and industrial progress within a few months of the signing of the peace treaty at Portsmouth, and the Balkan States were resuming their normal economic characteristics, when unexpected political circumstances caused Servia and Greece to summon their soldiers to the colours once again. The present war, for all its wide extent and the numbers engaged, will not affect the world's total production for more than a few months, though the position of international financial institutions like the Deutsche Bank will naturally be subject to considerable modification. That is a matter for the banker, the financier, and the speculator; the manufacturer is concerned primarily with production, though he too often forgets that the cost of food is an important if indirect item of his working expenses.

A short return (White Paper No. 218), giving a few statistics relating to agricultural and mining production in 1893 and 1913 (in some cases 1892 and 1912), was issued a few months ago. Part of the information in it may be usefully summarised as follows :

	United Kingdom	Germany	United States
Area under cultivation (crops of all kinds) in acres :			
1893	13,987,000	42,175,000	165,467,000
1913	12,797,000	45,414,000	243,374,000
Quantity of wheat, barley, and oats produced (in quarters) :			
Wheat, 1893	7,597,000	14,523,000	62,361,000
" 1913	7,175,000	20,023,000	85,747,000
Barley, 1893	9,617,000	13,338,000	9,312,000
" 1913	7,276,000	19,186,000	26,281,000
Oats, 1893	21,023,000	33,505,000	65,683,000
" 1913	20,600,000	60,187,000	166,539,000
Mining (tons) :			
Coal, 1893	164,326,000	72,665,000	162,815,000
" 1913	287,412,000	188,433,000	504,464,000
Pig iron, 1893	6,977,000	4,906,000	7,125,000
" 1913	10,479,000	18,982,000	31,161,000
Crude steel, 1893	2,920,000	3,000,000	4,020,000
" 1913	6,903,000	18,654,000	32,760,000

These figures show that the area under cultivation decreased in the United Kingdom by 9 per cent., but increased in Germany

by 8 per cent., and in the United States by 47 per cent. The decrease of wheat production in the United Kingdom during the twenty years given was 6 per cent., of barley 24 per cent., and of oats 2 per cent. The increases were, respectively, 38 per cent., 44 per cent., and 80 per cent. in Germany, and 37 per cent., 182 per cent., and 154 per cent. in the United States. Our coal production increased by 75 per cent., but Germany's coal production increased by 159 per cent. and that of the United States by 210 per cent. There are two other countries whose production of wheat and iron must also be taken into consideration, though they do not appear in the White Paper referred to. They are the Argentine Republic and Russia. In 1901 Argentina exported, for example, 904,289 tons of wheat; but by 1911 this figure had risen to 2,285,951 tons, and the increase since 1911 has been proportionate. In 1891 Russia produced 981,000 metric tons (2000 lbs.) of pig iron; by 1911 this figure had risen steadily to 3,581,000 tons. The crude steel produced in Russia in 1891 amounted to 429,000 metric tons, and in 1911 to 3,933,000 metric tons. As one of our chief competitors in the iron and steel trade Russia will soon be able to challenge us in many markets—she is already undercutting us in South America—and Argentina, which is now sending us more wheat and meat than the United States, will soon be sending us, if we do not bestir ourselves, more foodstuffs than the United States and Canada combined.

If we bear these figures in mind we shall realise that in the course of the next few years, if the present circumstances continue, we shall have to fight hard against two formidable competitors in the iron and steel markets, and that we shall be dependent upon one South American country for a large proportion of our foodstuffs. While we are fighting Germany for markets we shall also be fighting both Germany and the United States for food. It is officially stated that Germany imports agricultural products and foodstuffs to the value of well over 300,000,000*l.*—a figure that will amaze many people—and, even when we make allowances for luxuries, wines, etc., we must admit that Germany has to seek necessary food supplies beyond her own borders to the value of between 180,000,000*l.* and 200,000,000*l.* per annum. We must do the same thing ourselves to the extent of 280,000,000*l.* or more annually. Up to the beginning of the present century both Germany and England could look to the United States for grain products, but ten years has made a difference which has not yet been generally considered.

In 1900 the population of the United States was 76,085,000, and last year it was estimated at 97,028,000. It has increased by over twenty millions in the last fourteen years, and by over 15,000,000 in the last decade. There has not, however, in spite

of the vast production, been a corresponding increase in the total food supply of the country. At present 91 per cent. of the wheat produced in the United States, and 98 per cent. of the maize, is being consumed on the spot. The dairy exports have decreased 72 per cent. in the last six years, and since 1910 the imports of head of cattle have risen from 16,000 to 318,000. The result is that Europe has turned to South America, and that the amount of British capital invested in Central and South America alone is now about 1,200,000,000^l.

Two conclusions are to be drawn from the facts set forth above. One is that we shall have to face severe competition in the world-market in consequence of the rapid development of the United States, as well as from the undercutting which German manufacturers will resort to, so far as they can, for the purpose of recovering their now suspended oversea trade; and another is that we must develop our own agricultural area. Even the industrial future of this country must be influenced to a great extent by our ability to support ourselves on home-produced food-stuffs, and to this end it is essential that tariffs for the benefit of agriculture shall be imposed as well as tariffs for the benefit of the manufacturer. Where the two interests clash, manufacturing industry should give way to agriculture, and not *vice versa*. There need be no question whatever, in spite of the alarmists, of a world-wide food famine if proper measures are taken for the development of agriculture; but, as we have seen, the tendency in recent years has been for the agricultural countries to change gradually into industrial countries, and to look outside their own boundaries for food supplies. Manufacturing industry undoubtedly yields larger profits; but agriculture, since it is concerned with one of the primary needs of humanity, nevertheless remains the basis of the State. Germany, after the war, must impose a general high tariff, whether she wins or loses. Unless we are to witness military, naval and diplomatic miracles, she cannot possibly win such a decided victory as to be able to garner huge indemnities. A high tariff will naturally raise the cost of living and tend to increase the cost of manufactured articles. This, it may fairly be assumed, will give us an opportunity of risking an advance in the cost of living here by imposing a tax on food for the benefit of the British farmer. There is no reason, it must be said at once, why such a tariff should add exorbitantly, or even appreciably, to the cost of living; and, while helping to maintain and develop what is still our greatest industry, it would give us a much-needed revenue. Further, a tariff on foodstuffs, unlike a tariff on raw material, would not add directly to the cost of manufactured goods. Tariffs which added to the cost of manufactured goods

would, of course, place us at a disadvantage in foreign markets as compared with the United States, and even Germany.

Unfortunately—for it is a national question every whit as much as the war is a national question—the tariff reform programme has been associated with one particular party; and that party, as the result of an unintelligent and ill-considered propaganda, not to speak of intrigues, has made a sad work of what might have been a magnificent scheme of agricultural and, subsequently, of industrial regeneration. It is not easy to account for the mistakes which were made, unless we content ourselves with what appears to be the obvious explanation—viz. that the subjects connected with the tariff reform movement were handled by men who did not understand them sufficiently well. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain's practical retirement from public life in 1906 did not check the new economic propaganda. The appointment of Mr. Bonar Law as leader of the Unionist party was, one might have thought, intended to emphasise more than ever the urgent necessity of bringing home to the people of the country every possible argument in favour of a change in our tariff system. Two years ago, nevertheless, it was whispered that to advocate tariff reform meant losing elections; one candidate after another quietly dropped the subject, and only a small band of enthusiasts continued to urge its importance at meetings and in the Press. Yet it must be admitted that certain aspects of the tariff reform movement—and those its most important aspects—could, up to the declaration of war, find attentive listeners when properly explained. It should be emphasised that the average hack-speaker of the Unionist party who has been advocating tariffs in the parks or at street corners is not a man capable of commanding the confidence of a typical crowd, and that the leaflets and pamphlets issued by the Central Office on the subject are puerile. The 'literature' supplied by the Tariff Reform League itself, to tell the whole truth, is not much better. It is, no doubt, a difficult and expensive matter to keep scores of leaflets up to date; but unless this can be done, unless old facts, arguments and figures can be continually reinforced with new, it is useless sending propagandist 'literature' out. The information in *Monthly Notes on Tariff Reform*, while convenient and authoritative so far as it goes, is not likely to appeal to the average voter.

These things apart, what has become of the tariff reform propaganda? The word appears to have gone forth from headquarters early in 1912 that it was to be mentioned publicly as little as possible, and at least two editors of my acquaintance (one of a penny daily and another of a weekly sixpenny) have been personally desired by influential members of the Unionist

Party not to give undue prominence to the movement. The explanation of this is not to be found in the attention which the Unionist Party has had to devote to Home Rule or Labour or any other problem. It is clear enough—and could be proved if necessary from the publications of tariff reform bodies—that when the details of the new economic scheme came to be discussed there was a hopeless division of opinion between the agricultural and the manufacturing interests. In an article published in this Review in March last,¹ I tried to show (with some little success, if I may judge from the subsequent comments of the *Westminster Gazette*) that it was through the manufacturing system, especially in its later developments, that alien influences had been able to fasten themselves strongly on our national life, and that the strengthening of English nationality and character would have to be achieved through the land and everything connected with it—the old families, the traditional influences, the hereditary principle in the House of Lords.

It is this highly important moral aspect of the change in our fiscal system which has received no attention whatever from the orthodox spokesmen of the tariff reform movement. Lip-service alone has been paid, in a vague way, to 'Empire' and 'ideals'; but the tariff reform ideal of empire and nationality has never been defined. As for the English race and its mission in the world, it seems to have been left out of the reckoning altogether. To show the relationship between this new economics and the national character is the task which should have been attempted before purely sordid appeals were made to the agriculturist and the manufacturer to look after their material interests. This may be the greatest commercial nation in the world, but it has usually taken something more than an appeal to materialism to move it. Even if we admit that an appeal to material interests is not to be neglected, we must confess that the official attitude of the tariff reform group towards agriculture was not likely to have any considerable effect. In one of his first speeches on the subject Mr. Chamberlain raised the hopes of the farmers and of all interested in the development of our agricultural industry when he said 'If you want to give a preference to the Colonies you must put a tax on food.' The whittling down of all that this promise implied followed very soon afterwards. In the first exuberance of their economic discovery the tariff reformers promised not only that the farmer would secure higher prices for his products under tariff reform, and that the farm labourer would receive higher wages out of the higher profits, but also that the cost of food should not be increased to the forty million odd consumers in the country. No juggling with figures representing

¹ 'Toryism and the Next Election.'

tea duties and so forth could explain the contradiction, especially when it was said, as it was said at first, that bacon and maize should not be taxed because bacon was the food of the poor and maize was a raw material, and that therefore the prices of those articles should be kept as low as possible.

Whatever the Unionist party as a whole may have thought of the claims of agriculture under tariff reform, the manufacturing interests secured the upper hand after a few years, and the Edinburgh Compromise definitely shelved the farmers for an indefinite period. It is amusing to compare the scant ceremony with which agriculture has recently been treated with the promises held out to the farming community a few years ago. 'I propose,' said Mr. Chamberlain at Glasgow (October 6, 1902), 'to put a low duty on foreign corn; no duty at all on the corn coming from our British possessions. But I propose to put a low duty on foreign corn, not exceeding two shillings a quarter. . . . I propose to put a small tax of about 5 per cent. on foreign meat and dairy produce.' These proposals had been ill-considered. The very experts who were asked to give evidence before the Tariff Reform Commission urged, for the most part, that a tax on foreign wheat as high as 5s., or 7s. 6d., or even 10s. a quarter, would have to be imposed before the English farmer would benefit. Further—as, without the evidence of expert witnesses, even any ordinary calculations will show—British meat and dairy produce could not be protected from foreign competition unless the duties imposed were in the neighbourhood of 15 to 20 per cent. at the least. There was one other consideration which embarrassed the tariff reformers. The farmers whose advice was sought were almost unanimous in pointing out that if they were to be protected at all they must be protected from the colonial exporter as well as from the 'foreigner.'

Whatever these proposals might have led to, the Radical cry of 'dear loaf' struck such terror into the pusillanimous hearts of many Unionist leaders and supporters of the party that an attempt was made, in 1912, to get rid of the 'food tax' imputation. At an Albert Hall meeting on the 14th of November of that year Lord Lansdowne had said: 'If the Colonies ask us to give them a moderate duty upon foreign wheat, sufficient to bring into our markets the great, unlimited granaries of Canada and Australia, we shall not be deterred from examining their proposal by the mere statement that it will involve the taxation of food, and that all food taxes are unholy things.' This was going very far from Mr. Chamberlain's original promises. On the 23rd of November, however, a Liberal, Mr. Tom Taylor, was returned for Bolton, and it was thought that the attempt to repudiate the 'food taxes' had not been sufficiently explicit. On

the 16th of December, therefore, Mr. Bonar Law sought to explain that what Lord Lansdowne really meant was :

If our countrymen entrust us with power we do not intend to impose food duties. What we intend to do is to call a conference of the Colonies to consider the whole question of preferential trade, and the question whether or not food duties will be imposed will not arise until these negotiations are completed. We are told that the Colonies have made no offer, that they do not wish for such an arrangement. If that is true, no food duties will be imposed in any circumstances.

This endeavour to transfer the onus of the food taxes on to the Colonies was resented by our oversea possessions, and the position of the party had to be shifted again when a memorial, signed by practically all the Unionist members in the House of Commons, was presented to Mr. Bonar Law, urging that food taxes should not be made an issue at the next general election. This petition, received by Mr. Bonar Law on the 10th of January 1913, was answered by him on the 14th. He consented, if returned to power at the next general election, not to impose food duties until the subject had formed an issue at a subsequent general election. This answer was supplemented by the Edinburgh Compromise speech (January 24, 1913) and by a statement in *Our Flag* (March 1914). Mr. Law said, at Edinburgh, that if the Unionists were returned to power they would :

(1) 'Impose a moderate tariff—lower than exists now in any industrial country in the world—on foreign manufactured goods.'

(2) 'Give to the Dominions the largest preference which is possible without the imposition of new duties upon food. We shall impose no new duties on the food of the people, but, on the contrary, take off some of the food duties.'

(3) 'Endeavour to establish Imperial co-operation in trade as well as defence.'

In the March (1914) number of *Our Flag* it was stated that the average tax on manufactured goods would be 10 per cent. Once more it was said that no new duties would be imposed on food products, but that part of the revenue derived from the new tariffs would be used for reducing the burdens of agriculture.

And this, after eleven years of exhaustive inquiries, innumerable speeches, profound conferences, and bitter agitation, this was all that the party could promise to the classes and the industry which have always formed the backbone of the nation, and always will! No system of tariffs or taxation that neglects our agriculture can possibly benefit the nation as a whole. When, too, we mention agriculture we must not forget that there are three classes to be considered : the landlords, the farmers, and the labourers. No demagogue can now sincerely criticise land-

lords as landlords were once criticised. We find a word or two of sympathy for them even in the final report of Mr. Lloyd George's Departmental Committee on Local Taxation in England and Wales, issued at the end of March last. As for the farmers, everyone knows how their profits have fallen. It is questionable whether money invested in land under present conditions yields more than from $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to 3 per cent., and land cannot be developed unless a great deal more capital is sunk in it. The burden of rates alone which the land has now to bear is a sufficient commentary on the proposals—such as those of the single taxers—for increased land taxation. In 1896, when the Agricultural Rating Act was passed, the total amount of rates on agricultural land was about 2,700,000*l.*, or 2*s.* 3*d.* in the pound. Since 1896 those rates have increased from 2,700,000*l.* to 4,200,000*l.*, or about 3*s.* 6*d.* in the pound. In an attempt to relieve agriculture of part of the burden the Exchequer contributed annually, under the Rating Act, 1,350,000*l.*; but the heavy increase in the rates has nullified this relief.

There is no doubt that agriculture can be greatly assisted by the application of several suggestions which have been put forward from time to time—*e.g.* co-operation, profit-sharing, land credit banks, and the like. Experience has shown that it is difficult to induce English farmers to take up such schemes as that which Sir Horace Plunkett and Mr. G. W. Russell have applied with such wonderful success in Ireland; and we are not likely to see in England, for a considerable time at least, the counterpart of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society working on the same scale. The new conditions in agriculture, however, will almost inevitably compel farmers to consider some form of co-operation. The late Sir Richard Cooper, in a little-known pamphlet, proposed a highly ingenious scheme for the restoration to villages of their common land, and for the granting of a bounty to farmers who kept large reserves of wheat—two suggestions which would at once assist the small owner by enabling him to graze his stock on common land, and by holding out an inducement to him to place a greater amount of soil under wheat. Had this suggestion been carried out we should have had large reserves of wheat when the war broke out so suddenly, and the presence of such a 'war stock' would certainly have prevented the panic which there is no doubt was felt in England for a few days in the early part of August.

The unanimity with which the political parties combined to defend the country from armed invasion leads one to hope that they may again be induced to combine with the aim of saving the country from a more insidious foe. We cannot compete with manufacturing nations in any part of the world for any

market unless we have taken steps to safeguard our food supplies at home, and to secure the stability of our agriculture by the imposition of adequate food tariffs. The Unionists cannot alone carry out a scheme of tariff reform unless they entirely change their methods and principles. They began with an unsound economic scheme, which became still more unsound after it had been considered and reconsidered by incompetent committees and commissions and professors. It was a scandal to try to reconcile benefits for agriculturists with economic fallacies devised for the comfort of manufacturers and consumers. It was a still greater scandal to toy with the agricultural vote for a year or two, and then to drop it when it was thought that an appeal to the towns would serve the purpose better. But no words are sufficient to describe the scandal of dropping tariff reform altogether, forbidding references to it in the Press, and pacifying (as we are told has been the case) some of its foremost advocates by promises of places, chiefly under-secretaryships, in the next Unionist Government.

As the large manufacturing interests are generally Liberal in politics (Lord Cowdray, Sir William Lever, Lord Joicey, Messrs. Cadbury, Sir John Brunner, Sir Alfred Mond, etc.), and the agricultural interests generally Conservative, there arises the necessity for a joint examination of the tariff problem. It is easy to speak, as some writers have already spoken, of the disappearance of German trade overseas. If German trade overseas 'disappeared' to-morrow, we should still have a keen and ruthless competitor in the United States. The price of our exports must be regulated primarily by the cost of living, and only in the second place by the tariff operations of our neighbours. This is the main reason—apart from considerations of health and morals—why our agriculture is so important to us, and why recognition should no longer be withheld from it.

J. M. KENNEDY.

1914

THE ETHICS OF EMIGRATION

ON the result of the war in which we are now engaged hangs not only the destiny of the centre but that of the whole British Empire, a fact brought vividly before our minds by the seizure, early in the campaign, of German colonies by the forces of the Crown. It will be generally admitted that the task has not proved very formidable, but the ease and quickness as well as the complete success of the movements provide a lesson which it seems to me this country will do well to note.

What is that lesson? It is this. That it is urgently necessary to provide our great Dominions oversea with a sufficient population, and to people them, as far as possible, with British stock. For no one can deny that closely and intimately connected with the question of adequate population is that of adequate defence. Fortifications, local forces, naval and military, have their value, but an empty continent is a menace to its own safety. On the other hand, population means strength in numbers, wealth, and moral power, features of the situation that go far towards warding off attack except in conditions most unfavourable to the party attacking.

Australia is admittedly difficult of occupation by a foreign Power, but its immunity from attack is seriously jeopardised by a scarcity of population. Take, for instance, the Northern Territory; an area equal in extent to that of France, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland and Italy all put together. Suppose, for the sake of argument, a hostile State were desirous of acquiring a footing in that part of Australia, would not the absence of population handicap it from the standpoint of defence? Commenting on this matter just before the Commonwealth took over its administration the *Melbourne Age* said :

For eight years past the acquisition and development of the Northern Territory of the Commonwealth has been acknowledged to be one of the most urgent of our national duties. It is a matter that should have been settled at any time during the last six or seven years by a sensible arrangement between the two authorities involved. But each attempt has been muddled and bungled, with the result that our Far North is as empty to-day as fifty years ago.

Successive military and civil authorities, including Lord Kitchener and Mr. Roosevelt, have urged upon the Commonwealth Government to beware of an 'empty north,' but the Federal Parliament has been at no pains to introduce settlers or press on development. It may be that the Northern Territory, or part of it, is not suitable for white labour. If that be so, would it not be wiser to amend the White Australia Policy and sanction the employment of indentured labour, as was done in Queensland with such conspicuous success before the days of federation? To leave a large and rich country like the Northern Territory practically derelict is opposed not only to local progress and prosperity, but imperils the security of all Australia, and is a source of weakness to our national chain of Imperial Defence.

But the want of population is not confined to one corner of Australia, it extends to Australia as a whole. It seems hardly credible that a country containing over 3,000,000 square miles, of which no inconsiderable portion is capable of settlement, should possess a population under 5,000,000, or about $1\frac{1}{2}$ persons to the square mile. Speaking at Ballarat as far back as 1906, Mr. Deakin, then Prime Minister of the Commonwealth, said, and said rightly, 'What are the people of Australia in comparison to this great territory? A mere handful. Look at the ten thousand millions of acres which have hardly had a foot upon them.' Since then it is satisfactory to note that the population has increased by several hundreds of thousands. But even with this added number Mr. Deakin's words are as true to-day as they were then.

Frequent appeals have been made to the Commonwealth and the States Governments to make good the omission. 'The keynote of a white Australia,' said the *Sydney Sun* in 1911, 'is a strong and vigorous policy of immigration.' And the same organ went on to say :

The largest unpeopled area left in the world to-day is within Australian bounds, and the principle being recognised among the nations that only effective occupation can justify retention of territory, it follows that our pressing need is for immigration—for men and women to fill up our waste places, and not only assist us to occupy the land effectively, but help to make the word Australia stand for strong nationhood rather than as the title of a mere geographical division of the globe.

Later on the *Sydney Stock and Station Journal* (December 1912) pointed out :

The brainiest men in Australia and the keenest critics overseas are for ever declaring that our big island continent can never become a great country unless our population is very considerably augmented. Australia is one of the most fertile countries of the world, while her mineral resources are so great that frequent periodical discoveries show that it is impossible to estimate the dimensions of her stores of hidden wealth. Such a country as this has but a mere handful of people to develop and protect it.

On a still more recent occasion Sir Newton J. Moore, Agent-General for Western Australia, then Prime Minister of that State, speaking to a London audience, said :

It would be in flat negation of every lesson of history to suppose that a handful of 300,000 people¹ will be permitted to hold a magnificent territory of a million square miles in perpetual emptiness. We cannot have progress, we cannot have settlement, we cannot have defence without population, and we cannot have population without immigration. Our very existence depends on population.

Similarly we have prominent statesmen, past and present, on this side advocating emigration to the Dominions. As far back as 1874, Lord Randolph Churchill announced, I think in his election address at Woodstock, that he would support all efforts tending to facilitate the means of emigration, and at the same time strengthen and consolidate the ties which unite the Colonies to the Mother Country. Thirty years later the present Prime Minister, speaking at the Imperial Conference, informed the Dominions' representatives that emigration was a most important matter, 'one in which there ought to be constant co-operation between the Imperial authorities and the different local communities.' And he added 'I mention this as an illustration of the ways in which we not only might, but ought to, develop and promote better commercial relations between all parts of the Empire.'

Lastly, we have the testimony of the Sovereign himself. Addressing one of the most representative audiences ever gathered together in the City of London, and with all the freshness of the scenes he had just witnessed before him, his Majesty, as Prince of Wales, referred to the importance of developing the outlying portions of our great estate. Reminding us that the one all-prevailing and all-pressing demand in the Dominions was, as it is to-day, 'want of population,' King George went on to mention the boundless tracts of country yet unexplored, hidden mineral wealth calling for development, vast expanses of virgin soil ready to yield profitable crops to the settlers.

These [he observed] can be enjoyed under conditions of healthy living, liberal laws, free institutions, in exchange for the overcrowded cities and almost hopeless struggle for existence, which, alas! too often is the lot of many in the old country.

One condition, and one only, the Dominions made—that we should send them suitable emigrants, a condition his Majesty thoroughly endorsed. And summing up his remarks on the need of

¹ Sir Newton was speaking of his own State—Western Australia.

a continuous flow of suitable emigrants from the Motherland to the Colonies, the King said : ' By this means we may still further strengthen, or at all events pass on unimpaired, that pride of race, that unity of sentiment and purpose, that feeling of common loyalty and obligation, which knit together and alone can maintain the integrity of our Empire.' Surely no loftier or more stirring appeal was ever made by a monarch to his people. But how barren have been the results so far as concerns Australia.

In the earlier days of Australian settlement State-aided immigration played an important part in the programmes of the different Colonies. This ceased in Tasmania in 1891, and for the time being in Victoria in 1873, and in South Australia in 1886. In New South Wales general State aid was discontinued in 1887, but men who had arrived under that system and were still residing in New South Wales were permitted, by special regulation, to send for their wives and families, a certain amount of passage money, graduated according to the age of the immigrant, being required to be paid in each case. Under these provisions some two thousand immigrants received State assistance between 1888 and 1899 inclusive. From 1900 to 1905 no State aid was given, but from 1906 onwards help was again afforded. In Queensland and Western Australia, although varying considerably in volume from year to year, assistance has been provided for many years past. The policy of assisting immigrants, which in the case of Victoria had practically ceased in 1873, has been reintroduced of recent years; and in South Australia the principle was again conceded in 1911.² The total number of immigrants from earliest times up to the end of 1913, the cost of whose introduction has been wholly or partly borne by Australia, may be placed approximately at 810,000.

As regards the help given on this side by way of State aid towards peopling Australia with British stock, there is not very much to record. Between 1820 and 1878 moneys were occasionally voted for immigration purposes, and grants from the rates for the same object have received parliamentary sanction since 1834. The Local Government Act, 1888, also empowered the County Councils to advance funds for immigration, and a similar provision was inserted in the Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905. But so apathetic was the Imperial Legislature towards the question of migration within the Empire that in these enactments no territorial limit seems to have been placed on disbursements, with the result that it remained open to the local authorities, if so inclined, to spend the ratepayers' money on emigrating persons of British birth to the United States of America. In some cases

² *Official Year-Book of the Commonwealth of Australia for 1901-1912.* By G. H. Knibbs, C.M.G. 1913.

this was actually done by Boards of Guardians and the expense sanctioned by the Local Government Board.

Little harm, however, in this respect has occurred, as the Guardians—if we except the assistance given towards placing ‘orphaned and deserted children’ in Canada, and at a later date towards defraying the cost of their inspection by Canadian officials—have never made any wide use of their emigrating powers, while the County Councils have done nothing at all in that direction. Moreover, of recent times the expenditure of Poor Law funds for emigrating purposes has been confined by regulation to persons proceeding to the oversea Dominions, and no payments have been made by the administrators of the Unemployed Workmen Act except under the same conditions.

Regarding the allocation of moneys voted by Parliament in the last century, no account seems to have been kept indicating the destination of emigrants assisted in this way. The same may be said as to the assistance given by the Poor Law Authorities. Ample figures, however, are available as to the destination of emigrants sent out under the Unemployed Workmen Act, but seeing that only during the last few years has Australia been recognised by the distributing centres as an outlet for emigrants, the number going to Australia through this channel cannot exceed a few thousands.

These facts show the small dimensions of State effort on this side to furnish Australia with a population British-born. In fact, migration, whether to Australia or to Canada, other than that of persons not requiring assistance, has been left almost entirely to the voluntary societies, who deserve all praise for their patriotism and the unceasing care taken by them to see that only suitable emigrants are sent out under their auspices. Incomprehensible as it may seem, this Imperial work, which rightly belongs to the State, is being carried out mainly by private enterprise. Without the aid of the voluntary societies thousands of families now helping to build up the Empire in Australia and Canada would have been compelled to eke out a precarious existence in this country or have drifted into the ranks of the permanently unemployed, with the inevitable result of becoming chargeable to the rates.

No doubt the initial mistake has been in regarding emigration and immigration as separate causes instead of one and the same cause. Instead of thinking imperially, both sides have thought only of their own wants and their own requirements. I had hoped, in 1907, to see a change in this respect, and I confess my expectations ran high when it was announced that his Majesty’s Government had themselves proposed emigration as a subject for discussion at the forthcoming Imperial Conference, and that the

Commonwealth of Australia had tabulated a resolution going to the root of the issue—co-operation between the Imperial and Dominion Governments. Everything, in fact, so far as could be seen, was marching towards the goal of combined action. Yet the case was hardly called on before it tumbled to pieces like a house of cards. True, the resolution, ably proposed by Mr. Deakin, was approved, and it was officially recorded ‘that it is desirable to encourage British emigrants to proceed to British Colonies rather than to foreign countries, and that the Imperial Government be requested to co-operate with any Colonies desiring immigrants in assisting suitable persons to emigrate.’ But that is all that was done. There the matter began and there it ended. No actual proposals came either from the Federal Government of Australia or from the Dominion Government of Canada, and all that emanated from the Home Government was the singularly unconvincing statement made by the late President of the Local Government Board, Mr. Burns, ‘that his Majesty’s Government are considering how far they can adopt the report of the Inter-Departmental Committee, one of whose recommendations is the reorganisation of the Emigrants’ Information Office.’

Needless to say, the report in question has never been adopted, nor any attempt made to reorganise the Emigrants’ Information Office. That office remains to-day the same as it was then, a most useful and successful agency for the distribution of literature and the giving of general advice, but possessing no executive power and having no control over the emigration of persons from the British Isles. For my own part, I never believed any reforms were intended, and in this conclusion I am supported by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who, when questioned by me three years later across the floor of the House of Commons as to whether the Government intended to make good the statements made by Mr. Burns in 1907, replied by throwing over his colleague and every pledge he had given on behalf of his Majesty’s Government.

At the 1911 Imperial Conference the Commonwealth representative again moved the resolution passed on the previous occasion, with the additional words ‘that the Secretary of State for the Colonies be requested to nominate representatives of the Dominions to the Committee of the Emigrants’ Information Office.’ It is hardly necessary to say that the additional words are a dead letter. It goes without saying that Mr. Burns made an interesting statement, but unfortunately it had nothing to do with the resolution. In fact, his energy was directed towards combating the question of State aid. First of all he announced that ‘State-aided emigration, as far as money is concerned, is not favourably regarded by the Mother Country,’ a statement which,

unless qualified, as I shall presently show, must be regarded as incorrect. It may, of course, be that he was thinking of more recent times, and drew a distinction between Exchequer grants and expenditure out of local rates. For myself I see no difference. Emigration is a national, not a local, movement, and if the principle of assistance be conceded when provided by the ratepayers, why should it be withheld when provided by the taxpayers?

Then Mr. Burns told the Conference that 'State aid was not asked for at the last Conference, and I do not think this Conference expresses any desire for it.' Here again I join issue. Mr. Deakin's speech certainly suggested financial aid from this country, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier said 'it goes without saying that if the Imperial Government were prepared to help and assist us financially we would only be too glad to co-operate with them.' No doubt Mr. Burns was speaking from his brief and wished to draw the Dominion representatives into his net, a manœuvre he very cleverly accomplished. In this operation he was materially aided by Mr. Harcourt, who adroitly amended the resolution by omitting the word 'assisting,' as it looked like a demand for State-aided emigration from here, which he was sure was not the intention of the proposal.

Canada has felt the absence of joint action far less than Australia, and for many reasons. Canada lies but a short distance from these shores, whereas Australia is distant 12,000 miles from the base of operations. Fast and frequent communication for many years has been available for emigrants leaving this country for Canada, while the voyage to Australia, more especially in the case of emigrant ships, is one of long duration. Then there is a wide difference in the cost of a passage to Canada compared with Australia. And although to some extent this has been minimised in certain cases by the Australian State Governments, the want of continuity in their immigration policies has proved a severe stumbling-block in the way of securing their share of the emigrants leaving this country for the Dominions oversea.

Nor do I speak from my own book alone. Sir George Reid, High Commissioner for the Commonwealth, dealing with this very matter in his last annual report,³ does not hesitate to point out that the greatest deterrent to Australian emigration is 'the constant changing of the conditions under which passages are granted.' If emigration to Australia is to maintain the popularity it gained in this country a year or so ago, continuity of policy is a necessity. I know and appreciate the difficulty, but perhaps it might be overcome by placing Australian emigration more immediately under the control of the Commonwealth Government, the

³ (The Commonwealth of Australia) Third Annual Report of the High Commissioner of the Commonwealth in the United Kingdom. 1913.
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

necessary transfer of land for settlement purposes being made by the different States.

No one can round off sentences better than Mr. Asquith, no one can orate more effectively than Mr. Deakin and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, but neither these oversea statesmen nor their successors nor the Prime Minister have yet secured us a common platform for the discussion of emigration and immigration.

It seems to be forgotten that the ownership of property carries with it responsibilities defined by usage, and varying in degree with the extent and value of the property involved, but similar in character, whether the owner be an individual or a State. Applying this principle to the British Empire, an estate in which every Briton, be he domiciled in the Motherland or in the King's Dominions oversea, has a life interest with direct reversion to his descendants, it follows that upon the British race, jointly and severally, devolve the responsibilities attaching to the ownership of this vast inheritance. By force of circumstances the Empire is split up into different communities, the affairs of each being administered by separate Governments, to whom is entrusted the work of fulfilling these responsibilities. But in no case is the British Government relieved from the duty of taking action whenever one or other of these communities is found neglecting the moiety entrusted to its management. A primary duty of ownership is to develop the estate in possession, and in a country without adequate population for that purpose there can be no proper development. Manifestly, then, a duty devolves upon the Home Government to see that the different portions of the Empire are sufficiently populated. And the requirements of the case further demand that, as far as possible, the population in every instance should be British-born.

Another suggestion I should like to make, and not for the first time, is that a system of Imperial Labour Exchanges be instituted. Surely it is not impossible that Labour Exchanges here should co-operate with similar Exchanges in the Colonies? In this way labour not required in the Motherland might be directed to openings in the oversea Dominions. One great difficulty emigrating organisations in this country have to contend with is that of finding assured work for the would-be emigrant at his own trade. If a man be a farmer or a farm labourer, especially if he has a little money, the matter is easy enough; but all persons desirous of emigrating are not of the farming class, while in nine cases out of ten the emigrant is desirous of following the same calling in the Dominions as he has been following here, or at any rate a calling akin to his own. If he cannot obtain a promise of work in that capacity he not infrequently postpones his emigration, with the almost certain result that he spends all his savings

without getting a job, and then asks to be emigrated in any capacity, a request which it is not always possible to gratify.

With the old regulations in force in Canada, a man, if respectable and physically strong, might safely count upon obtaining work upon a Canadian farm. But once on the other side, some emigrants not infrequently represented that they had been promised work at their own trade, thus bringing discredit on their benefactors and placing Canadian officials in a difficult position, as these men had authority only to place immigrants on farms, and for that service alone could they claim payment of their fees. In these circumstances it was not surprising that, when the experiences of the employment agents in Canada came to be related to headquarters, misunderstandings resulted and desirables and undesirables became hopelessly mixed. If our Labour Exchanges had been linked up with similar Exchanges in Canada that kind of thing would never have happened.

Should my suggestion be carried out, it would be advisable to avoid entrusting the management of the oversea Exchanges to 'politics.' In Canada the superintending work might well remain with the Dominion Immigration Department. Similarly, in Australia, the institution of Labour Exchanges need entail no change in the *personnel* of the Immigration Departments in the various States. In every instance it would be wise to utilise the existing machinery. The head officials in each case would then correspond by cable with the official representative of their Government in London, who would make known the requirements to the Board of Trade, leaving that Department to circulate the information amongst the Labour Exchanges in this country. Some procedure of this kind would meet the situation, while the fact of official channels being used would effectually prevent any flooding of the labour market on the other side, or men being engaged here to take the place of strikers in the Dominions.

Much has been written, and much has been said, about the solidarity of labour. The proposition here suggested would be a means to that end, so it is difficult to imagine any opposition from within the fold on either side. Again, in Imperial Exchanges we have a practical way, and one involving no political difficulties, by which closer union may be directly promoted. Once establish Imperial Labour Exchanges, and it would not be possible to charge Colonial labour with a desire to keep out the Home worker, nor could labour in the Motherland any longer rank itself officially against emigration.

Moreover, Imperial Labour Exchanges would afford a useful object-lesson for preachers of Imperial unity, and their establishment would remove much of the misunderstanding now existing in the labour mind as to the true meaning of Imperialism. Hence

forth the voice that speaketh would not be that of a handful of trade unionists in one part of the Empire, or of a handful of trade unionists in another part of the Empire ; it would be the voice of Imperial labour, the voice of the Empire itself. Empire labour would succeed Home and Colonial labour, and an important and useful step have been taken towards the consummation of Imperial Federation.

Some years ago I made a similar proposal in the columns of the *Morning Post* ; and when Mr. Churchill, then President of the Board of Trade, introduced the Labour Exchanges Bill in the House of Commons he practically adopted my suggestion, for he said :

Another link of co-ordination is that of the National Labour Exchanges of this country with those of the Colonies. I propose to consult with the Agents-General of the various self-governing Colonies to see in what way information could be exchanged between the Emigration Offices and any Labour Exchanges in the Colonies and the Exchanges set up here. Looking forward to the future there is no reason why there should not be not merely a national but ultimately a completely Imperial system of Labour Exchanges to enable people to go from this country to the Colonies and from the Colonies to this country with very much more precise information than they can possibly obtain at present.

In pursuance of this policy, his successor, Mr., now Lord, Buxton, brought forward a resolution at the last Imperial Conference, but the change was one the Dominion representatives found difficulty in handling. The suggestion met with little support ; even the proposal of the Commonwealth Prime Minister to form a sub-committee to consider the question went no further than a pious opinion. But circumstances alter cases, and I should not be surprised if on the next occasion that the Dominion representatives meet together in the heart of the Empire a more reasonable view will be taken, and perhaps it may be that the suggestion will be accepted.

But in dealing with the vital question of peopling Australia from British stock, I should not be doing my duty if I did not point out that at the present moment persons engaged in city occupations form too large a proportion of the population. It is in the rural districts the pinch is felt, there the great need of population is ever present. And I think I am expressing the opinion held by Australians generally when I say that the best means of developing that part of the Empire is to initiate and carry out schemes of land settlement. In this connexion I may quote the report of the Dominions Royal Commission : 'The town population of Australia is excessive. . . . Government action, in encouraging migration, should be directed to the introduction of those who will become primary producers.' The report further adds, and with perfect soundness, that persons emigrating from

the Motherland to the Commonwealth should be able to go out 'either to a ready-made farm or a farm on the shares system.' For a long time Australia has been the wool-exporting centre of the Empire, and, as we have been told elsewhere, there appears to be no reason why it should not take the same leading place with regard to meat, butter, and cheese. The one thing necessary is a rapid increase in the farming population.

Some of the States, notably Victoria, have done a good deal in the direction of assisting the would-be farmer, but on the whole persons desiring to take up land in Australia appear to be left to their own resources. I think I am correct in saying that in New South Wales the man who wants to make a start as a farmer has to take his chance of finding a farm in the market on his arrival. Failing this, he must wait his turn in a Government land lottery, which may mean that for some time he will draw nothing but blanks, and even if he be successful in the draw he will have to face regulations and conditions which may not altogether appeal to him. The British Immigration League of Australia set themselves the task of formulating a plan to meet these difficulties. Having secured the co-operation of many leading citizens of New South Wales, the League opened negotiations in London with the Central Emigration Board with a view of the two Associations taking up together the question of land settlement in Australia, and showing what can be done by private enterprise.

At the annual meeting of the Central Emigration Board held at Grosvenor House a few months ago, Mr. Easton, Honorary Secretary of the Immigration League of Australia, explained the scheme it is proposed to inaugurate with a view of attracting an agricultural population to Australia. Briefly, the scheme is to form a limited liability company with the object of purchasing land in New South Wales for settlement purposes. The capital of the company to be 1,000,000*l.*, divided into shares of 1*l.* each, 300,000*l.* being offered to the public immediately, the whole bearing interest at the fixed rate of 6 per cent. per annum. Anyone who knows Australia is aware that when suitable land is purchased the return is great, especially when, as is contemplated in this scheme, the land is sub-divided into farms. These farms would be open to persons resident in Australia, as well as to newcomers from the Motherland. It should be clearly understood that the idea is for a joint enterprise, a truly Imperial scheme, to be conducted, without fee or reward, by prominent men in Australia and prominent men in this country for the benefit of both peoples. I should perhaps add that the scheme ought to prove of special benefit to University men and public school boys contemplating taking up land and settling down in

the Commonwealth; all necessary agricultural training will be given on the estate, and help will be available in such matters as selection of land and stock.

The scheme, in principle, has been very fully discussed in the Press, and, I think I may say, has borne criticism well, receiving support from the chief Unionist and Radical organs of public opinion. Practically its opponents are confined to the advocates of a Back-to-the-Land Policy in this country, chief among them being Mr. Jesse Collings, who, in a long letter to *The Times*, objects, not to the scheme itself, which he would like to see applied to England, but to the scheme as applied to Australia. To him emigration is responsible for what he terms 'deserted villages,' and is an evil to be combated rather than a blessing in disguise. The kind of emigration which in this article I have designated as insufficient for Imperial safety and of too sparing a character for development, he describes as 'a national danger.' Indeed, his observations are so extravagant, and the deductions he draws so ineffective, that I can hardly believe he has bestowed much study on the Imperial side of emigration work and the necessity of a more equal distribution of population between the Motherland and the Dominions oversea.

Nor are his facts always correct. For instance, he assumes, exactly on what ground it is difficult to see, that all assisted emigrants who have left these shores to make a new home for themselves in other parts of the Empire are necessarily persons drawn from the land. Indirectly he also attacks the Dominions for taking our 'best.' I am afraid he has forgotten that we have a great number of 'best' in every calling and in every trade, and that, at times, it is no easy matter for all our best to get employment. Not so very long ago I saw 200 men, the majority of whom seemed to be strong and able-bodied, applying for a post of 1*l.* a week. Surely this is over-competition with a vengeance, and it could be no comfort to the 199 men left to be told that they must necessarily remain in a country that did not require their services simply because in the opinion of theorists it was sinful, if not criminal, to export our best to lands where there was work for all and opportunity for all. Then, again, the man who is one of the best to-day may, if things go wrong, as they often do, become one of the worst to-morrow. Instead of allowing him to go on the rates, why not emigrate him and make him a producer? Greater development in the oversea Dominions means more trade for the Motherland, more defenders of the Empire, more contributors to the cost of Naval defence, which in turn means less demands on the British taxpayers. Mr. Collings should try to understand the true inwardness of Empire and the responsibilities connected with the possession and development of our great estate.

Answering his letter, Sir Newton J. Moore observes, with true Imperial spirit, that the movement of population to the Dominions is not disadvantageous 'if regarded from a broad Imperial aspect.' He points out that Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa are just as much constituent parts of the Empire as England, Ireland, and Scotland. 'In the matter of population the Empire is strong and vigorous at its heart and centre. Its real points of weakness lie in the great unoccupied lands across the sea.' Referring to the population of Australia, he tells us 'that such a handful of people cannot hope to retain this wonderful territory, rich in all the elements of primary and secondary productions, free from molestation for an indefinite length of time.' And he concludes an excellent and patriotic letter by submitting, as I submit, that the problem of effective occupation is of vital importance, calling for the exercise of all the genius that British statesmanship is capable of, and that without a moment's unnecessary delay.

Many years have passed since our poets first began to sing of Empire, and one has only to study the great works of the last century to see how men of thought and learning regarded the estate which has come down to us from our forefathers, and which every man and woman, whether domiciled in the Homeland or in the Dominions oversea, are now doing their best to defend. Let me remind Mr. Collings of Byron's stirring lines :

Far as the breeze can bear, the billows foam,
Survey our Empire, and behold our Home.

If Mr. Collings's creed be the true one, what becomes of our Empire Home? Does he suppose that destiny intended all Britons to herd together in one corner of the Empire, and that the smallest corner? That, indeed, would be an absurd proposition, and one I should hesitate to fasten on any opponent of emigration; but I am bound to say that in the case of Mr. Collings I see no other alternative. Can he deny that a most pressing responsibility of Empire is development? And how can development take place without population?

Again, let me remind him that the first claim every Briton has, whether he be a town or a rural labourer, is upon his heritage. It is his own estate, his forefathers secured it; he is free to roam over it at will. The British Empire is a unit. Going from London to Sydney, to Ottawa, or to Cape Town should be regarded in the same light as going from London to Edinburgh, Dublin, or Plymouth. This is the idea which should be inculcated into the minds of the British people if they are to possess a true understanding of Empire.

That is why I strongly urge the importance of an Imperial

Policy of Emigration and Immigration affecting adults and children alike, to be conducted and financed by the Home Government in conjunction with the Governments of the British Dominions oversea. That is why I suggest that the Emigrants' Information Office be replaced by a Board of Emigration possessing executive and administrative powers and responsible directly to some department of the State, preferably the Colonial Office ; that voluntary effort be co-ordinated and controlled by the Board of Emigration ; that overlapping in all phases be abolished ; that Labour Exchanges in this country be linked up with similar institutions in the Dominions ; that State aid and rate aid be made a common fund ; that Exchequer grants be given, and the granting of subsidies to shipping be considered.

I strongly support the scheme put forward by Mr. Easton, believing as I do, and as the Dominions Royal Commission believe, that what Australia wants is primary producers. At the same time, I am in full agreement with *The Times* leader-writer, who, comparing and criticising the scheme side by side with the views expressed by Mr. Jesse Collings, bids Australia take our town-bred people and 'turn them into settlers for her vacant lands.'

This has already been done in the case of town lads. For some little time the New South Wales Government have taken these lads and trained them for agricultural purposes, receiving contributions from the Dreadnought Fund. At the end of the lad's training he is given a certificate of competence, which enables him to secure employment at the current rates of wages, thus removing the objection entertained in labour circles that the introduction of boy labour into Australia would reduce local wages. The Dreadnought Fund is a large one, and there must still be a considerable sum left at the disposal of the trustees. Could not the balance be utilised to promote a properly organised system of land settlements?

The Times leader-writer also reminds us that the settlers should be taken young, while they can still be trained for the life of agriculture ; they must be given a real chance ; they must be given opportunities of learning by practical experience, and guarded meanwhile against unscrupulous exploitation of their labour. Lastly, he says the highest reward of agriculture in Australia must be open to their determination. 'These essentials secured, emigration to Australia would hold out some real prospects of supplying her need of population, while Great Britain would get no harm but much good from its development.'

These suggestions are akin to the plan laid by me before the Dominions Royal Commission in reference to a more systematic and better organised system of emigration for State children. To this end I proposed that all State children should be emigrated

under Government auspices, instead of, as now, through philanthropic societies, the Home Government and the Governments oversea acting together in the matter. The selection of children should be left to the Dominions.

I do not, however, agree with the policy followed by some societies of sending children to farmers immediately after their arrival in a new country, although I admit in Canada this policy meets with the approval of the immigration authorities. My own view is that it would be far better, especially when dealing with younger children, to send them to Home farms founded and carried on in a manner which I explained in detail to the Commissioners. All children should remain for a certain period on one of these Home farms. In that way only can they be properly trained and brought to understand Colonial methods of farming and various other matters connected with the daily routine of life oversea.

In conclusion, let me say that emigration means not only greater wealth for the State, but greater possibilities for the individual. Look at the careers of the late Lord Strathcona and Lord Mountstephen, of the great men of Australia and South Africa, and what is open to them is open to all. Parents should think for their children. They should send them out to till the land, build the railways, and work the mills in the Dominions oversea. By this means they would be able to develop their own estate, and in course of time reap the harvest arising from their labour. The more farmers we have in Canada and Australia the more grain we shall grow, the cheaper the loaf will be in the Homeland. And, when a time of stress and strain comes, as it has come now, our kith and kin in all parts of the Empire will rally again round the grand old flag, only in still greater numbers, and then, as now, help us to preserve intact the greatest and grandest Empire the world has ever known.

Let us never forget that we are one people with one destiny.

Sons, be welded, each and all,
Into one imperial whole,
One with Britain, heart and soul!
One Life, one Flag, one Fleet, one Throne!
Britons, hold your own.

CLEMENT KINLOCH-COOKE
(Chairman of the Central Emigration Board).

PACIFISM, TRUTH, AND COMMON SENSE

THIS is not a time for recriminations ; but the public is at last aroused, and will listen seriously, and will form its own judgment. Here, then, is the moment for pointing out one of the very dangerous tendencies which seem to underlie the current advocacy of pacifism. The recent enormous diffusion of pacifist doctrines seems due to two main causes, apart from Mr. Angell's own literary skill. First, its actual kernel is true and generous ; and, secondly, its husk was admirably adapted to protect it under recent world-conditions. An era of peace, almost unparalleled in world-history, has encouraged slipshod thinking on the subject of war : all fallacies which could not be brought to the test of immediate martial experience have enjoyed a very happy time in our generation. Men who would not dream of leaving their house unbarred to their brother-men by night, and who would scream for a policeman at the least provocation, have been quite content to believe that the soldier is a hireling murderer, and that Brotherhood would effectually keep the Germans from infringing neutral rights or neutral soil. The pacifist, therefore, conscious of the real justice of his main purpose, had involved himself also in a whole husk of delusions which a single stroke of German policy has now dispelled. And these delusions were all the more fatal because they were so flattering to the secret pride that lurks in us all. There are 'Norman Angell Leagues' everywhere, and a *Norman Angell Monthly* journal. The young Angellite feels that he has got hold of 'the new thing' ; he is tempted to contrast his own alertness with the dulness of the old fogey who remembers something very like it as the new thing of his own youth. The older Angellite, very often a person of rather limited reading and outlook, suddenly feels himself to be taller by a head and shoulders than the mere outsider, and commanding a proportionately wider intellectual horizon. For he has read and understood a serious book which, to do it justice, is almost as readable as a novel. To him it has revealed new realms of thought : he naturally measures the absolute novelty of the theories by the novelty of his own dis-

covery, and heartily pities other people who cannot see that 'Norman Angell has knocked the bottom out of all that.'¹

Let me therefore preface my article by admitting my agreement with most of Mr. Angell's first 'key-chapter,' which gives its name to *The Great Illusion*. If it is not very new in substance, it is at least expressed in new language of great force, and with comparatively little exaggeration. War is a curse, and we must do all we can to stop it. But how? This is really the main question; and here Mr. Angell wanders off into very confused reasoning and very gross misstatements. Everywhere he argues as if we had only two alternatives—on the one hand the present state of things; and, on the other, some vague moral action which he very imperfectly defines.

(1) He completely ignores the well-defined and apparently practical solution proposed by all the democracies of Europe. If the Continental Radicals and Socialists could have had their way, the world would by this time have been armed on the Swiss system, with a law compelling every able-bodied man to train in defence of his country, and no possibility of raising any aggressive force beyond such volunteers as could be induced to invade a foreign nation—that is, a huge preponderance of defensive over offensive forces in every civilised country. This (as Jaurès and Bebel pleaded) would at last bring International Arbitration within practical politics. Mr. Angell apparently shares the vulgar misapprehension that Continental democrats are opposed to the principle of Compulsory Service; and, in his only military reference to Switzerland, he describes it as an 'undefended nation . . . defended by a comic-opera army of a few thousand men' (p. 34). Yet Switzerland, in the first week of this very August, put into the field 200,000 armed and trained men: in figures of British population, more than two and a half millions. Military experts judge her far more competent than Belgium to defend her neutrality.

(2) This, no doubt, is only a sin of omission, but such omissions vitiate an apostle's whole case. If we are at the top of a burning house, and a supposed expert rushes in to tell us that our only chance of escape is to risk a leap in the dark, his omission to note the presence of a common-sense fire-escape may be more dangerous to us than even a deliberate falsehood. But, in fact, Mr. Angell's sins of commission are even worse than his omissions. The chapter to which he himself refers us as

¹ An unconsciously humorous and extraordinarily illuminating revelation of this attitude may be found in *War and Peace* for July last, pp. 313-14. On the very day on which that writer sent his article to the press Austria published her ultimatum to Servia. Since then many strong pacifists have volunteered for the front, a proof of moral and physical courage which must command the highest admiration.

'key-chapter No. 2,' is the second of the second book—and this involves, by implication, the fourth chapter also, which professes to supply detailed proof for the bald assertions of the second. In these two chapters he quotes two scientific authorities of European reputation as supporting his main contentions. On page 145 Professor Karl Pearson is quoted in support of the assertion that 'Man's struggle is the struggle of the organism, which is human society, in its adaptation to its environment, the world—not the struggle between the different parts of the same organism.'² Nobody who knows the Professor's work would find it easy to credit him with any such grotesque statement. The fact is, that in this very passage he insists with almost brutal frankness on 'the battle of society with society,' and on the right of strong races to squeeze out the weak. It is extremely likely that Mr. Angell got his reference from some second-hand source which he has misunderstood. Again, on page 194, he quotes Otto Seeck's famous phrase 'the rooting-out of the best,' and claims Seeck as supporting his assertion that the downfall of Rome was due to her foreign wars. He gives no reference, and has evidently never had Seeck's actual book in his hands; for, three lines farther on, he cites another sentence from the same context, without realising that here again he is dealing with Otto Seeck.³ And the error of fact is, in this case, even more grotesque than in Professor Pearson's. The famous pages in Seeck's first volume which develop this thesis of the 'rooting-out of the best,' do *not* attribute this eliminating process to international warfare. On the contrary, Seeck is at great pains to show how the barbarous German tribes, during three hundred years of perpetual warfare, grew strong enough to crush at one stroke that great Roman Empire which had enjoyed three hundred years of a peace unparalleled in the ancient world. So far as Seeck condemns Roman militarism as responsible for this elimination of the most manly elements, it is because the imperial army, by relying on voluntary enlistment, gradually segregated, and to a great extent sterilised, the most adventurous elements of the nation. In other words, if we are to believe Seeck, it is conscription and war that strengthen a race both physically and morally, while nations are not only weakened but demoralised by a long period of peace, defended by the swords of a hireling soldiery. He emphasises this contention by instancing

² *Grammar of Science*, pp. 433-38.

³ This is curiously borne out by a glance at Mr. Angell's new edition (p. 236). Imagining himself to have silently deleted all reference to Seeck, he has in fact left the longer quotation from Seeck in its place, not knowing its paternity; and he still quotes a sentence from Seeley which (as Seeck would have shown him) is false in that context. It is an admirable example of what Mr. J. M. Robertson has called 'plundering and blundering.'

other nations of antiquity. It was not external war, but internal political quarrels (he contends), that ruined Greece and Rome. Seeck's thesis may be overstrained—I, for one, feel that it is—but that is not the present point. The point is that this historian of European reputation, after what even his antagonists would admit to be a detailed and masterly survey of the actual evidence, sums up in the extreme militarist sense; and that Mr. Angell, on the strength of a couple of dozen words which he has picked up somewhere at second-hand and misunderstood, claims the verdict of the specialist in his own favour.

This, and a good deal more, I pointed out about a year ago at the Cambridge War and Peace Society, which was founded mainly for the discussion of Mr. Norman Angell's writings. No member then present ventured to defend these two references in face of the actual words of Professors Pearson and Seeck: the general apology amounted to this, that Mr. Angell is a journalist, and must be judged by journalistic standards of literary accuracy. But, some six months afterwards, one of Mr. Angell's official subordinates wrote to ask me for a note of these mistakes, since the author was bringing out a new edition and wished to correct them. So far, so good. On a subsequent occasion, however, when the matter was publicly discussed again, this intermediary held out no hope that the correction would amount to anything more than a silent omission of the two false references. Mr. Angell might indeed bring himself to eliminate the flat falsehood; he would indeed delete the references; but he could not afford to delete also his main suggested falsehood. Professor Pearson, whose authority on a special point of sociology even Mr. Angell's warmest admirers would admit to be at least double that of the Master, will indeed no longer be quoted as saying the very thing which he has not said. But this falsehood, this pseudo-scientific axiom flatly opposed to real scientific authority, is still to stand in Mr. Angell's text, without any hint of Professor Pearson's contradiction.⁴ Similarly, decency forbids that Professor Seeck should any longer be claimed as a pacifist; but here, again, we must still disguise the fact that Mr. Angell is setting up his own journalistic *obiter dictum* against the considered verdict of a specialist of European reputation: and all this on two points which lie at the very foundation of the second 'Key-chapter.'

This decision seemed to me so crude an assertion of the non-moral legal maxim, *caveat emptor*, that I ventured to argue still further with the intermediary in question; with Mr. Angell himself it was useless to argue, since he had declined my direct challenge to discuss in writing not only his obvious blunders, but

⁴ Not indeed in its crudest expression; but the whole misstatement is still there in substance, and Mr. Angell still builds his theory upon it.

what seemed to me his deeper misconceptions and sophisms. I urged the pleas which will probably occur to most of my readers : that, in ordinary political journalism, this kind of thing might pass muster, but that it ill becomes a pacifist to live by Disraeli's maxim 'Never retract, never explain, never apologise' ; that this silent and furtive misrepresentation was, morally, even less justifiable than the carelessness which had begotten the original misstatements ; and that he who would truly serve the cause of world-peace must not deliberately adopt a standard of literary rectitude lower than the ordinary standard of commercial rectitude adopted by self-respecting business firms. Moreover, it becomes possible to point out a concrete example of the endless blunders which may thus breed from the writings of a single blunderer who has a hundred thousand readers at his command. Professor Starr Jordan, President of the University of Stanford, U.S.A., had lately given a public address at Cambridge on 'Eugenics and War.' Instead of the scientific arguments which we might have expected from him as a biologist, he had based a great part of his address upon this Angell-Seeck blunder ; and when, during the ensuing discussion, Seeck's actual words were brought to his notice, the Professor was too confused by this shock to put up either a defence or an apology : he preferred to allow one of his main points to go by default.⁵ The Professor had simply fallen into the same ditch as the 99,999 other readers ; and in that ditch Mr. Norman Angell proposes to leave them all wallowing ; for my representations through his intermediary were as fruitless as my direct challenge had been to himself. The world in general has no time to verify a writer's references, and, until a few weeks ago, it was impossible to impress upon Mr. Angell his moral responsibility in this matter. The lamentable events of this August may possibly force him to abandon this Nietzschean attitude : he stands now no longer on the pedestal of the Super-human, but must render the moral account which is required from other men.

For these are only the two worst from among many similar instances. He makes great sport of an article by Mr. Sidney Low in the *Nineteenth Century* for October 1898.⁶ In his five references to this article (pp. 173-4, 187, 198, 205) he so steadily ignores Mr. Low's qualifying phrases, and so grievously misrepresents his actual argument, that it is only charitable to infer second-hand knowledge here again : the whole thing is apparently suggested by certain passages in Mr. J. M. Robertson's *Patriotism*

⁵ See the Professor's contemporaneous article in the *Eugenics Review* (late 1913 or early 1914), in which the same misuse of Otto Seeck's authority occurs. I am not aware that the author has since offered either explanation or apology to the public.

⁶ *Should Europe Disarm?*

and Empire. The only alternative supposition is that of a gratuitous and deliberate unfairness of which I cannot believe Mr. Angell capable. Renan, again, argued that 'War is one of the conditions of progress.' Mr. Angell, in defence of his second 'key-chapter,' quotes this as 'War is *the condition of progress*,' and makes short work of the sentence thus garbled. He complacently applies to the soldier in general what Mr. Bernard Shaw has said about the British volunteer soldier, who must be humoured if we would get him to enlist at all.⁷ In another place, arguing after his own fashion about military nations, he bases himself on the assumption that Russia drills a larger proportion of her population than Germany (p. 184). A reference to Whitaker, or to a dozen almost equally accessible authorities, would have told him that the Germans have an overwhelmingly larger proportion under arms. Moreover, even Mr. Angell's literary conscience will scarcely allow him to retain in the next edition a sentence which occurs on this same page : 'As already pointed out, the men who really give the tone to the German nation, to German life and conduct—that is to say, the majority of adult Germans—have never seen a battle *and never will.*' (Italics mine.)

More might be said, but this much may suffice to explain why I have tried hard, for some time, to persuade Mr. Angell to discuss his thesis publicly. It may also supply one, at least, of the reasons which have hitherto prompted his refusal.

I have begun with him as the most prominent example of the too common pacifist attitude towards inconvenient facts. Another very flagrant offender is the International Arbitration League. The tone of its official journal is always gratuitously provocative. It has gloated over an inscription borne in procession on certain Trade-Unionist banners : 'To Hell with Conscription!' The editor has refused space for protest or contradiction, even where he has made a personal attack. The paper is largely supported by members of the Society of Friends, who, however, probably never read it, but simply pay their money for the Cause, and believe piously that the *Arbitrator* must be an honest, peaceable journal, as they believe piously that Mr. Norman Angell must know what he is talking about when he quotes from learned professors. Let me quote one further instance out of many. The League has officially published a leaflet by Mr. John Ward, M.P., alleging that a certain factory

⁷ Here are some of the words which Mr. Angell, though he has lived in Paris, finds it in his conscience to apply to the foreign conscript : 'He has the easiest of lives . . . dressed prettily, and washed and combed like a child, . . . forbidden to marry, like a child, and called "Tommy," like a child. He has no real work to keep him from going mad except housemaid's work' (p. 206).

manager 'outside Zürich' had lost nearly 50 per cent. of his men during the autumn manœuvres of 1907, and had complained to Mr. Ward that his works might almost as well have been closed. The writer, when challenged, could not supply the manager's name or address; but after a long and most romantic chase, in which Mr. Ward himself gave me only the most unwilling and niggardly assistance, I at last succeeded in identifying two factories as the only two which could possibly answer to his description. The managers of both these factories, on inquiry, treated the whole story as absurd: not even 10 per cent. of their men had been called out, and they emphatically repudiated the suggestion that compulsory service reacted disadvantageously upon Swiss industry and trade. On inquiring further from the official Labour Bureau at Zürich, I was told that 'We should never even discuss the possibility' of such a case as I quoted. My attempt to find the Swiss colonel who was alleged to have been present when the words were spoken elicited only a suggestion that 'your informant has been egregiously hoaxed.' Finding it hopeless to appeal to the Secretary, Mr. F. Maddison (who finally threatened to emphasise the incriminated assertion by thick type when he came to reprint the leaflet), I looked down the long list of Vice-Presidents of the International Arbitration League, and fixed upon the name most honourably known to me by report. This was a gentleman deep in all religious and charitable works, a member of Parliament, and a business man of high standing. His embarrassment when appealed to was piteous and even ludicrous: why should *he* be made responsible? To do him justice, he had probably never before looked at the League publications; but, in the long run, no more satisfaction was to be got from him than from Mr. Ward or Mr. Maddison: the pacifist in him could not accept a code of honour which the business man would have disdained to infringe. For years and decades still to come, the International Arbitration League will continue to base its attack upon Swiss compulsory service upon assertions which the Swiss themselves find too grotesque for argument. Honourable business men and the Society of Friends will pay for the broadcast dissemination of this and similar falsehoods; they will continue to apply odious names to those who conscientiously differ from them, and will wonder all the time why 'the average sensual man' still fails to see that he is entertaining angels of Truth and Justice unawares.

The last case I need quote is that of the *Manchester Guardian*, a journal of the greatest ability, and most honourable in its general traditions. Readers of the *Nineteenth Century and After* may remember an article in the last May number, signed by two Fellows of Cambridge Colleges, and recommending mili-

tary training as a necessary part of the University degree, except in the case of conscientious objectors. Professor J. H. Moulton, of Manchester, devoted half an article to this subject in the *Guardian* of the 18th of June last. He professed to base his attack on two main statements of fact, both of which were incorrect. With difficulty I procured the insertion of a brief letter pointing out how grossly the Professor had misrepresented the French attitude towards compulsory service. He had accused us of attempting to impose upon Cambridge 'a yoke beneath which some of our Colonies are already groaning, while France is desperately striving to set herself free.' I pointed out that, on the contrary, even the French *Socialists* advocated a system of compulsory militarism *twice as strict* as that which we proposed at Cambridge; and that the Belgian Radicals had recently forced compulsory universal service upon the unwilling Conservatives. To this the Professor replied 'I said nothing about Radicals or Socialists, as Mr. Coulton's words would suggest.' My rejoinder was obvious; that I had quoted Radicals and Socialists only as an argument *a fortiori*, and that the Professor, in appealing to 'France,' had most certainly referred directly to the only two parties in France which place any form of anti-militarism upon their programme; since it is notorious that no other parties are 'striving to set themselves free' even from the terrible burden of the three years' system. The rest of his letter was almost equally misleading; and I therefore suggested that a subject on which even the learned Professor, like so many more of my fellow-Liberals, proved so confidently ignorant, might well repay more public discussion. The Editor declined to publish my second letter, on the ground that 'we do not see our way to convey publicly to Professor Moulton a challenge which he may have good reasons for not desiring to take up.' To-day, a couple of months later, it will not be so easy for a Professor to allege good reasons for wilful ignorance upon a subject which the nation sees to be so vital; or for attempting to palliate misstatement by subterfuge. There was no reason whatever for him to attack the 1700 Cambridge graduates who signed this memorial, unless he had been sure of his facts. There can be no excuse, now that he has blundered, for his refusing to make the ordinary amends.

I have purposely chosen here the most prominent among these men who do evil that peace may ensue. The root of this war difficulty is not only war itself, but also those thousand injustices upon which war is based, and which make some men rush to war as an actual relief. Let me acknowledge again the great service Mr. Angell has done by bringing the man in the street to face the possibility that even successful war may not 'pay.' But how shall he really convince the world, until he has proved

equally conclusively that there is no salvation in untruth and injustice, which lie at the root of war? The writings of professional pacifists do not really commend their cause. Religion is a noble thing; but the religious tract has too often made itself a byword. Pacifism is a noble ideal; but the first step towards its realisation must surely be this: that its advocates should consistently manifest at least that moral courage which we expect from men of lower professions.

I have emphasised all this, because our worst troubles in this present crisis may possibly come from that slipshod, inaccurate, and essentially dishonest pacifism, which is as far from true peace as sentimentality is from true feeling. For the moment, the danger may seem remote. We no longer hear the voices of those who have cursed the soldier's trade that made their own trade possible, or who have piled up big fortunes behind an Army and a Fleet whose existence they daily deplore. Only here and there can the German Chancellor state his case against Sir Edward Grey in phrases borrowed from the Independent Labour Party's manifesto. But, as this murderous war drags on, those who first lose heart will soonest revert to the false gospel of 'Peace, Peace!' where there is no peace. We shall again be flooded with prophets whose knowledge is often on a par with their candour, and of whom we may almost say with Voltaire:

Notre crédulité fait toute leur science.

There will be a chorus of 'Trust German promises!' from men whom we cannot even trust ourselves—from men who earn a reputation for idealism by preaching, in international relations, a higher code than they practise either in literature or in ordinary business. They would not release a fraudulent debtor upon his word of honour; nor would they fail to demand very substantial recognizances as security against personal assault. Germans see this very clearly; and that curious medley which disciples call 'Angellism' has been responsible for a good deal of very dangerous German contempt. However illegitimate the deduction may have been, it was only natural that Germany should have suspected cowardice and wilful self-deception in a population which rules its every-day business dealings by strict common sense, but which will swallow the commonest nonsense rather than face the one root-problem of national defence. In a few months there may be room again for an 'Angellism' under cover of which real peace would be gambled away for false peace; and we shall then need to remember that outspoken word of the great Nonconformist R. W. Dale: 'I believe in peace—true peace—at any price; in peace, even at the price of war.'⁸

G. G. COULTON.

P.S.—The last few days have shown us a most instructive parallel to Mr. Angell's literary methods. The *Frankfurter Zeitung*, a paper whose fairness is generally most conspicuous, was betrayed into publishing the now notorious John Burns oration. It is apparently the only journal which has since honestly confessed : 'We shall not hesitate, if a forgery is in question, to acknowledge this.' But it cannot help adding : 'In any case, what was put into the mouth of Mr. Burns was very excellent; he would have had no reason to be ashamed of it.' (*The Times*, September 15.) There we have exactly Mr. Angell's point of view. The words which he, a journalist, put into the mouths of professors speaking *ex cathedra* upon their special subjects, are (he considers) very excellent, and such as they would have no reason to be ashamed of. What the *Frankfurter Zeitung* has been betrayed into under bitter stress of war, Mr. Angell cheerfully perpetrated in piping times of peace. Moreover, he had not even the *Frankfurter's* excuse that Mr. John Burns may possibly be actually thinking the things he is reported to have said. The authors whom Mr. Angell falsified had said, only too explicitly, the very opposite. It is almost as if the Germans had put the Burns speech into the mouth of Sir Edward Grey.

G. G. COULTON.

THE AWAKENING OF BRITAIN

THERE is a saying attributed to Napoleon which seems to me particularly appropriate to the Empire at the present time.

'Would you understand history? Look at your neighbour, it is all contained in him.' Which is only another way of stating the old Hindu aphorism 'Man is the microcosm of the Universe.' Or conversely, as the founder of the new Organisation Society puts it, 'Human society is only an extension of the individual.'

Probably most thoughtful readers will accept any one of these definitions as an adequate superficial generalisation from observed phenomena, but I am inclined to think that when the incidents of the last few weeks are seen in their true perspective we shall have to admit that each and all of them go far deeper than the average reader has hitherto imagined—that is to say, that nations, like individuals, are separate entities, and are governed in their growth by both conscious and subconscious impulses.

For in what other manner can we interpret the extraordinary change of feeling which swept through the whole Empire during the night of the 4th of August of this year? It passed round the world reconciling all conscious differences of opinion, and calling into being armies of a fighting potential which, measured even by numbers alone, will prove to be relatively the greatest ever put forth *voluntarily* by any nation or Empire upon earth.

Whence, and how, did these hundreds of thousands of men, almost all more or less trained, who are thronging the recruiting offices throughout the Dominions of Great Britain and the Mother-land, to say nothing of the half million, or more, *actually under arms within forty-eight hours*, suddenly spring? What instinct was it which guided them years ago already to set about preparing for this particular struggle, to the probability of which not one man in ten could be found to record his intellectual assent?

The historian might have turned over all the files of newspaper and contemporary literature contained in the British Museum, and he would hardly have found a single indication that would have helped him to answer these questions. And for this reason, that on the bulk of the printed evidence he might have discovered, he could only have come to the certain conclusion

(the same at which the German spies arrived) that the whole nation was rotten with luxury, that its mercenary army was small in number and contemptible in quality, that its second-line defenders were quite inadequate in numbers and equipment, and in training generally; and, still judging by the weight in pounds avoirdupois of the evidence, that only the immediate acceptance of the burden of compulsory service could save our homes from devastation at the hands of our Teutonic neighbours.

I do not suggest that he will find a lack of indications on the other side; on the contrary, I am painfully aware of the amount of seemingly waste paper I have myself contributed to the British Museum shelves. Nevertheless, I think I can assert, after many years of effort to induce an optimistic frame of mind amongst my compatriots with regard to Britain's resources in trained and partially trained troops, that the growth of the great military 'potential' (it is too soon to call it an Army) has been essentially subconscious. It has evolved itself in spite of, rather than as a consequence of, the conscious efforts which individuals may have made.

But even subconscious actions are controlled by nerves and nerve centres. In the individual one has to go back to paleontological records to discover the origins of the countless automatic reflex actions which form, it is said, 99 per cent. of the aggregate movements which go to make up our everyday existence. But in the nation as an entity there seems no trace at all of this subconscious readiness to prepare its land forces against coming danger until we begin to discern it very dimly about the middle of the Napoleonic epoch.

The doctrine of sea-power seems to have been subconsciously present in the British national mind as far back as the time of King Alfred. Very possibly we took it over from the Romans, who certainly realised all it meant when they concentrated their efforts on crushing the Carthaginian Fleets. But until the beginning of the nineteenth century our land armies show no trace of realising their function in maintaining or bringing about the Peace of Europe.

Previously to this date men had enlisted chiefly for the love of an adventurous career, the lure of prize-money and loot, which, except in India, they rarely obtained, and very largely for the sake of feudal attachment to the men who led them in companies and regiments. If the Lord of the Manor desired to go to the Low Countries his tenants and their sons came forward, willing to follow him, without questioning why or wherefore anyone should wish to fight. Indeed, something of the same spirit still existed in Yorkshire, even within my own experience. It was my position in the Royal Engineers which rendered it impossible

for me to promise my would-be recruits that they should serve in my own company and under my own eyes; consequently, without that personal guarantee the parents of the boys would not allow them to go. With the turn of the last century, however, men began to enlist because they felt bound to do so, and to enlist in the cause of Justice and Freedom.¹

When David Garrick wrote :

Britannia triumphant her ships sweep the sea,
Her standard is Justice, her watchword 'Be free,'

he was, with the prevision of the poet (as the popularity of his song suggests), a true exponent of the underlying sentiment of the British race, a sentiment that it was powerless to express individually in words. But the song has been recognised and accepted as the index of its deepest feelings, a patriotic outburst of loyalty and grim determination under a mask of light-heartedness. The spirit of it grew with every year that the war lasted, until it attained an intensity which officers, for instance, who fought all through the Peninsular War, had never believed to be possible. Here is a passage from the writings of General Michel, an artillery officer whose grasp of all the great problems of war was much in advance of his contemporaries—it is one which our future historians will do well to ponder. Writing of the attitude of the men at the battle of Waterloo, he says :

There was plenty of despondency and want of confidence (as to results) in the Army on the evening of the 17th of June, but it never shook the resolution of the men. On the contrary, it brought out that stubborn and resolved kind of fierceness that after any desperate and prolonged resistance seizes on the minds of the British soldiers. . . . On ordinary occasions, when soldiers assist wounded officers or their comrades to the rear, they return—when they do return at all—leisurely enough; but at Waterloo many of them refused to quit the ranks, and others left wounded officers in the middle of the road and then returned to their posts.

Elsewhere he says that the whole Army seemed conscious of the supreme importance of the trust committed to their charge by the nation, though no proclamation to this effect had been addressed to them—and these men, it must be remembered, were for the most part by no means of the steel of hardened veterans forged in Spain and the Pyrenees. They were made up very largely of militiamen drafted into their line battalions, on precisely the same system with which we are now about to make up new Service units from our present-day Territorials and National Reserve men. It was, in fact, the same spirit of duty evoked by Nelson in the

¹ See in confirmation a very admirable book, *Men whom Wellington Led*, by Edward Fraser, and of course Fortescue's *History of the British Army*.

Fleet which now began to permeate the Army. Clearly it was a novel phenomenon, or it would not have attracted an old and experienced officer's attention.²

This spirit of race-responsibility was very soon submerged in that of the ordinary population after the return of the troops from France, and their disbandment. Within twenty years our military forces had sunk to the very nadir of inadequacy in England.

It is necessary to dwell on this point to appreciate the extraordinary re-emergence that has since taken place. Between 1835-45 the Army received from 10,000 to 12,000 men annually into its ranks. It was difficult to find even these. Woolwich, as headquarters of the Royal Artillery, could but turn out twelve guns properly horsed for parade, and when Sir Lintorn Simmons, then a major of Royal Engineers, published a carefully reasoned pamphlet on *The Defence of England*, he could only find twenty-four guns and some 20,000 infantry, with a few squadrons, available for a Field Army. The Militia had never been embodied since Waterloo, and of the 400,000 Volunteers raised in 1803-5 only the Honourable Artillery Company and the Queen's West-minsters remained in nucleus form.

The state of the Navy was even worse.

In the Mediterranean our Fleet had sunk to the total of two second-rate battleships. At home, though hulks, stores, and guns existed in considerable quantities (about 1000 of the last-named were in Portsmouth alone), the Superintendent of that Dockyard stated in his evidence before the Royal Commission on Dockyard Defences about 1850—that though things had much improved of late, it would still take at least two years to equip all the vessels in his charge for sea. As for crews, matters were in a very bad state. Men were shipped for a single commission only. They were discharged with no lien upon them when a ship paid off. Ships going into commission often lay in harbour for six months, sometimes for much longer, before a satisfactory crew could be persuaded to sign on.

Coast defences had fallen into a condition that might be described as hopeless judged by the standard of to-day. The Prince de Joinville, in his Memoirs, gives a vivid instance of this. The Prince, though a great admirer of the English, was a fighting man, first and last. The war party in France (of which he was a warm supporter) was at the moment strongly urging Louis Philippe to destroy the British Fleet and effect a landing by a surprise attack. To show how easily such a *coup* could be

² Since the above was written, letters from officers at the front show that exactly the same spirit is being manifested by our men to-day. They seem as much surprised, after their South African experience, as was Michel in his day.

carried out, De Joinville one morning sailed his frigate into Sheerness and duly saluted the English flag.

Then was there downright consternation in the port, because, as bad luck (?) would have it, all the guns of the flagship had been dismounted for painting ship. Also the Engineers had taken up all the batteries for repairs. Consequently there was not even one gun available with which to return the distinguished visitor's salute. All that could be done was to send a polite message from the Admiral to explain the situation and to apologise for the delay in acknowledging the Prince's compliment. Presently a couple of small signal guns—generally used for starting sailing races—were remembered, and after some considerable time the required number of shots were duly fired.

Louis Philippe's reply to his Ministers when experts such as Admiral L'Allemand and the Prince were advising him on the subject is worth noting. First, let me say that looking back with the fuller knowledge of the facts since acquired, it seems that on the whole the instinct of the lethargic British crowd was really a surer guide than the intelligence of even our most tried and trusted men. We know now that no real danger threatened our country. The prestige of Great Britain, won in the great wars, was still her sufficient protection. The French King's reply, as reported, neatly illustrates the fact.

If I declare war now upon England, as you advise, we may, as these documents before us say, sink the British Fleet now in commission, and so forth, but in two years' time the French flag will have disappeared from the ocean, and these colonies [pointing to Algiers and the map of the Mediterranean] will have passed into British hands.

Even the events brought about by the wave of revolution which swept through all the Courts of Europe in 1848 had no effect upon the lethargy of the English nation as a whole, and one can well understand the feelings of despair which moved the Iron Duke to write his memorable letter to Sir John Burgoyne on the state of our national defences, which closes with the following despondent words :

I am bordering upon seventy-seven years of age, passed in honour. I hope that the Almighty may protect me from being the witness of the tragedy which I cannot persuade my contemporaries to take measures to avert.—Believe me, ever yours sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

Had the appeal of the Duke of Wellington, and of the men whom he led, succeeded in unlocking the doors of the National Treasury, there can be no doubt now that the money obtained would have been even more completely wasted than were the millions shortly afterwards expended on the land defences, the fortifications of Portsmouth, Plymouth, and so forth, which the

'blue-water school' have since nicknamed 'Palmerston's Follies.' But whereas those works did in fact exercise very considerable diplomatic pressure, during the transition period of the Navy alluded to above, when it would have taken two years to equip the vessels in some of our ports for sea, no money on earth could have bolstered up the out-of-date long-service organisation of the Army to which all the expert opinion of the period stood committed.

Subconsciously, again, the nation felt that this system was no longer suited either to its social, economic, or Imperial needs, and it was even then putting out half-blind tentacles and feelers towards a working solution of its new problem. It was not want of the warlike instinct which made it so difficult to find recruits; this is proved by the fact that after the news of every fresh outbreak of war, whether in Scinde, the Punjab, the Crimea, or the Indian Mutiny, the curve of recruiting invariably shows an upward bound. Further confirmation of this fact is obtained from such indications as can be found as to the numbers of men of altogether superior station who volunteered to serve in Spain, in Greece, under Garibaldi, and most particularly in the rival armies of the United States during their great Civil War.

As the library of the United Service Institution has been taken over by the Government for the time that the present War shall last, the only positive figures I can give are taken from an appendix in Colonel Henderson's *Stonewall Jackson*. These show that a total of 69,000 British subjects took part in the land fighting in America from 1862-1864, quite exclusive of the many Irish brigades and corps serving on both sides.³ The Irish enlisted as naturalised Americans, therefore they do not appear in the above return.

No amount of conscious cerebration on the part of the War Office could have found the solution which presently spontaneously evolved itself—viz. the Volunteer movement—one of the most difficult phenomena to explain on the basis of rational contemporary opinion that I have ever encountered. Ostensibly the men composing it came forward in reply to the vapouring threats of invasion hurled at us by certain 'French colonels,' but the result seems to me so altogether out of proportion to the cause that one is compelled to search for the true driving force which brought them together. To the correct explanation I shall recur later when I collect the threads of my argument for its final conclusion. At this moment it is sufficient to note that it was this spontaneous manifestation of hitherto unsuspected warlike qualities in the middle and lower middle classes of the

³ I have since been informed that no less than 60,000 English enlisted and fought for Garibaldi. The number seems excessive, but I have no reason to doubt its accuracy.

people, which ten years later made it possible for the late Colonel Home, R.E., and his assistants to draw up the short service scheme, which, thanks to Lord Cardwell's Parliamentary ability, ultimately became the law of the land. Out of this have sprung in succession the great organisations which are pouring out men, more or less trained, to fill out the cadres Colonel Home devised; organisations which will enable us to continue sending to the Continent, if necessary, one army after another, until the whole of the fighting manhood of these islands is exhausted. As at the present moment there are not less than some three million suitable, 'more or less trained' men, between the ages of 18 and 50, of whom at least two-thirds are of first-rate physique, there need be no doubt of our ability to go on fighting as long as any of our rivals may care to keep the field.

Let me now turn and try to trace out the germinating point of the nervous system which has exercised, though it certainly never initiated, the controlling influence that enables us to use these potential forces as armies, and differentiates them from the 'mobs' our Continental friends have for so long tried to make us believe them to be.

This starting point I find in the first edition of Pasley's *Military Institutions and Policy of the British Empire*, first published in London in November 1810. Without doubt numerous other individuals had felt in varying degree what Pasley herein lays down—during the Seven Years War, for example; but, whereas the books they produced were sporadic in appearance and without durable influence on our national policy, this work of Pasley's at once caught the attention of the directing minds among his public, and within a year it had given an impulse and character to the conduct of the Peninsular War which it never hereafter lost.

We have forgotten—the present generation indeed has never realised—the profound gulf which in those days separated the spirit of the nation from its Army. We were tied and bound in the chain of the Navy, as I have already said. We generally gave the Army a fairly generous send-off, but once the troops were on board the transports, all interest in their mission vanished. Very often the object for the attainment of which they had been despatched had lost all significance for the people before the men had actually reached their destination. - News of disaster, of the loss of troopships, even of downright failure, as of Whitelock's pitiful fiasco and surrender at Buenos Ayres, was not even resented.

Even the conquests we actually made were given up with every peace or change of policy, without regard for the blood they had cost, for the feelings of the men who had made them, or

for the memory of those who died for them. Discouragement was rife throughout the whole Army. This contemptuous treatment was bitterly resented, and the officers of the Army felt that it was an infamous misapplication of energy to squander the fighting power of the admirable material they commanded in isolated efforts which contributed little or nothing to the whole end and aim of the War—namely, the subjugation of the power of Napoleon.

It was just when the outlook was darkest that Pasley, then a young captain in the Engineers, happened to foregather with Burgoyne, and Fletcher, John Jones, and a few others, all home on leave from different stations in London.

Finding how universal was the feeling of despondency, and how widespread, how intensely the whole Army abroad detested the almost scornful refusal to recognise the part such seasoned troops could play, Pasley set himself to write the essay whose title I have given, and he was fortunate enough to secure a publisher at once.

In his pamphlet he boldly attacked the bogey of the invincibility of the French power on land, and claimed that with troops who had shown themselves more than a match for any which could be brought against them, unit for unit, on the Continent, it needed but to concentrate their efforts and to follow up one line of action with persistence, to expose the rottenness of the foundations on which the Napoleonic tyranny was built up.

The response to this appeal was so extraordinary and unprecedented (one edition succeeded another) that statesmen, and even poets, wrote long and appreciative letters to the author.

His brother officers sent him congratulations without stint, and, to cut the story short, from that time forward Pasley's main idea was never lost sight of by the Government. We followed out during five long and eventful years the course we were embarked upon when his book appeared.

Not without struggles, however, as every student of the Peninsular War well knows; but I think it is safe to say that, but for this ruling idea of continuity of action which Pasley insisted on in this essay, Lord Wellington could never have received the parliamentary support he needed for the accomplishment of his ultimate triumph.

For once in the history of the British Army a literary effort secured an ample reward, for in 1812 Pasley was entrusted with the task of founding at Chatham the School of Military Engineering, a post he retained for thirty years.

It was this school which, in fact, gave intellectual continuity to the bedrock principles of organisation established during the Great Wars right down to the present day.

It was not alone Pasley who made the school, but the whole-hearted assistance his efforts received from his original supporters, all of whom, except Fletcher, killed at St. Sebastian, became exceedingly distinguished men. To all intents and purposes the School of Military Engineering at Chatham fulfils its function of a University to the Corps of Royal Engineers, only with this difference and advantage, that from the first the young officer is brought into contact on terms of absolute comradeship with his seniors coming and going from and to every quarter of the globe —men who are engaged not only in thinking about things, but in doing them. Indeed, throughout the last century the Corps was accomplishing some very great work indeed.

Moreover, the guidance of the intellectual life of the Army fell, during the first half of the century, almost entirely to the care of the Royal Engineers acting as instructors at Woolwich and Sandhurst, and eventually at the Staff College also.

The Army did indeed produce several able writers in those fifty years, but their efforts were isolated and never carried with them the weight which continuity of thought, passed on from mouth to mouth, is capable of exerting. Speaking generally, the man who has learnt his work from individual study, however conscientious, rarely obtains the same power of impressing his knowledge upon others as he who has imbibed his ideas subconsciously from contact with men of equal ability and greater experience, and has thrashed out all his conclusions by unfettered discussion with his contemporaries.

When, therefore, the War Office found itself confronted with the impossibility of finding recruits for a long-service Army (which became acute about 1866), it was natural to turn to Chatham for an expert to assist the Parliamentary Secretary, and it was fortunate that at the moment the ideal man for the post happened to be on the spot. The man was Robert Home, then a senior captain of Royal Engineers, with about twenty years' service, who had been specially shadowed by the pick of our ablest veterans, who in their turn were the immediate pupils of the Peninsular men, Sir John Burgoyne, Sir John Jones, and others. Home was a brilliant writer, more saturated with the inner spirit of the Napoleonic literature as it then existed than any Englishman before or since.

Within a very short time he produced a scheme for six years' colour service, with six years' liability in the Reserve, wherein all the elasticity of our own practice was preserved, and made to harmonise with the principles which that Master of Organisation, Napoleon, had invariably observed.

Unfortunately, the mania for all things German that invaded this country after the war of 1870-1 led subsequently to adapta-

tions from the rigid model Scharnhorst bequeathed to his country, and thus we were deprived of the *elasticity* Napoleon valued so highly.

More recent borrowings from Indian and Japanese practice show conclusively that until a few months ago we had no one at Headquarters intellectually capable of appreciating as a whole the merits of Home's creation.

Whether in drafting this scheme he had in his mind a conception of the part to be played by the Volunteers, then some ten years old, I have never been able to ascertain. The one thing that is certain is that, but for the service they had already rendered of popularising the idea of military service throughout the country, Lord Cardwell would never have gained the parliamentary support, or the Army the recruits, necessary to make Home's scheme a living reality.

The essence, however, of his proposals was contained in the fact that he foresaw the use that could be made of the ex-reserve men between the ages of discharge and the limit of field efficiency —i.e. generally between the years 32-50.

Not a hint of this wealth of eventual resource was allowed to leak out of the military offices, for had the 'party of retrenchment' suddenly discovered that within the next thirty years the country would produce not less than half a million thoroughly trained men still fit to bear arms, they would have found some sure and effectual parliamentary way to restrict this production.

How such an extraordinary oversight, one which any manager of an insurance company would have detected in ten minutes, was possible, can only be explained by Dr. Le Bon's *Psychologie des Foules*; but the contributing cause was undoubtedly the atmosphere of opposition created by the old school of officers, who in the House and out of it fought with all their strength of prejudice the whole idea of short service.

They asserted that six years with the colours, or even seven, gave quite insufficient time in which to make a soldier; that Reserve men would refuse to come forward, and would need fresh years of drilling even if they came at all, and generally that the only result of the change would be to fill the workhouses with ne'er-do-wells and broken-down soldiers too old at thirty-two!

This style of criticism deluged every newspaper and club for more than twenty-five years. Then came the new generation of officers who had grown up with the new conditions, men who were turning out for India, and at every mobilisation, battalions and units of quite matchless physique and marching power (as the soldiers of every nation who saw them were forced to admit).

But even yet some recalcitrants remained, and they succeeded in bringing Mr. Arnold-Forster into the field of strife.

In 1896, instigated by these prophets of evil, he asked the Government in the House for a census showing how many old soldiers there were, and how many of them could be traced to the workhouses. This return was gladly given. Its result was disconcerting in the extreme, for it showed that the soldier's chance of reaching that refuge of the homeless was only one quarter of that run by the male population generally.

Incidentally, it also revealed that there were in December 1897 407,734 ex-soldiers, free of Reserve service, in the country, not to speak of at least 100,000 bluejackets, in addition to the many who had migrated to the Colonies and were doing well there.⁴

At the time of this discovery I fully expected that steps would be taken to utilise this magnificent Reserve, for at least two-thirds of them were still of an age to bear arms; and as we had long before arrived at an agreement between both political parties that the strength of the Regular Army was absolutely conditioned by the numbers of men needed to garrison India and Egypt, there was no longer any reason for concealing the fact that this Reserve existed. But the Boer War followed so soon afterwards that one felt there was an excuse for postponing definite action. When, however, the Royal Reserve battalions were raised in response to Queen Victoria's appeal to the country, I took it for granted that our real National Reserve had been at last discovered, and was being consciously utilised; but, being at the time much occupied with other things, I made no further inquiries until the assembly of the Duke of Norfolk's Committee. Then finding in its evidence no inkling of our enormous capacity for immediate expansion, I began to ask questions amongst many friends, now rapidly rising to high positions, and to my amazement found out that the whole tradition of the War Office under which I had been trained was broken, and literally no one of the inner group who had been with Colonel Home in the old Intelligence Department was alive. Sir John Ardagh was the last of them to survive.

The framework Home had built up remained, but the spirit and the knowledge of how to fill in its gaps and to ensure its growth seemed strangely lacking. I took up the subject unaided and tried to re-establish connexion with the past. Results were published in the *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*, and under the pressure of the Universal Service party, and in dread of the failure of the Territorial system which seemed to be threatening, the idea of the National Reserve, which I then

⁴ (*Vide W.O. Return, December 1897.*) After considerable inquiry I should put this number at about 30,000 more.

published for the first time, was officially accepted as the basis for expansion in future wars. This happened only some few years ago, and though time has been wanting to remove the many quite natural misapprehensions which invariably hamper every new conception—in fact, little over half a million have so far enrolled⁵—the men, up to not less than three and a half millions, still within the age limits of the Landsturm, 17 to 60, as laid down almost universally on the Continent, are ready to come forward as the machinery devised by Colonel Home (but which bears the name of Lord Cardwell) expands its dimensions to receive them.

The beauty of the whole system lies in its very nearly automatic adjustment to the economic situation. If the War continues, and hundreds of thousands of homes are broken up, men will perforce come to the colours, bringing with them that savage and determined hatred of the disturbing cause which will ensure good will in the fighting line; and, after all, this good will in the fighting line is the essence of the whole matter. Drill is as nothing compared with the determination of a whole army to fight things out to a finish. This was the cardinal message transmitted to me as a young officer by the old Peninsular veterans, and even the men of Chillianwallah and the Mutiny always maintained it.

But the spirit to conquer, unrestrained by drill, gives trouble to the regimental officer, more particularly if he is not confident of his own power and right to lead; and it is this trouble they are apt to remember and exaggerate after the many minor campaigns in which we have been engaged, and in which the driving force of the whole nation has never really stood behind them.

I at least have never doubted that when the need arose our men would not fall short of the example set us by our American cousins in their great struggle fifty years ago; and if those troops raised direct from the soil, and without war-trained or even peace-drilled officers and non-commissioned officers to help them, could, with a six months' training, face without flinching the appalling loss and suffering they were called upon to endure, I feel absolutely confident in my own mind that with the able guidance under which our men are at present serving they will prove more than a match for anything they are likely to meet in the present War.

To sum up my whole argument, which starts from the axiom, as I believe it to be, or the aphorism, as others may prefer to call it, that 'human society is only the extension of the individual,' which, if accepted, carries with it as a corollary that only such

⁵ Written on September 24, 1914.

groups, societies, municipalities, nations, empires—call them what you will—can hope for survival in the struggle for existence, in so far as in their growth they conform to the laws of evolution as ascertained in the individual—

I have shown that our present conception of nationality has in fact passed successively through all the stages of development noticeable in the human child until it attains the age when intellectual development begins :

First, we find the nation subconsciously experiencing the emotion of fear and quite automatically throwing out a new organism to meet the danger—viz. the Volunteers.

Next, we find it beginning to discriminate and reasoning, still without receiving superior guidance, for in fact all such attempts at guidance fell on deaf ears, whether to spend its energies on land or sea, or on fixed or mobile defences.

Agreement between political parties being attained somewhere about the year 1886, it began to seek for methods by which to co-ordinate the forces it had already grown, and now at last became aware of, and accepted without compulsion the help the older societies or organisms—i.e. the Navy and Army—could confer.

Now, this is exactly the order in which the mind of the individual unfolds. At first it records emotion pure and simple—e.g. when it howls in the nursery ; next it begins to show discrimination on the awakening of the aesthetic function, when, for instance, it shows marked preference for a toy painted red rather than for one painted green ; and then, as through its early days the power of discrimination develops, it turns, quite voluntarily, if it has been properly brought up, to its seniors to learn at school in games the laws governing co-operation. Ultimately in the normal youth comes the desire for intellectual guidance, and this was the stage at which the manhood of the nation had arrived when this War overtook us.

Now, it is especially this desire for guidance which makes the co-operation of all our several forces—Navy, Army, and so forth—peculiarly easy ; and I see the national idea as an entity, as a well-grown healthy youth, instinctively—i.e. subconsciously—adapting itself to its environment and quite willing to sacrifice itself for the broad ethical principle of justice which, in this War, is so clearly apparent.

Where that supreme guidance is ultimately to be sought for I do not pretend even to suggest. I would only here point out that, over and above all I have already said, one cannot help seeing that, however inadequate the national response to any particular call may have seemed to the enthusiasts, judging by

the evidence we now possess, each such response was in fact adequate for its purpose and always provided the stepping-stone for further progress.

More I do not care to say here. Each reader can follow the thought out as he pleases. I can only hope that to each it may bring the same conviction of the invincible stability and ultimate triumph of the nation to which I have the honour to belong.

F. N. MAUDE.

*FUNERAL MARCH
FOR KAISER WILHELM II.*

OPEN the Earth,
Lower him in.
Laughter and Mirth,
Let them begin.

Hates that blind,
Furies that curse,
Follow behind,
Follow his hearse.

Under the ground
When he is thrust,
Gambol and bound
Over his dust.

Into the Night
When he is spurned,
Give him outright
All he has earned :

Wrath like a flame,
Pain that sears,
Hotter than shame,
Hotter than tears ;

Anguish dire ;
Famine of soul ;
Impotent ire,
Balked of its goal ;

Memories ill,
Mighty to scourge ;
Hopes that still
Vainly urge ;

Vengeance fell,
Hunting his ghost ;
All that in hell
Tortures most.

Fashion his bed
Deep, deep :
Earth o'er his head
Heap, heap.

Load upon load
Let him not lack,
Lest his abode
Vomit him back.

Pillage and Fire,
Born of the Sword,
Follow your sire,
Follow your lord.

Truth, without fear,
Say thy say :
Chartered is here
Lèse Majesté.

Phantom throng,
Victims all,
Follow along,
Follow the pall.

Youth defiled,
 Widowhood wan,
 Follow the wild
 Cortège on.

Childhood dear,
 Foully deflowered,
 Come from the rear,
 March in the vaward.

Age by the strong
 Brutally slain,
 Follow the long
 Funeral train.

Patriots brave,
 Put to the sword,
 Come as a wave
 Over him poured.

Warriors led
 Captive in gyves,
 Bondage is dead,
 Vengeance survives.

Fugitives, whom
 War outflung ;
 Wifehood, thy womb
 Great with young ;

Hostages held
 Fast in a snare,
 Till ye were felled
 Ruthlessly there ;

Outcasts, torn,
 Weary, and sore,—
 All the forlorn
 Leavings of War;

Ghastly of hue,
 Emptied of breath,
 Come to our new
 Dance of Death.

Featureless Woe,
 Nameless Pain,
 Follow the slow
 Funeral train.

Shapes unclean,
 Ravaging wide,
 Spectres obscene,
 After him stride.

First of all spies
 Earth to o'errun,
 Father of Lies,
 Take thy son.

Carnage, whose great
 Fangs yet foam,
 Greet thy mate,
 Welcome him home.

Merciless Lust,
 Ravening red,
 Mourn thy august
 Patron dead.

Murder, whose brows
 Beetle o'er Hell,
 Here is thy spouse,
 Cherish him well.

Earth is gay,
 Heaven is glad :
 Over him play
 Music mad.—

Notes that tear,
 Chords that gore,
 Wilder than e'er
 Shook Night's floor.

Pipes, pierce,
 Drums, crash,
 Cymbals fierce,
 Clash, clash.

Cornet, blare,
 Goldenly blown !
 Boom to the air,
 Deep trombone !

Ophicleide, writhe,
 Coil, and swell,
 Wreathed with the blithe
 Funeral knell.

Trumpet, upleap
 Far mid the din !
 Viola, sweep !
 Glide, violin !

Rapture of brass,
 Orgy of strings,
 Reeds that o'erpass
 All shrill things,—

Louder be this
 Corybant choir !
 Heave your bliss
 Higher, higher.

Earth, to his ghost
 Cede not repose,
 Who was the most
 False of thy foes.

Belfries high,
 Boundlessly toll !
 Wreak on the sky,
 Organ, thy soul !

Bridal bells,
 Drown the drum !
 Here doth Hell's
 Bridegroom come.

Now hath thy spear,
 Hunter, brought low
 No shy deer,
 Roebuck or roe :

Tyranny's corse
 'Neath thee is hurled,
 Where thy Pale Horse
 Paws the world !

Oct.

Vulture and kite,
 Wherefore so soon ?
 Out of the light !
 Haunt not the noon.

Find for thy feast
 Offal more old,
 Thou lean beast,
 Wolf of the wold.

Who to his hearse,
 Who to his shroud,
 Brings proud verse,
 Worthy the proud ?

Who shall design
 Cenotaph grand,
 High, like his line,
 Broad, like his land

Grave it with one
 Word, writ plain :
 Wide in the sun
 Blazoned : Louvain.

Where now the lore
 Once he held dear ?
 Pandect of War
 Steads him not here.

Camped with the worm,
 Hence can he ne'er
 Sally to storm
 Life's sweet air.

Death, to this beach
 Lest he return,
 After him each
 Bridge doth burn.

Triumph, sea wave !
 Was it not he
 Strove to enslave
 Us and the sea ?

2

Where Death's marks
 Brand Life's brow,
 Whelmed is his bark's
 Sullyng prow.

Gnome of the mine,
 Ne'er as of old
 Garners he thine
 Iron or gold.

Storm, to whose blasts
 Pine-forests bow,
 Pine for his masts
 Needs he not now.

Purging Life's plain,
 Rain, be thou hurled,
 Till from his stain
 Washed is the world.

Fire, to his aid
 Once rushing fast,
 Here be he laid,
 Sparkless at last.

Hammers of doom,
 Dirge, in your forge,
 Him whom no tomb
 Durst disgorge.

Here, unobeyed,
 Homageless now,
 Plague! he is stayed
 Surelier than thou.

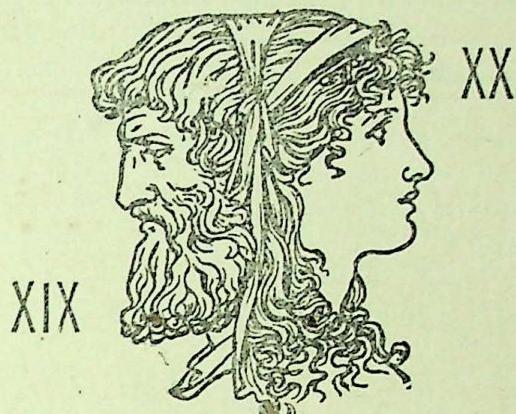
Here are his court,
 Empire, and crown;
 Rites be short,
 Lower him down.

Conquering spade,
 Cover him o'er:
 He shall invade
 Life no more.

WILLIAM WATSON

*The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY cannot undertake
 to return unaccepted MSS.*

THE
NINETEENTH
CENTURY
AND AFTER



No. CCCCLIII—NOVEMBER 1914

THE GERMAN IMPERIAL-COLONIAL
BLUNDER

Germany is watching and waiting. Year by year she prepares . . . and with warrior-laughter she measures the certainty of her triumph by the convulsive panic-attacks of her ignoble foe.—From Professor Cramb's Lectures on *Germany and England*.

THE KAISER'S advisers made many miscalculations with regard to England during their long preparations for war, but none is so extraordinary as their complete misunderstanding of the nature of our Colonial Empire which it was part of their deep-laid schemes to dismember. This misunderstanding is the more surprising because we have never made any secret of how the links were forged which bind the Empire together and the Empire to the Mother Country; they were at liberty to inquire, they would have had most truthful answers; they were free to examine for themselves; more than that, the House of our Fathers has no door to keep open or shut, and they, as all others, might walk in and, taking up their habitation, test our theories on the spot, observing our methods, and drawing their own

conclusions. How freely the Kaiser's subjects availed themselves of this liberty, how we welcomed them, even though it became sometimes our own hindrance, how we made both hearth-room and heart-room for them, they seem somewhat to have forgotten. Yet in spite of it all they have misunderstood what was so very plain, and the hopelessness of the blunder which has resulted from the misunderstanding has been ruthlessly demonstrated by the hard facts as the world knows them to-day. The shout of exultant loyalty to the Motherland from her Colonies and great Dominions must have reached the ears of the Kaiser; the sound cannot be new to him, for he belongs to the Family which represents the great traditions of the British Empire. But even if he has forgotten many things in the glamour of his own throne he has had fact-collectors in every cranny of the globe, and he cannot be well pleased with those who have so misrepresented facts of great simplicity. The misunderstanding is the more remarkable because whatever else 'Kultur' may mean, there is no doubt that it does include that thoroughness of investigation which we have always readily admitted to be a most valuable attribute of the German mind.

It is worth while studying dispassionately the causes which led up to this colossal blunder; and the timely publication of the late Professor Cramb's lectures on *Germany and England* makes the inquiry easy, for he has formulated with precision the charge which Germany makes against us, and the claim to supplant us which she bases upon it, the claim which she professed to be ready to enforce by war. The Germans certainly cannot complain if we adopt Professor Cramb's statement of their case, for his great erudition is warrant that he was an accurate recorder of the German view of things; and so skilfully has he done his work, so forcibly has he insisted on all the points of the case, that almost we hear the indignant voice of Young Germany ringing through his periods. It is specially to be recorded that the lectures were delivered in the early months of last year, and were published in book form last June.

The 'case' lies outside diplomatic correspondence, has nothing to do with the murder of the Austrian Archduke and Archduchess; it ignores 'scraps of paper' and the setting of seals to guarantees of neutrality; Servia plays no part in it; Russia and France are merely inconvenient pieces in the game to be got out of the way as quickly as possible; the 'case' is composed of some few facts which have been distorted in the statement of them by a fantastic imagination, which form the basis of a great German hatred of England, and have fostered the desire for her annihilation. It finds expression in the question most seriously discussed, so we are told, by many authors—'In German history the old

Imperialism begins by the destruction of Rome. Will the new Imperialism begin by the destruction of England?

Let us, then, in all sobriety, consider what England has done to merit the fate which Germany had reserved for her at the hands of her legions; we shall find it clearly stated by that distinguished cavalry soldier, General von Bernhardi, who is the latest exponent of the new morality of nations. We will not quarrel with its self-sufficiency, but accept the accuracy of his definition of 'Germany' as meaning 'the vital, onward-striving force flowing in German blood from an endless time down to the present, and from the present flowing onwards into an endless future,' noting, however, that there never yet was a nation worth its salt that did not attach the same meaning to its national aspirations and national beliefs, which are patriotism. But the trouble of it is that for Germany so commonplace a virtue as patriotism is insufficient; for Germany the 'precise value, the precise significance of that force in its present manifestation' is a strife, a war, which, Russia and France being swept aside, the one by bribes, the other by brutal annihilation, Belgium being first sacrificed, will bring Germany 'face to face with the day of reckoning with England,' the war which to the soldier-author is 'inevitable.' That curious expression 'day of reckoning' is perpetually appearing in the German diatribes against England; usually it signifies the certain future punishment of some evil-doer who cannot as yet be laid by the heels. What it is used by the bellicose German authors of modern days to signify in regard to England will appear as we proceed with our examination of the 'case' they have concocted against her. Yet even now we may note that, when this day of reckoning at last was so near at hand, Germany sacrificed her honour by making proposals to secure our neutrality at the price of our own.

Now Bernhardi's 'epoch-making book' is said by Professor Cramb to be typical of many which are in legitimate descent from the works of a whole series of authors 'from Treitschke to Delbrück, Schmoller, and Maurenbrecher,' and is taken by him as text-book because it has recently been placed within the reach of English purchasers who are so lamentably ignorant of the earlier writers. It is described, very accurately, as 'a definite attempt made by a German soldier to understand not merely how Germany *could* make war upon England most effectively, but why Germany *ought* to make war upon England.' Professor Cramb dignifies Bernhardi's diffuse disquisitions as 'philosophy'; it may be derived from Treitschke and Nietzsche and the rest, but it has become painfully thin in the process of derivation; moreover, it ignores the first meaning of philosophy, which would surely have suggested as the real question to be debated 'Is it

wise for Germany to make war on England?' The elimination of this most important consideration has led inevitably to the most unwise conclusion. A great many people have by now read *Germany and the Next War*; I think they will accept this as an accurate statement of its general purpose, that it is an attempt to justify war, especially war with England, without having recourse to the time-honoured doctrine of the *casus belli*. The author puts in its crudest form a new ethical justification for war, that one nation stands in the way of another; and, asserting that England stands in the way of Germany, he comes to the conclusion that war against England is justified. The cloak of fine-sounding words cannot hide the nakedness of the proposition: 'England and her Empire stand in the path of the deepest desires and ambitions, and perhaps, also, the highest and most sacred aspirations of Germany.' As a justification for war this is the glorification of might against right, and is the high-falutin language of the bully. See how it looks when applied to another subject. It is well known that it was the 'deepest desire and ambition' of the Kaiser to have a mighty fleet, second only to one; this accomplished, it has become the 'highest and most sacred aspiration of Germany' to have an extended seaboard, and, granted the premiss, it is a most logical aspiration, for what is the good of a Grand Fleet without naval ports and dockyards? Now, Belgium has what Germany so greatly and so sacredly desires; she stands in the way of Germany's expansion to the sea; therefore war against Belgium is justified. So also would war against Holland be justified. Bernhardi proceeds to amplify his doctrine thus:

If we ask what those desires, ambitions, and aspirations are, the answer is this: Germany, not less than England, is dowered with the genius for empire, that power in a race which, like genius in the artist, must express itself or destroy its possessor. In the German race the instinct for empire is as ancient and as deeply rooted as it is in the English race; and in the Germany of the present time, above all, this instinct, by reason of the very strength of Germany within herself, her conscious and vital energy, her sense of deep and repressed forces, is not a mere cloud in the brain, but is almost an imperious necessity. This is the real driving force in German politics, the essential thing.

Then comes a short historic interlude leading to another preparatory question: An empire Germany once had, but that empire is lost, and the question which Young Germany asks is 'At what point in her history did Germany swerve from the path of empire? Can she again find that path, or is it irrecoverably lost?' This would seem to pave the way for some such proposition as this: 'England in times past robbed us of our empire; then we were weak, now we are strong; we shall devote our new strength to the recovery of our ancient empire.' For a war

based on such a pretext history might possibly furnish precedent. But the next stage in the argument is quite other than this; it carries us, however, nearer the goal, which, hide it in a cloud of words as we may, is neither more nor less than the satisfying of 'sacred aspirations.' A curious problem here suggests itself: Does an 'aspiration' become 'sacred' because it is national? May it then escape the test of the ordinary standards of right and wrong? Surely not. Nations may not, any more than individuals, beg the question in issue. But to proceed:

The answer now given to the inevitable question, What stands in the way of those desires and aspirations? is, Germany has one enemy; one nation blocks the way. That nation is England.

The deftness of the argument at this point is noteworthy; a trifling substitution of one expression for another often enables you to reach the proposition which you are endeavouring to establish.¹ Thus to 'block the way' is to be an enemy; therefore when the Germans say that England, having many possessions, blocks their way to obtaining those possessions for themselves, it is equivalent to saying that England is Germany's enemy, and as she is her enemy it follows that Germany may make war upon her. Here then we get the new theory of war, the new *casus belli*, which is so much more convenient than the old-fashioned one, for no question of right or wrong done by the 'enemy' arises, no question whether England 'stands in the way' in her own right, much less any question of right or superior title in Germany to the way. Judged by the ordinary standards with which we are familiar, it is *damnum absque injuria*, or *injuria absque damno*, and neither gives right of action to men or nations. Even if the possession of Naboth's Vineyard had been 'the realisation of all that was highest' in Ahab's life, his case would not have been bettered by one jot or tittle. Adopting the motor language of the road,

¹ The suggestion that Germany has long been seeking for a pretext for war with England is borne out by many a passage in Professor Cramb's book: at p. 11 he says: 'Is it possible to find any moral, any ethical justification for a war upon England? The war of 1870 with France was a war of great revenge, of *just* revenge, and for one of the greatest of causes. No war in history perhaps was ever more just than the war which Bismarck and Moltke waged against France. When she comes to this war with England, on the other hand, Germany is face to face with the difficulty that here she has no such motive of retributive justice or revenge. And therefore you find a tendency to shape the question thus: How do England and her Empire stand in the path of the deepest desires and ambitions, and perhaps, also, the highest and most sacred aspirations of Germany?' Again at p. 112, where he describes the German 'world-vision': 'The political history of Germany, from the accession of Frederick in 1740 to the present hour, has admittedly no meaning unless it be regarded as a movement towards the establishment of a world-empire, with the war against England as the necessary preliminary.' And yet again, at p. 111: 'You have drunk the wine of empire. It is Germany

Mr. Lloyd George dubbed the German the 'road-hog' of Europe. The above explanation of German aspirations shows how accurately the epithet fitted.

But the soldier-author is not quite so simple as this dissection of his case would seem to show; he realises its weak points, so the theory of the 'Robber-State' is invented, and here his argument sparkles with ingenuity. If the charge of larceny can be established then indeed is the case complete and the justification for the war ample. The men of the type of Treitschke 'point to the broad fact—broad enough assuredly!—that the English race is the possessor, "by theft," of one-fifth of the habitable globe. And they add, "By what right? By the right first of craft, then of violence." German indignation then takes the place of German analysis.' The 'indignation' is, alas! as vaporous as the 'analysis' is thin.

Cooped up between the North Sea and the Danube, the Rhine and the plains of Poland, conscious of our strength, exerting an ever stronger pressure upon our frontiers—can we or ought we, it is asked, to acquiesce in England's possession of one-fifth of the globe? Ought a patriotic German to submit to seeing his nation depleted year by year? Can he on those conditions retain his manhood or be true to the religion of valour, the birthright of the Teutonic kindred? It is very well for England to protest that she has no aggressive designs against Germany; England's mere existence as an Empire is a continuous aggression. So long as England, the great Robber State, retains her booty, the spoils of a world, what right has she to expect peace from the nations? England possesses everything and can do nothing. Germany possesses nothing and could do everything. What edict, then, human or divine, enjoins us to sit still? For what are England's title-deeds, and by what law does she justify her possession? By the law of valour, indeed, but also by opportunity, treachery, and violence.

Professor Cramb justly calls this 'irrelevant and inflammatory declamation.' It is something worse; it is a mistake in logic which, to adopt the German criticism of Macaulay, 'no German *Fuchs* would commit'; quite apart from the point, commonly ignored in such declamation, that the facts do not fit in: this fact especially, that we are at peace with the nations who, we might not unreasonably presume, are the most interested in the question thus raised. The declamation reduces itself to this bald contention: England has robbed other States of their possessions, therefore Germany is entitled to deprive her of them and keep them for herself. Japan, we may observe, has not been guilty of this false logic in her action in the East. Her position is clear enough: Germany took Kiau-chow by violence, therefore she will take it from Germany by violence and restore it to China. The distributive middle is wanting in the German argument. If England really were the 'Robber State,' as is contended, the forces arrayed against her would be those of the States she has

robbed, not Germany, unless those States, feeling their impotence, had prayed her aid. Certain mysterious dealings in South Africa which have recently come to light would seem to show that this point had not escaped the astute German mind, and that the fabrication of such a support for her case had been attempted and had signally failed. True it is that in some countries offences are punished at the instance of the Public Prosecutor ; but whence did Germany get this appointment ? And, again, even if she could assume the *rôle*, which she does not even pretend to play, the end of the proceedings, if guilt is proved against the accused, is restitution of the property to the injured party. I am not unmindful of the fact that there is no limiting period for crimes, and therefore we cannot plead our ancient possession ; but for the rest, treaty with the alleged plundered States is a sufficient answer to the tirade. ‘Treaty, cession, and conquest’ have ever been recognised, even by Germany, as lawful means by which empire is founded, and on these England’s title rests. To suggest now that they are not lawful would involve a recasting of the map of the world. Perhaps, however, the theory that they are not lawful, and therefore may be disregarded, will be the new teaching when Germany comes to exercise the right with which she is ‘dowered . . . to set itself the high task of guiding the future of humanity.’ This peculiar form of guidance will hardly make for future peace ; Bernhardi, however, seems to regard it with ‘elation.’

Yet it must not be supposed that this is the gist of the German case : it is only incidental to it. There is nothing altruistic about the Teuton ; he is obsessed with the ‘fate-appointed world-task or world-mission of Germany under the sacred dynasty of the Hohenzollern’ ; and in furtherance thereof he has advanced a brand-new argument to justify war, asserting it to be an integral, if not hitherto recognised, part of the law of nations. It may be stated in a series of propositions as follows, when it will at once be recognised as our old friend the ‘place-in-the-sun’ contention :

(i.) All nations are equal ; therefore all have an equal right to occupy the uninhabited portions of the earth ; that is to say, to possess one or more places in the sun.

(ii.) Prior occupation is only to be treated as permanent occupation—that is, rightful occupation—if the occupation was lawful ; but occupation by settlement, conquest, or cession, even when ratified by treaty, is not equivalent to lawful occupation, and may be denounced as unlawful occupation by any other State.

(iii.) If the occupation is unlawful in accordance with (ii.), any other State may go to war with the ‘Robber State’ and oust it, and the victor may himself occupy the territory, thereafter becoming the lawful occupant. The reason for the war is the fact

that the State actually in occupation interferes with the free access to the sun of the other State, and the justification for the war is the original right as stated in (i.).

This is the Bernhardi doctrine of the duty to make war—that is to say, of Germany's duty to make war against England.

It may be well to note, in passing, that Bernhardi's disciples have gone one better than their master, to judge by the astounding proposal that England should stand by while the French colonies were taken and France beaten, so long as French territory in Europe was left intact. There is no word suggesting that France is a Robber State either in Bernhardi or in Professor Cramb's lectures; therefore the legal proposition set out above is not necessary in her case; the taking of her colonies was to be a simple gratification of the greed expressed in the memorable exclamation inspired by the streets of London, 'Was für Plünder!' This would certainly seem to be a serious omission in the argument somewhat reflecting on the sincerity of the 'case' against England. France is dealt with quite otherwise. The war of 1870 is justified as a 'war of great revenge, of just revenge, and for one of the greatest of causes.' That cause does not exist for the war of 1914. The assumption which runs all through Bernhardi's book, and with which the historian will deal impartially, that it is a war undertaken by an affrighted Germany against a probable aggressor, seems rather weakened by this naïve proposal, coupled with the frankly stated desire for places in the sun for Germany's surplus population. With regard to the French colonies, therefore, the proposition for justifying the war may be stated in the simplest terms :

(i.) All nations are equal; therefore all have an equal right to occupy the uninhabited portions of the earth.

(ii.) A prior occupant may be ousted, irrespective of the grounds on which his occupation rests, by a more powerful adversary.

To the plain man this looks like the justification of the misdeeds of a 'Robber State.'

Let us now look a little more closely into the 'place-in-the-sun' theory, because this is the real justification put forward for the appalling sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of the surplus population of Germany for whose benefit the theory was invented. Here is Professor Cramb's statement of it :

Germany, from her own inward resources, produces year by year greater surplus energy, mental and physical, than any other nation in the world; yet year by year by emigration to America, to England, and to other lands, that surplus energy is lost to her. Year by year are we to look on in impotent anger or in apathy whilst the best and most enterprising of our citizens quit the Fatherland and, living under other Governments, cease

to be Germans, bequeath their worth—that is to say, their valour—to those nations who may be ultimately Germany's deadliest enemies?

The complaint against emigration in itself is intelligible in so far as it is emigration to foreign countries. But emigration is a curious problem for which no nation has as yet found the scientific solution, certainly not England. Much of it is prompted by the desire of the emigrant to make money, and some succeed while many fail. Sometimes the State deliberately assists emigration, regarding it as a means of providing for the surplus population. It is true that the surplus energy is thus lost to their native country, but if that country has colonies to which the emigrants can go this surplus energy reappears in the imperial balance-sheet on the credit side; therefore for a growing nation it is better to have colonies. But to admit the fact that a nation has no colonies as a justification for war in order to get some is puerile. Switzerland, if the doctrine were sound, would be at war with many countries. But fine language always lays traps for the unwary. It will be observed that it is 'the best and most enterprising of our citizens' who quit the Fatherland for other countries. It would be unkind to suggest that something wrong in the state of Germany impels these patriot citizens to leave her. But, as a matter of fact, Germany has colonies. Are they not so prosperous as they might be, or not so densely populated as was anticipated? I agree that some of them are not so prosperous as some of the British colonies; but the conclusion that therefore Germany may take these colonies from us is a pitiful *non sequitur*.

The remainder of this paragraph is mere sound and fury, signifying nothing. It is true that Germans who reside in other countries and fail to register for an uninterrupted period of ten years 'forfeit their nationality'; but that is the fault of Germany for making a law which provides for people ceasing to be what in fact they are. Possibly the law defeats itself. But surely there is no ground for abusing England in the fact that 'the best and most enterprising' Germans leave the Fatherland, and prefer to settle, say, in Hong Kong rather than Tsingtau. It is not as if England, like Romulus, gave invitation to all and sundry to come in, and coming made them British subjects whether they liked it or not. The contrary is in fact the actual case, for the English law of naturalisation is very stringent. The conditions of admission to British nationality are sufficiently complicated to prevent men becoming British subjects except those who deliberately desire it; and even then it pays special deference to the law of the country of their origin, for when they are in their former country they are not recognised as British subjects unless the law of that country sanctions their expatriation.

tion. The remedy for the complaint is in Germany's own hands. Let her revise that law under which, according to her own showing, so many of her subjects become *Heimathslosen*, persons without nationality. Now, curiously enough, there is one serious complaint which might be made in this connexion against our law of nationality. It is based on the *jus soli*, and therefore the children of German residents born in British colonies are British subjects. It is not a very scientific rule, and is ill-adapted to the requirements of the present day; it springs, as Sir Alexander Cockburn long ago pointed out, from our insular position, and can really only be justified by that position. When the father belongs to a country whose national principle is the *jus sanguinis*, there does often arise that most unsatisfactory condition, double nationality; but if any serious consequences resulted from this state of things—if, for example, we had compulsory military service, and the accident of birth compelled the sons of alien fathers to decide under which flag they would serve, so making them traitors to the other whatever their decision—the remedy would lie in diplomatic representation, not in war. But this one weak spot in our law is not made part of the German case; and it has many countervailing advantages, for our laws are cast in the broadest fashion, and there are few non-political privileges which are not shared by the foreigner who sojourns amongst us.

To revert to the gravamen of the charge. These most enterprising German citizens 'bequeath their worth—that is to say, their valour'—to the nation in which they settle. This is peculiarly German in expression, and I am not sure that it can be translated into practical English. Possibly the nearest equivalent is, that the residence of these enterprising Germans in an English colony adds to its prosperity, which may readily be admitted, and by so much the result of their very capable work—that is to say, their worth—is lost to their own country. As for their 'valour,' if it means anything more than their civic *valeur*, it remains a German asset; for, seeing that we have no compulsory military service, we do not rob Germany of the valour of her sons, nor do we encourage them to evade their military obligations. Yet to such an unstable equilibrium has dreaming of 'the unfathomable vistas which open out before her in the future' reduced the German mind, that this purest fustian has been accepted as the meaning of 'blocking the way,' and has been treated as the cause for an 'inevitable' war.

Let me now try to bring this rhodomontade down to the three dimensions of actual fact. It is, of course, true that many of England's possessions came under her flag long before the birth of Germany's aspirations to become a world-Power; but have we ever refused to her subjects a share in the sun in any part

of our Dominions? Have we not rather invited them to come and enjoy its pleasant and profitable warmth? Let us take Hong Kong. I doubt whether any of the Germans who have been long resident there, who have shared our joys and our sorrows, would subscribe to this very uncomfortable doctrine of Bernhardi. It is not necessary to mention names of individuals; but let us take the great German firms, the Deutsch Asiatische Bank, the North German Lloyd and the Hamburg-America steamship companies, which have branches in Hong Kong, and, I believe, also in Singapore. How much 'surplus energy' is lost to Germany by the establishment of these branches in our Colonies? I should have thought that it was the other way round, and that by the industry and great business capacity of their agents these great firms and their shareholders in Germany sucked thereout no small advantage. They have traded in rivalry with our own banking and shipping firms, but we have never made a fuss about it. They are there because of the great principle which was confirmed by Magna Carta—that all may come and trade within our Dominions, 'to buy and sell without any manner of evil tolls, by the old and rightful customs, except in time of war,' so long only as they observe our laws. And the staffs of these companies, and of all the many private mercantile houses in Hong Kong, have been admitted to the great brotherhood which is the life of the smaller Colonies. They 'gang their ain gait' or follow ours, as the humour pleases them. That it pleases them to follow ours may be seen from the fact that the 'German Cup' was one of the most popular events at the race meetings.

A few incidents of this aspect of Anglo-German relations in the Colonies, as they existed before the War, are worth recording. I remember the preparations made for the reception of the Crown Prince in Hong Kong a few years ago. I do not think mutual cordiality between the two nationalities could have gone further. Had his visit not been postponed, the Prince would have learned, by deliberate but kindly intention—if, indeed, he had not already learnt it in India—that England was not a 'successful burglar' who had 'broken every law, human and divine, violated every instinct of honour and fidelity on every sea and on every continent'; the Chinese would have told him quite another story. If General von Bernhardi had been on the Prince's staff in India he would have written less turgid rhetoric on the text of 'blocking the way.' On the other hand, the subscriptions of the German community to the Coronation festivities of King George were very generous, and were freely and loyally offered. Again, a few months ago a prominent and much-respected member of the German community died. Grief was genuine and universal, and the flowers at his graveside came from every nationality in the

Colony. And the German flagship and its consorts were frequent visitors; the *Scharnhorst* band charmed us with their concerts for the German charities in the Colony. The admiral and his officers were welcome at our houses, and so, we thought, were we welcome when we dined and danced on board. One of them, the most genial of sailors, often honoured my house on the Peak. I have before me the photograph of a group of which he is the centre. He is recently dead; I suppose 'De mortuis' applies to an enemy, even though it has lately appeared that he was one of the most vehement of our enemies; yet from what we know now the thought is inevitable—is it possible that invitations, when all was *couleur de rose*, when England was 'so great,' and her Colonies 'so hospitable,' were only accepted because in my garden a specially good view of Pinewood Fort, which lay below the rocks, could be obtained? Such memories give food for reflexion. There are few of us to whom they do not come. They make the War more bitter, and perhaps, when it is over, some of our most cherished traditions will have to be revised.

And, passing northward up the China coast, have we not shared and shared alike in the foreign settlements, in Shanghai, in Hangkow and the Yangtse ports, and in Tientsin? There has been sun-room enough there in all conscience; the splendid German Club in Shanghai alone is sufficient witness. And in Peking have we not walked down Legation Street arm-in-arm in the sunlight, and together helped China in her financial difficulties? And it has all been a pacifist's dream, which has been rudely shattered by the sabre-rattling of a 'distinguished cavalry officer.' With exuberant blasphemy we are told that 'Corsica has conquered Galilee'!

But let us still try, in spite of the noise of the sabre-rattling, to understand the German complaint. 'Germany possesses nothing and could do everything'; above all things 'Germany,' no less than England, 'is dowered with the genius for empire': to have an empire is to realise 'all that is highest in German life.' She must therefore recover her 'lost empire.' There is a strange confusion of thought in these explosions; it would lead you to believe that the empire which was lost and the empire for which the Kaiser is seeking were the same instead of widely different things. But a European empire has nothing in common with a world-empire; the two are brought into being by different means; they are held together by different methods. England was never an empire in the European sense, even when 'the Kings of England had sometimes Normandy under actual ligence and obedience,' or when men were 'born in Gascoin within the ligence of the King.' She was an empire in the world sense long before the sacred Hohenzollern dynasty was dreamed of; yet

it was not till the Oriental imagination of Disraeli conceived it, that 'Empress of India' was added to the style and title of the Sovereign, and not till the first year of the present century that the words 'and of the British Dominions beyond the Sea' were added in that style after 'Great Britain and Ireland'; so that his Majesty is King of the whole of the British Empire excepting India, wherein he is Emperor. Of the German Empire Wilhelm the Second is Emperor; but his thought of world-empire sprang into active being after Bismarck left the helm.

It is beyond the purpose of this article to discuss the question whether in respect of European empire the German claim of genius is well-founded or not; it has certainly not been conspicuously successful in the case of Alsace and Lorraine. But in view of the different meaning of the word when we pass from Europe to the wide world, it is pertinent to the present subject to point out that this assertion that Germany has a 'genius for empire,' that if only she had an empire (*videlicet* our empire) she could do wonders with it, is wholly gratuitous and unsupported by a tittle of evidence. I venture to assert that the evidence is the other way; but that perhaps is judging her by our own standards, and the value of those standards still remains to be considered. I will go further and say that it follows from what I have already said that it is not fair in soberly considering the question to compare the case of the French Provinces with South Africa—to point to the failure of the one and the triumphant success of the other—because the two cases are on different planes of thought, and to do so would only be to follow in the wake of the confusion which Bernhardi has created. It would be more to the point to compare Kiau-chow with Hong Kong; and here it may be noted incidentally that the ineffable Dr. Sun Yat Sen considered that the German Province was a much more successful undertaking than the British Colony. I use the word 'province' deliberately in connexion with Kiau-chow because it enables us to appreciate more readily than any other term the essential difference of the German system of colonisation from our own. It is a question first of comparison of methods, and then of studying results. This is the last stage of our inquiry, but it is the most important because the answer of Bernhardi to his question, whether Germany *ought* to go to war with England, is based on a comparison which he himself has instituted. The result of the comparison is unfavourable to England: she has lamentably failed in her great endeavour, therefore the answer is a tumultuous affirmative. Professor Cramb has elaborated this concluding part of the German case. The conception of England in her decline is frank to brutality born of ignorance; she will gradually atrophy, so sink in torpor that a war may be unneces-

sary, 'the display of power may be enough'! She will be 'insensibly weakened by brutalisation within and the encroachment of an ever-increasing alien element, diseased or criminal [the 'best and most enterprising' German citizens of whom we have already heard have apparently been forgotten], and by concession on concession without, sinking into a subject province, though nominally free, whilst Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, carve out each its own destiny.' And then comes the great question : 'Who is to succeed her?'

It may not be Germany; some Power it must be. But if Germany *were* to inherit the sceptre which is falling from her nerveless hands . . . ? And having visualised this future, the German imagination, in a tempest of envy or vehement hate, becomes articulate [we may therefore conclude that all that has gone before has been inarticulate] and takes various shapes, resulting in an almost complete arraignment of the British Empire, of the British character, and of all our institutions and all our efforts as an empire-building race.

Then follows the 'arraignment'; it is too long to print *in extenso*, for I have already quoted largely from Professor Cramb's book; one paragraph must suffice :

When Englishmen ceased to be soldiers they forfeited their right to govern India in perpetuity. Thus in India you have failed conspicuously, ignobly, and completely, because as a Government and as a nation you have lost, if you ever possessed them, the three qualities revered by the Hindu race—creative genius in religion, the valour in arms of a military caste, and the pride of birth of the rajah. But chiefly you have failed because you have ceased to be soldiers; because you dread war; because you present to the whole world the spectacle which the world has not seen since the fall of the Byzantine Empire—a timorous, craven nation trusting to its fleet. And as you have failed in India, so you will fail in Egypt, which, next to India, is the most sacred region on this earth. As yet you have succeeded only in vulgarising it.

The German vocabulary is apparently neither long enough nor broad enough to furnish words sufficiently vigorous to express the views of the Treitschke-Nietzsche-Bernhardi school of thought as to our colossal colonial failure; in the absence of them it relapses into 'moral scorn,' which, like the words, alas, passes us by unmoved except to smiles. The reader, of course, has appreciated the place which this arraignment holds in the German 'case.' Seeing that it cannot be denied that we do possess these large world-tracts, in the event of the previous argument in favour of summary ejectment not being given due weight it will be strengthened if our rightful possession be admitted and we treated as a trustee; for if a trustee fails in his duty in ordinary life the Court will remove him, and in world-life and the exercise of world-power it follows from all that has gone before that

Germany stands for the world-Court, and the method of removal is war.

It will be a relief to my readers after all this torrent of abuse to find one very competent critic who takes the opposite view of our empire work, Mr. Yosaburo Takekoshi, a member of the Japanese Diet; his remarks are specially interesting because he was studying, with a practical end in view, the different systems of colonial government at a time when the Japanese Government was considering the best form to adopt in its own colony Formosa. Mr. Takekoshi awarded the palm to the British. He says that although our system at first sight appears to be in a state of confusion, a certain regular plan is discernible through the whole, and he links that system on to the lessons learned from the loss of the American colonies. His summary is highly appreciative :

From the colonial history of European Powers it is clear that those nations which have considered their colonies as a part and parcel of the home country have almost always failed in their system of government, while, as a rule, those nations have succeeded which have looked upon their colonies as a special kind of body politic quite distinct from the Mother Country. This truth fully explains the reason why England, among all colonial Powers, alone has scored so brilliant a success.

I must apologise for reproducing this, which has already appeared in an article in this Review.² It is so very germane to the subject now in hand that I venture to repeat even more of what I have already said in regard to the fundamental difference between the Continental system of governing colonies and our own. Under the Continental system colonies are just outlying fragments of the home country, like that uttermost bit of England in the north which is marked on the maps as 'part of Durham.' The following consequences are small matters of detail familiar to lawyers, but they illustrate the difference between the systems with great clearness. A fugitive from justice to a colony will be returned to France or Germany by executive order; in an English colony recourse must be had to the procedure laid down in the Fugitive Offenders Act. So a summons from the Courts of Paris can be served on a defendant in Saigon almost as a matter of course; and a judgment of the Courts of Berlin may be made, by the simplest of processes, executory in Tsingtau. With us, special permission of the Court is required to serve a writ on a defendant in a colony, because he is out of the jurisdiction of the English Courts; and an English judgment can only be enforced by means of an action specially commenced in a colonial Court. Again, in the Continental system, colonial finance is a branch of home finance; and in the case of France its most distant colonies send

² 'On the Making of an Oversea Dominion'; *Nineteenth Century and After*, April 1910. CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

representatives to the French Legislature. With us, all our colonies are independent entities; whether they are vast continents or mere rocks jettisoned by the ocean waves of Time, they have, in their due measure, and according to their needs, self-government, more or less under control from home. The real and only difference between Australia and Barbados or St. Lucia is in the amount of 'more or less' control in each case. They have their own laws, they must regulate their own finance, and must fend for themselves as best they can with local resources; only in most exceptional circumstances will they obtain a grant in aid, and then only in the form of a guaranteed loan, to be repaid in the usual way. Looking at the question dispassionately, a student may see virtues in the Continental system which he does not find in ours, and it cannot be denied that there is much room for improvement in the latter in many matters of detail. But it is in the underlying principle that the secret by which an oversea Dominion may be made to prosper is to be found.

The problem of colonial government is to keep the bonds of allegiance, which are practical as well as sentimental, taut and true. We believe that it can only be done by fostering the spirit of independence, so that the Colonies may be not mere offshoots of the home country, but component parts of the Empire; that every Colony should feel that it is a nation in embryo, capable if it will, or at least endeavouring to attain to that capacity, of declaring its independence if the Mother Country neglect it or treat it improperly. Such success as we have attained is by the fearless recognition of this principle; and we foster it by self-reliance, by granting as much official and administrative independence as each is capable of exercising.

These were considerations which occurred to me in time of peace; the War has given practical demonstration of another and still more important one. The compulsory military service which is in force in Continental nations extends to their colonies; unless they are specially embodied in the colonial defence forces men must hurry home to take their place in the ranks of the home armies on the outbreak of war. With us there is no such obligation imposed on our colonists; as individuals they are free to stay or come to help us as they choose. We cannot raise an army in any colony, nor set up any recruiting machinery, even in the smallest, without the consent of the local Legislature; it is for each colony to decide whether it will join in the war actively, or passively await the result.

We have always said that our system must be judged by results, and that by them we would stand or fall. We stand—firmer and more steadfast in our beliefs than ever. The refutation of that supreme piece of folly called the 'arraignment of England' is to-day complete. Do we dread war? We have boldly waged it for the right. Have we ceased to be soldiers?

The 'religion of valour' has for its most ardent devotees the British troops in the fields of France and Belgium. We do indeed trust to our fleet, but not as a craven nation, for our ships are stripped for war and our sailors spoiling for the fight which is at hand. Do our Colonies 'shiver with impatience under the last slight remnant of our yoke'? The armies of the Dominions are already in the field, and more and ever more are coming across each one of the Seven Seas. Have we 'failed to impress our dominion on India'? The answer comes from the mouths of the seven hundred chiefs of the Tributary States who have offered treasure and arms, and life itself, not to defend a retrograde government, but to maintain the glory of the British Raj. Perchance the last peal of 'warrior-laughter' will come from the camps of the Allies. If Fate has this in store the world may rest assured that it will prelude the end of Germany's 'will to power,' and the long reign of England's 'will to peace.'

F. T. PIGGOTT.

OUR ENEMY'S OVERSEA POSSESSIONS

(I)

GERMAN COLONIES AND BRITISH NEEDS

THE most common complaint in the German Press against the British, apart from the monotonous charge of treachery because we kept our word to Belgium, appears to be that we are 'stealers of colonies.' As the Germans, on their Chancellor's own admission, had an eye to the French colonies, we need not take the charge much to heart; it is our way of making war, and on the whole we prefer it to the German way of destroying cities and cathedrals and outraging women and children. *De gustibus non est disputandum.*

Nevertheless, one can understand the bitterness of Germany at the loss of one after another of her colonies. She is powerless to prevent it; she cannot even communicate with them by post or cable, and her wireless installations have been smashed. So appears likely to end, albeit not without a better fight than might have been expected from the young and scattered communities of German settlers, the first German Empire overseas after an existence of precisely thirty years.

In some ways its brief life has not been too successful. It came late into the world, as modern colonial empires go, and it had to buy experience in a hard school; but it seemed well-grounded, and another thirty years of peace would have seen considerable developments in its products and population. No doubt there is something of tragedy to many a hard-working German colonial administrator in this violent ending to his plans, most of which were conscientiously if somewhat harshly carried out; but the real flaw in the building of the German Empire was the fact that the original reason for which it was founded no longer existed.

In an eloquent passage of Treitschke, the fervent advocate of a Greater Germany, he lamented that every year a quarter of a million Germans emigrated from Europe to America or Australia and were lost to the new German Empire. They were excellent industrious folk, men of some enterprise—else they would not have emigrated—and much energy; usually they

prospered in their new homes, and became good citizens of their adopted country. But their success was no consolation to the patriotic German professor, who saw Germany put to the heavy burden of bringing into the world and rearing some two hundred and fifty thousand persons every year, all of whom—the population of a first-class city—were lost to the State at the very period when their productive energies began to be of use. It was the age-old reason for colonisation, the superfluous vitality of the mother country seeking outlet; and Treitschke, as a good German, desired that these men and women, who could not find room in Germany, should still remain German subjects under German rule when they went abroad. For this legitimate reason colonies were sought and, after some little friction with existing colonial Powers, obtained in 1884 and the following years; and although parts of the tropical West African colonies were not, in those days before preventive tropical medicine, suited to European settlement, East and South-West Africa were more fortunately placed. By 1890 Germany had obtained 'a place in the sun.'

But a strange nemesis awaited the new German colonies. A few years after they were acquired the new German industries at home bounded ahead with extraordinary rapidity; the demand for labour grew and the birth-rate fell; and Germany, which in 1885 had exported a quarter of a million people yearly to America, was by 1905 actually importing labour from Galicia to man her own industries. The whole basis on which the German colonies were to have been founded had vanished. Emigration practically ceased, interest in the colonies declined, and propaganda for population stopped, since the Government had no desire to deprive its heavily burdened but nevertheless prosperous home industries of the labour they required.

It is quite true that the German Colonial Empire was subsequently enlarged. Samoa and Kiao-Chau were acquired at the end of the nineteenth century, a new province in the Congo rewarded the Kaiser's erratic Morocco policy, and a movement was set afoot in Germany in 1911 to acquire eventually all the territory between German East and German West Africa—a policy which, as was pointed out in England at the time, would have made a collision between Britain and Germany in Central Africa inevitable.¹ Expansion therefore continued, but the men to justify the expansion were lacking; and the German colonies, founded to absorb the superfluous population of Germany which

¹ This expansion would have given Germany the Belgian Congo, a country on which she is known to have cast covetous eyes. How it was to be obtained was not, of course, indicated in the various newspaper articles which discussed the policy; but it may have been anticipated that the violation of Belgian neutrality in a subsequent war would have brought Belgium, and consequently the Belgian Congo, within the German orbit.

Germany has herself absorbed, remain to this day sparsely populated with white men.

Hasty observers who have forgotten these facts have told us that the German is not a good colonist, which is flatly at variance with experience in the United States and Australia; and they have condemned the administration of the German colonies as one of the causes of the failure, forgetting that the essential genius of German life is disciplined order, and that a German colony which did not contain that system of disciplined order would in effect not be a German colony at all.

Whatever the faults of their administration, the German colonies are now passing into other hands, and when the war ends in favour of the Allies they will remain a legitimate asset of victory. But, as one German colony after another falls, occasional doubts and criticisms are heard of this policy of conquest and its outcome. I do not refer to the special pleadings of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and his small legion of lost leaders—for Mr. Macdonald's advocacy has the peculiar faculty of proving fatal to those whom he defends, as the recent history of the Labour Party under his rule and the sad case of Dr. Poutsma attest—but to more general objections, the gist of which may be summarised under three heads. It is suggested that (a) the German colonies are almost useless, their soil poor, their products few; that (b) we have already more territory than we require or can develop, and that any increase would be an added burden; and that (c) while we hold these colonies during the war, and use them as hostages or pawns at the peace conference, we should not contemplate their retention. I think this attitude of mind, by no means unreasonable in itself, towards our colonial policy deserves careful examination.

The idea that the German colonies are of little use in themselves is very frequently heard in this country, but it derives no support from the considerable German literature on the subject, nor will it survive examination in detail. Leaving Kiao-Chau, whose value is indisputable, out of account as beyond the scope of British interests, Samoa is one of the strategic and commercial centres of the Pacific; it has long been desired by the New Zealand Government, whom the Samoan chiefs themselves requested to annex their country in 1885, and the veto of the Imperial Government on that transaction has for thirty years been condemned in the British Antipodes as a mistake comparable only with the repudiation of the unauthorised British protectorate over the Sandwich Isles in 1843.² Time and the German Chancellor

² See *Official Correspondence relating to the Provisional Cession of the Sandwich Islands* (1843); Sir Robert Stout in (*London Review of Reviews*, January 1901; and *The English People Overseas*, vol. v. pp. 295-6.

have given us the unmerited opportunity of repairing the first of those blunders; and New Zealand, which has enthusiastically endorsed the late Premier Seddon's Pacific policy, will be as reluctant to hand back Samoa to Germany as were the New Englanders to restore Louisbourg to France at the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. She has taken Samoa for a definite reason, and not as a hostage.

German New Guinea is a country as to whose value Australia has no more doubt than the neighbouring territory of Papua, while it has long been a grievance with Australian traders in the South Seas that the Germans have gradually elbowed them out of the traffic with New Britain and the other German islands in those waters. In Africa, again, Togoland is a country of much the same potentialities as the British Gold Coast, now becoming more celebrated for cacao than gold; the Kamerun—sixty years ago the scene of British missionary and trading enterprise whose fruits were thrown away by the hesitancy of Lord Granville—and the German Congo are very similar to the British, French, and Belgian colonies on the same coast. The increasing demand for tropical produce will certainly not diminish the value of these scattered territories, to which, however, both France and Belgium have also a legitimate claim by reason of past history and local interests.

German South-West Africa has often been derided as a desert, although it is now known that the desert contains diamonds and probably other mineral wealth, while the earlier verdict as to its soil was much too sweeping, for some parts are good cattle country. East Africa is admittedly a land with a considerable future, and the most valuable of all the German possessions. The annexation of these two considerable territories will not merely round off British possessions in Africa, but will solve two pressing local problems. (1) The Union Government requires more land for its 'bijwohners,' or poor white class; a year ago a Select Committee reported³ that better agricultural education should be provided for these people, and advised that land in small holdings should be placed at their disposal. It was apparently with the idea of obtaining the land for this purpose that the Union Government urged the incorporation of Southern Rhodesia in the Union—a course to which both the Rhodesian settlers and the British South Africa Company successfully objected; but the European war has provided the Botha Government with a possible solution of their difficulty. The land they require lies at the very door of the Union, in Namaqualand and Damaraland. If and when these German possessions are taken, an energetic public works policy will be necessary, particularly in the con-

³ Report in *Cape Times*, May 28, 1913.

struction of railways, since, as the Committee reported, 'it is no use to tell a poor man to cultivate his little plot in a place where he cannot get his goods to any market'; but that being admitted, there is no reason why the poor whites and a more substantial class of Boer farmers should not find their homes in the new south-western province of the Union. (2) The Rhodesian people urgently require a port, not so much for their southern province, which trades through Beira and the southern railway, as for Northern Rhodesia, a vast country whose real development has only begun this last three years since Boer and British settlers have moved in small parties to the good cattle country on the plains north of the Zambesi.⁴ That port can be obtained by means of a railway across German East Africa—the annexation of which would incidentally make feasible the All-British Cape-Cairo line—and to the traffic of that railway increasing contributions would come from Nyasa, a prosperous country whose progress is seriously hampered by its present lack of transport facilities.⁵

The argument that the German colonies are useless therefore seems to fall to the ground. But we are also told that we have already more territory than we require, that the British Empire is over-large already—and a glance at the map of the world certainly obtains superficial respect for this objection. We do indeed seem to overcrowd this little planet somewhat liberally with our possessions.

Unfortunately the same objection to our expansion has been urged steadily for two centuries and more—but fortunately without avail. When the backwoodsmen of Virginia advanced into what was then the unknown West across the Ohio River we were warned against outgrowing our strength. There was a school in 1763 which objected to the annexation of Canada on the ground that it was useless—perhaps the leaders of that school now cast approving glances from the shades at those who assure us to-day that the German colonies are useless. The anti-expansionists can pray in aid the formidable authority of Clive, who wrote in 1765 that

My resolution was, and my hopes will always be, to confine our assistance, our conquest, and our (Indian) possessions to Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; to go further is in my opinion a scheme so extravagantly ambitious

⁴ *British South Africa Company's Annual Report, 1912-13.*

⁵ One would also like to see East Africa used as a means of easing, if not altogether settling, the menacing Indian emigration question. The definite consideration of this complicated and confused but dangerous problem has been postponed too long already, but it must inevitably come up after the war. The right to settle in East Africa would give the Indians the opportunity they desire, but even now I notice some protests in the Rhodesian press against the prospect.

and absurd that no Governor and Council in their senses can ever adopt it, unless the whole scheme of the Company's interest be first entirely new modelled.

Or they may fortify themselves by the despatches of Glenelg, the most feeble Colonial Secretary who has ever played the part of fly upon the wheel of the British Empire : he opposed the first British settlement in New Zealand, gave up territory in South Africa, and attempted to veto colonisation in Australia on the ground that

All schemes for making settlements by private individuals or companies in the unlocated districts of Australia have of late years been discouraged, as leading to fresh establishments, involving the Mother Country in an indefinite expense, and exposing both the natives and the new settlers to many dangers and calamities.⁶

Each of the schemes which he opposed has long since come to fruition : the South African province which he abandoned has been restored, New Zealand was colonised in Glenelg's lifetime, and the territory to which the above despatch refers is now the State of Victoria. Yet Glenelg's arguments were repeated in mid-Victorian Britain by the Manchester school which held all dependencies as a useless burden to be shaken off at once—and even while the Manchester school was at the height of its power British settlers were founding homes in the then remote fastnesses of British Columbia, British traders were laying the commercial foundations of British political power in Nigeria, the first strivings towards British control of Malaya were seen, two British statesmen—Carnarvon and Sir George Grey—were planning the federation of British South Africa, and the missionaries who followed Livingstone north of the Zambesi were unconsciously making the road for a still further expansion to Nyasa and Tanganyika.

Sir William Harcourt used the same argument—'we have bitten off more than we can chew'—and his son at the Colonial Office to-day is busily engaged in disregarding the paternal advice ; possibly he remembers that a remoter ancestor of the seventeenth century, one Robert Harcourt of Raleigh's day, headed a 'Company of Adventurers to the River Amazon' in quest of settlement and trade.

But clearly there is something wrong with an argument that is always urged as a theory of Empire at home and never carried out as a practice of Empire abroad. Nor is the reason for the contradiction far to seek. It is neither high policy, as some perhaps imagine, nor low intrigue, as Treitschke and Bernhardi and the rest of that school would have the world believe. It is

⁶ Despatch dated January 23, 1836.

simply the supply of men that is available to do the work. Precisely the same fundamental basis accounts for the foundation of the British and the German Empires outside Europe—an excess of population. Germany, for reasons which she could not foresee in 1885—and her statesmen can hardly be blamed for not foreseeing them—has no longer an excess of population, and her colonies languish; Britain has continually an excess of population, and her colonies not only flourish but expand. British statesmen have often opposed expansion, German statesmen have usually approved it; but against the lack of excess population in Germany and the continual presence of excess population in Britain the statesmen and the theories of both countries have been helpless. The human flood has overborne them.

In face of this compelling stream of superfluous vitality in the Victorian age in Britain, how ridiculous now seem the complaints of a Glenelg or the timidities of a Granville; how absurd would have been the prophecy of Clive had it not been for the last saving clause which anticipates the reform of British rule in India; how natural the vacillations of a Gladstone, who detested expansion yet annexed Uganda; how sane his prophecy, uttered in this Review and now almost completely justified, that

Our first site in Egypt, be it by larceny or be it by emption, will be the almost certain egg of a North African Empire that will grow and grow . . . till we finally join hands across the Equator with Natal and Cape Town.⁷

The words were written in 1877, five years before the Gladstone Government intervened in Egypt, and thus unwillingly fulfilled the first part of the prophecy; less than forty years later only one more link is required to complete the long chain that runs from the Mediterranean to Table Bay, and that link the capture of German East Africa will secure.

Yet here a possible objection may be raised in another form. It is quite true, one pictures the opponents of expansion arguing, that we were wrong in opposing expansion before, but is it certain that we are wrong now? Somewhere, they may urge, this process of expansion must stop; some time we must discover the limit of our power to colonise. How do we know the time has not yet come, now that we have this great struggle on hand which may exhaust us before we are through with it? Why undertake fresh responsibilities when we do not know the extent of our present liabilities?

To which objection the answer is, I conceive, that the fresh responsibilities are ours already, and we cannot avoid them or

⁷ 'Aggression on Egypt and Freedom in the East,' by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. *Nineteenth Century*, August 1877.

e evade them, although we might conceivably shirk them to our own subsequent disadvantage. War is a great disturbing factor of the normal life of the nation—everyone is conscious, as it were, of a kind of mental revolution since the last days of July. Values change; perspectives alter; the scene shifts. War is the immediate and compelling cause of a great unsettlement at home; and unsettlement at home is the inevitable forerunner and indeed the driving force that leads to settlement abroad.

One sees the unsettlement clearly enough—men leaving their present occupations, the office stool, the draper's counter, the tube lift, the factory gate, at the call to arms. In many cases their employment is being kept open for them, but not in all—for some have enlisted because their employers have no work to give them for the present; every panel doctor—and they are the true confessors of the industrial classes—has examples of these among his patients. A certain proportion of the recruits therefore will have nothing to go back to after the war, in the long and difficult period we shall have to face when things are slowly reverting to the normal; there may not be much unemployment in the technical sense—indeed those more competent to judge of this than myself tell me they are expecting a great revival of industry—but it is certain that not every trade will at once resume its old activity, and it is just those trades which collapsed at the first breath of war, the little luxury trades and their allies, which will take the longest to recover. It is therefore just the men who enlisted to get work who will still be out of work when they get their discharge. And there will be many others of the recruits who, although secure of resuming their previous employment, will not care to go back to the old way of life when the war is over. The desk or shop where they held an inconspicuous and possibly precarious position until a few weeks back probably did not represent their considered choice of a career; they had to get a living when they left school, they took what came, and remained in the same berth because nothing more congenial offered. After the war they will still have to get a living, but they will want to get it in a different way. From Capel Court or Oxford Street to Aldershot the road is easy to an able-bodied man; but from a battle-front in Belgium or a spell of service in India or Egypt the road back to Capel Court or Oxford Street will be less attractive. One brief taste of real life will not be enough for many of the recruits one sees marching through London to-day. They are the very stuff of which pioneers are made, the real adventurer type that has, maybe, hidden Drake-like dreams beneath the decorous frock-coat of the window-dresser; and for these men it must be our business to provide opportunities. It is their due, and it will be to our advantage.

Others will crowd to fill their places at home ; we need not fear any shortage of men for civil employment, and indeed some of the work that young men have done can be done as well—and perhaps more fittingly—by the vast and steadily increasing class of women who have to earn their own living. A tardy improvement in the status of women engaged in industrial occupations may be one of the unexpected incidental results of this war ; a considerable increase of their numbers seems an almost inevitable consequence. That problem will have to be faced, but it is not at this moment my concern.

But it seems clear that colonisation will be the natural outlet for the energies of much of the new armies which are now being created, and which are to be disbanded at the earliest possible moment after the peace. It is the historic remedy of this country, and it has succeeded before, for the discipline of soldiering prepares a man for the hardships of pioneering, and weeds out the weaklings and unfit. If anyone doubts this fairly obvious diagnosis, let him look up the records of Halifax in Nova Scotia, founded the year after the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, or the details of some of the early settlements by ex-soldiers in Ontario, founded after Waterloo. There is no need to labour the point of possible distress and depression after the war—the economic history of England in the generation after the Napoleonic wars is sufficient proof. Then, as may be the case a few years hence, the people sought relief in emigration and colonisation—for the settlement of Algoa Bay in 1819 there were eighty thousand applicants for four thousand places, and the next twenty years were filled with a steady outward stream of human beings to Canada and Australia, men and women who found no living in England but the chance of success abroad.

It may be objected that this was a century ago, that our industries at home absorb a larger population now than then, and that we cannot keep up this constant drain of emigration without depleting our own strength. To which I think the answer is that we have been emigrating steadily since the days of Ralegh and Humphrey Gilbert, and if I am told that the Britain of George the Fifth is not so strong as the Britain of James the First, I for one cannot believe the assertion. Even during the last few years of enormous trade prosperity, when fortunes have been made by manufacturers and even farmers have admitted that ruin was more remote than usual, we have still been emigrating steadily, emigrating from our best stocks, and emigrating mainly our young men—yet the military crisis of last August found no lack of men of the right age and physique to join the colours. Scotland in particular was said to be emigrating her young manhood wholesale to Canada a year or two ago ; yet

Scotland has sent more recruits in proportion to her population to Lord Kitchener's armies than any other part of the United Kingdom.

We are not exhausted as a people; we are not effete as a race. The war, which has renewed the spirit of this kingdom and this Empire, has at least proved that; the prophets of national decadence have hurriedly taken cover, and shown unwonted modesty in forgetting their own predictions. And in the matter of annexing the German colonies the ordinary Englishman will probably take a plain, common-sense view. He does not believe in dividing the bear's skin before the bear is caught; but, seeing that the bear's tail and the tips of his ears have been secured, there is no valid reason against adding them to that strange but serviceable patchwork which is called the British Empire. If they do not fit, they can easily be made to fit. And I believe our plain man will think that, when peace comes, any indemnity which Germany can be made to pay should go to France and Belgium, the countries which have suffered most by the war; and that our part of the business will have justified its trouble and expense—I say nothing of the obligations of national honour—if it gets rid for our time of the intolerable competition of the German Fleet and secures us that form of indemnity which has become traditional after a successful war, the oversea possessions of our opponent.

A. WYATT TILBY.

OUR ENEMY'S OVERSEA POSSESSIONS

(II)

THE FIRST GERMAN COLONY

IN July 1906 I had the good fortune to be at Swakopmund when Colonel von Deimling, now commanding the 15th German Army Corps, arrived to resume his duties as Commander-in-Chief in German South-West Africa. It was a red-letter day in the annals of the little settlement. Flags were profusely displayed on public and private buildings. Officers and civilians had assembled to do honour to the military governor, who had returned from Germany after an attempt to convince the Reichstag that a more vigorous commercial and economic policy was necessary in order that the Colony might be saved from the impending collapse that was threatening it as the result of the long-continued war with the Hereros and Hottentots. The brilliant uniforms of the military were contrasted by the sombre frock-coats of the members of the local deputation who valiantly set forth in a whale-boat to greet Colonel von Deimling and his staff upon the Imperial mail steamship *Herzog*, which lay rolling heavily upon the stormy waters of the Atlantic. The wooden pavements of the town were piled high with the driven sand. Along the sea front, with its dreary backing of dunes, clouds of sand were driven in blinding columns towards the desert fringe of forty miles which separates the more fertile interior from the ocean. At sea the billows rolled in their never-ending and threatening advance towards the sterile coasts.

The deputation, shorn of much of its glory by the drenching spray, arrived beside the ship, and after the last bags of the heavy mail for the then considerable army of occupation had been dumped into the heaving whale-boat, the military governor was swung over the ship's side in a chair and lowered with such dignity as was possible under the circumstances upon the sacks of letters; whilst one by one soldiers, passengers, and visitors were deposited in the boat to suffer agonies until they were safely landed upon the shores of their German heritage. The representative of Imperial Germany had to enter German South Africa by the best gateway available and the reflections of the

few British subjects who witnessed the scene were varied. But there could have been no German present who did not think of the tranquil and natural harbour at Walfish Bay—but twenty-five miles distant—and bitterly regret that Germany had been too late to save so excellent a port from falling to that great robber of colonies—Britain. For the ten hundred miles of coast line stretching from Portuguese territory to Cape Colony has only one safe anchorage, and that was in British hands. The story of German colonisation in South Africa is the story of Germany's awaking to what all good Germans believed to be her natural destiny as a great colonial power—an awaking that had come too late.

The Germans, said Baron von Huebner, are with the Anglo-Saxons the greatest colonists of our time. Unfortunately for the Fatherland the great majority of the colonists have ceased to be German subjects. Whilst the majority of emigrating Germans have become absorbed in foreign States and even may have forgotten their native tongue and have ceased to read their national literature, but a small proportion¹ have settled in those colonies that were born in the patriotic turmoil which heralded the expansion of Germany overseas. The political causes which retarded the entry of Germany upon the colonial field are too well known to need more than the barest mention. Broken up into a mass of independent States having little political cohesion, the German Empire of the eighteenth century and the Confederation which preceded the present Empire were unable to pursue an active policy beyond their European frontiers. Sea-power, the main essential of successful colonisation, was entirely lacking and German statesmen were compelled to acquiesce in the great emigration that occurred during the nineteenth century without being able to hoist the German flag in America, Africa, or Australia. Political causes furthered the expansion of Prussia into Poland and Lithuania, into Hanover, Brunswick, and a dozen Germanic States, until the gradually widening circle of Prussian influence succeeded in erecting a new Empire upon the ruins of the old. Political influences also drove the majority of those who might have become the founders of great German States into countries that were already under a foreign flag, just as economic causes compelled them to seek economic salvation through the national gateways at Hamburg and Bremen. It was only when in 1864 the war with Denmark, and in 1866 that with Austria, had definitely installed Prussia upon the borders of the North Sea and destroyed all danger from the South, that certain far-sighted politicians and economists were able to preach the doctrine of German colonies under the

¹ About 24,000 in the year 1913.

German flag; and it was not until the events of 1870-71 had furnished the decisive impulse that the Government felt free to foster and direct the growing colonial movement.

For many decades emigrating Germans had been lost to the Fatherland. Germans had settled at Germantown near to Philadelphia early in the eighteenth century. German colonists arrived in Nova Scotia in 1769. German emigration to South America commenced in 1818, and in the following year Nova Fribourg, and in 1824 São Leopoldo, the forerunners of the great German colony in Brazil, were founded. German colonists settled permanently in Venezuela in 1843, in Peru in 1852, in Uruguay in 1856, whilst in Australia the first considerable number of Germans arrived in 1838. Throughout the nineteenth century the flow of German population across the Atlantic was remarkable. From 1820 to 1828, 6000 Germans arrived yearly in the United States, from 1846 to 1859 the yearly average was nearly 70,000, and in the forty years from 1819 to 1859 one and a half million Germans settled in American territory. During the century the number of those who went to swell the industrial efficiency of the United States was well over three and a half millions. Partly because of this enormous loss of citizens and partly owing to the great increase of commercial prosperity, Germans in the Fatherland became restive and began to look to the growing power of the State to rescue the nation from the degradation imposed upon it. The colonial movement of the seventies and eighties was but the natural and inevitable result. Yet long before the first German colony was founded in South Africa, one or two of the more powerful of the German States had sought to follow the example of England and the sea-powers upon the German frontiers. The movement, stifled almost at its birth, was purely economic. Although the formation of the Hanseatic League may rightly be regarded as the first manifestation of the colonising spirit of the Germans, the League never attempted to colonise in the strictest sense. Apart from the unfruitful efforts of the great commercial communities, of which it was composed, to found commercial settlements in Morocco and elsewhere, there have been three or four attempts to establish German trading colonies. An attempt made in 1527 by the wealthy Nuremberg family of Ehinger, who had been granted land in Venezuela by the Emperor Charles the Fifth in compensation for money they had lent him, ended in failure. Although a considerable number of colonists from Suabia had settled on the coast, the Welsers of Augsburg, to whom the colony had been ceded, were obliged to hand over their possessions to the Spaniards, who jealously regarded the settlement of Germans in South America as an infringement upon their terri-

torial rights. Settlements which were attempted by the wealthy banking families of Fugger and Vöhlin upon the coasts of Chili were equally unsuccessful; whilst another enthusiast, Johann Joachim Becker, who desired to found a colony in America, was ruined by his projects. One man alone achieved a transient success in his colonising enterprises.

It was Frederick William, the great Elector of Brandenburg, the Hohenzollern ancestor of the present Emperor, who first conceived the scheme of making Prussia prosperous by the extension of Prussian influence across the seas. True to the Baltic instinct—for after all the Brandenburgers were imbued with the same spirit of adventure that has made other Germanic peoples turn towards the sea—he believed that the time had arrived when his small but powerful State might take her place beside the other powers—Dutch, Danish, French, and English—who were drawing wealth from the hinterland of West Africa. After the peace of St. Germain (1679) the internal condition of Prussia enabled him to turn his attention to commercial enterprises, and after some delay he was able to found an African trading company, with headquarters at Königsberg, and to establish a board of admiralty at Pillau on the Gulf of Danzig. With the aid of Dutch adventurers, who enlisted under his flag, he managed, in the year 1683, to secure a footing on the Guinea Coast; and when, in the following year, the important seaport of Emden was occupied by a Brandenburg garrison, he transferred thither the company whose operations were destined, it was hoped, to add lustre to the German name. Whilst an arrangement was made with Denmark for the establishment of a slave market on the Island of St. Thomas, in the West Indies, a fort was built at Arguin, near Cape Blanco. Others were erected at Gross-Friedrichsburg, near Axim, and other places on the Guinea Coast, and for a time the enterprise seemed to offer hopes of success. But, unfortunately, the treacherous climate proved fatal to the few Brandenburgers who ventured to West Africa, whilst the Dutch, who were the mainstay of the German settlements, naturally gravitated towards their own countrymen; and mismanagement and the hostility of Danes and Dutch alike led to the virtual bankruptcy of the concern. After Frederick William's death the heavily involved settlement was sold to the Dutch West India Company, and for 164 years there was no German settlement upon the African coast. These small colonies were but the premature efforts of a divided nation without sea power to establish itself where other and stronger nations had already won commercial success.

The Germans were not ready for overseas colonisation. Statesmen took no interest in an ideal that seemed unattainable,

and the mass of the people, who were but pawns in the great political events of the eighteenth century, and were intent upon preserving their hearths against foreign invasion, wisely realised that colonial expansion was impossible without internal consolidation. It was not until Bismarck's policy of unification had become an ideal to be striven for, and the awakening national spirit had convinced Germans that industrial independence and commercial enterprise, seconded by the protection of adequate naval forces, could alone secure German greatness, that the pioneers of overseas expansion were able to obtain a hearing.

Whilst German traders were gaining a hold upon foreign markets, and Hamburg and Bremen houses were extending their activity in various parts of the world, German missionaries and German explorers were paving the way for the establishment of German dependencies upon the continent of Africa. The German name was already honoured in the scientific and exploring world. In South Africa the talented but mendacious Peter Kolbe had won renown in the early years of the eighteenth century through his excellent account of the Hottentots; whilst at a later period Heinrich Lichtenstein, whose well-known and scholarly work is a standard book on the country; the botanist Wendland; the Austrian botanist Welwitsch; the celebrated philologist Friedrich Bleek; and other Germans added distinction to the German name. German explorers had been busy in their own peculiar spheres. Heinrich Barth had travelled extensively in North Africa, had crossed the Sahara, had visited Timbuctoo, and had penetrated as far as Adamawa in the south. Alexander Ziegler and Gerhard Rohlfs had done much to make the interior of Northern Africa known to Europeans, the latter penetrating into the Cameroons and opening up new ways for further German enterprise. Friedrich Hornemann had made his remarkable journey from Tripoli to the Niger; Paulus Dabse, the engineer, had explored the Gold Coast; Gustav Mann had travelled in the Niger regions. Karl Mauch had travelled on the Zambesi and visited the Mashonaland goldfields and had discovered the wonderful Zimbabwe ruins; Gustav Nachtigal, after travelling extensively in North Africa and visiting the Sudan States, had turned his attention to South Africa; Karl Moritz von Baumann had journeyed through the Sudan; Baron Karl von der Decken, continuing the discoveries of Krapf and Rebmann, had made a remarkable survey of Mount Kilimanjaro; Georg Schweinfürth had revealed to the world the extensive Bahr-el-Ghazal and other upper waters of the Nile; and, above all, Dr. Karl Peters and Hermann von Wissmann were carrying on their unceasing work for the Fatherland in East Africa. German attention was being concentrated upon Africa as a field for commerce and colonisation. On his return from

the Transvaal Mauch had given expression to the aspirations of his countrymen : 'Would to God,' he exclaimed, 'that this fine country might soon become a German colony,' a sentiment which was echoed by Rohlfs on his return from the Cameroons in 1877, when he asked, 'Is it not deplorable that we are obliged to assist, inactive and without the power to intervene, in the extension of England in Central Africa?' The time was rapidly becoming ripe for German intervention. The anvil was ready upon which was to be fashioned the sword that was to carve out new provinces for the exploitation of peaceful merchants who were destined to carry German commerce into the interior. It was, however, largely owing to missionary enterprise which had preceded commercial penetration in South-West Africa that Germany at length entered upon the colonial scramble, although the match was set to the already prepared torch by Herr Lüderitz, a Bremen merchant, who established his business at Angra Pequena, now known as Lüderitz Bay. Through the agency of the Rhenish Mission amongst the Hereros and Namaquas was forged the weapon of German intervention.

As long ago as 1842 the first mission station had been founded at Bethany, and at a later period ten other stations were established, which soon became not only centres for the diffusion of Christianity, but also depots whence was carried on a not inconsiderable trade with the interior. Settled in the midst of a none too friendly population and deprived not only of the protection of their own but also of the British flag—for Lord Granville had expressly informed Bismarck in the year 1880 that whilst the British Government was ready to protect German subjects wherever possible, it would not be responsible for events beyond the borders of the Cape, and could not undertake jurisdiction over the Namaquas and Damaras—they repeatedly petitioned their own Government for protection. When the missions seemed to be threatened with final extinction and six of the stations had been destroyed, Dr. Fabri, Superintendent of the missions, again addressed a pressing remonstrance to the Imperial Government (April 28, 1884). But Bismarck, in spite of his seeming unwillingness to plunge Germany into the stormy seas of colonial adventure, was already preparing, through the agency of Lüderitz, the stroke which was to introduce so momentous a change in German policy.

For some years public opinion had been carefully prepared for the new adventure. Although the Chancellor had officially looked askance at the movement which was being engineered by German merchants, professors, and theologians, there can be little doubt that he was slowly feeling his way and preparing for future eventualities. 'I want no colonies,' he said, 'they are good for

nothing but supply stations. For us in Germany this colonial business would be just like the wearing of sables in the noble families of Poland by men who have no shirts to their backs.' Nevertheless, the German Foreign Office was busy and the claims of German subjects in various parts of the world were being considered and a careful and non-committal correspondence was being carried on with the British Government. In Germany itself the colonial movement was steadily gaining fresh adherents, whilst in England it was scarcely recognised that such a movement existed and the aspirations of Germans for colonial enterprise were almost entirely unknown. Two men amongst many others contributed to develop the colonial idea in the Fatherland—Vice-Admiral Livonius and Dr. Fabri. The former had wished to publish in a report certain suggestions for the foundation of German settlements as far back as the year 1875, but Bismarck, ever wary, had forbidden the publication, and the report was not issued until ten years later, when Germany had already entered upon her colonial enterprises. The latter in 1879 had published a pamphlet² which greatly influenced the current of German thought. In Bremen, and especially in Hamburg, the movement was enthusiastically supported by the mercantile community. In the latter city the Chamber of Commerce forced the question to the front and in 1883 issued a lengthy memoir upon German interests in Africa, which contained a list of places in which German traders were settled, demonstrated the potential value of German colonies, and pointed out where they could be established. The Deutsch Kolonialgesellschaft, founded in 1881 under the presidency of Prince von Hohenlohe-Langenburg, was carried forward upon the wave of popular enthusiasm, and its meetings, addressed by the foremost travellers and merchants, did much to foster the movement.

In England, as has been stated, the movement was practically unknown. Our own Colonial Institute, engrossed in the affairs of British colonies, did nothing to call attention to the danger—if danger it were—that threatened British interests in South Africa, until it was too late for effective action.³ The Foreign Office, serene in the consciousness that for many years German representations had been representations and nothing more, scarcely deigned to give the question serious consideration. Reams of paper had been covered with complaints and nothing had ever happened. One man alone seemed to realise the position so far as South Africa was concerned—a man of wide experience and

² *Bedarf Deutschland der Colonien?* (Gotha, 1879).

³ A resolution was passed on May 27, 1884.

almost prophetic insight, whose despatches to the Colonial Office were carefully pigeon-holed.⁴

On the 19th of July 1880 Sir Bartle Frere, then Governor of the Cape, in a long despatch to the Colonial Office called attention to an article by Ernst von Weber which had been published in the *Geographische Nachrichten* for November 1879. As this article contained 'a clear and well-argued statement in favour of a plan for a German colony, which was much discussed in German commercial and political circles even before the Franco-German War, and which was said to have been one of the immediate motives of the German mission of scientific inquiry which visited Southern and Eastern Africa in 1870-71,' and gave expression to the aspirations of the Colonial party, it may be well to give a brief summary of the views expressed by Von Weber. A new empire, he wrote, possibly more valuable and more brilliant than even the Indian Empire, awaits, in the newly discovered Central Africa, that Power which shall possess *sufficient courage*, strength, and intelligence to acquire it. The similarity of the Boers to 'our sturdy Westphalians, Frieslanders, and Schleswig-Holsteiners' convinced Von Weber, who had spent some years in the country,⁵ that there were opportunities of enlisting the active aid of the Boers on behalf of German enterprises. 'The ramifications of the Boer families,' he wrote, 'run through the length and breadth of South Africa, and one may speak of a nation of Africanders or *Low German Africans*, which forms one sympathetic race from Table Mountain to the Limpopo. This is a fact which would be of great importance in any possible joint rising of the Boers having for its object the formation of a Dutch African Confederation.' The Transvaal Boers had, moreover, the most earnest longing that the German Empire, 'which they properly regard as their parent and mother country,' should take them under its protection. Von Weber suggested that Delagoa Bay should be acquired by Germany. What people, he continued, understood agricultural colonisation better than the Germans? Pennsylvania and the north and north-west of the United States, German settlements in South Brazil and British Kaffraria, as well as the agricultural colonies in South Russia, afforded ample evidence of it, and he suggested that South Africa might be won by encouraging an influx of Germans into the Transvaal, where their influence would soon become paramount.

⁴ It is only just to state that Sir John Molteno was in favour of the annexation of Damaraland and pressed that course upon Lord Carnarvon at the time when the latter was preparing his ill-considered confederation scheme for South Africa.

⁵ See his *Vier Jahre in Afrika*, 1871-1875, a work little known in England, though it forms an important contribution to publications relating to South Africa at this period.

As the result of Sir Bartle Frere's representations, the British Ambassador in Berlin, Odo Russell, afterwards Lord Ampthill, was asked his opinion, and on the 18th of September 1880 he replied that 'the German Government feel more the want of soldiers than of colonies, and consequently discourage emigration. Under present circumstances therefore the plan for a German colony in South Africa has no prospect of success.' There the matter rested so far as the British Government was concerned, but on the 12th of July 1883 the *Daily News* announced that 'Angra Pequena harbour, on the West Coast, between Namaqualand and Damaraland, has been bought from the natives and occupied by a German trading firm under an alleged guarantee of the German Government. Possession has been taken of some miles inland.' This was the first intimation that the British public received of the intrigue being carried on at Berlin, but such was the state of false security that notwithstanding the announcement in the German *Post* that 'in spite of the statement made by Count Hatzfeldt to Lord Ampthill, that the German Government avoids giving encouragement to emigration, we are convinced that if Germans will promote the increase of German manufacturing industry by founding commercial colonies they will not lack the powerful protection of the Imperial Government,' no importance was attached to the attitude of the German Government. Even when Herr Lüderitz, doubtless after carefully sounding the Imperial Foreign Office, had established his settlement at Angra Pequena, the British Chargé d'Affaires wrote (August 31, 1883) that 'it would be a mistake to suppose that the Imperial Government have any present intention of establishing Crown Colonies, or of imitating the practice adopted by France of assuming a protectorate over any territory acquired by a French traveller or explorer.' The British Government was slow to move in spite of the fact that 'spheres of influence' had as yet no international significance, and British claims to the coasts between Portuguese territory were vague and, as was afterwards proved, illusory. Bismarck had played his cards with consummate skill. In a series of carefully worded despatches he gradually prepared the way for the annexation that was to follow. In September 1883 the German Chargé d'Affaires, Baron Plessen, asked whether the British Government claimed suzerainty over the bay of Angra Pequena, and Lord Derby was obliged to admit that only the islands adjacent to the coast had been annexed,^{*} without any of the hinterland having

* These islands, named Icaboe, Penguin, Pomona, Plum Pudding, and Roast Beef, containing valuable guano deposits, had been annexed, the first on June 21, 1861, and the others on May 5, 1866 by Captain Forsyth, of H.M.S. *Valorous*, and were added to Cape Colony in 1874; while Walfish Bay, the only

been occupied. This reply naturally did not satisfy the German authorities, and on the 16th of November 1883 the German Ambassador, Count Münster, called at the Foreign Office to ask for a definite reply as to whether rights of sovereignty were claimed over Angra Pequena. Five days later Lord Granville replied that 'although her Majesty's Government have not proclaimed the Queen's sovereignty along the whole country, but only at certain points, such as Walfish Bay and Angra Pequena Islands, they consider that any claim to sovereignty or jurisdiction by a foreign Power between the southern point of Portuguese jurisdiction at latitude 18 and the frontier of Cape Colony would infringe their legitimate rights.'

Bismarck was not prepared to accept so loose a statement and allowed Lüderitz to proceed with his settlement. In the meantime communications had been sent to the Cape Government asking whether it was prepared to undertake the administration of the disputed territory. Unfortunately owing to a change of Ministry the matter did not receive the immediate attention required. In fact the negotiations were bungled, and although J. X. Merriman had written a minute on the 31st of October 1883, stating that the country 'has hitherto been considered as a kind of commercial dependency of this Colony,' the Cape Ministry hesitated, and whilst they deliberated the prize was snatched from their grasp. Bismarck was determined to force the matter to an issue. On the 31st of December 1883 Count Münster wrote that 'the fact, confirmed by your Lordship, that the British sovereignty beyond the frontier of Cape Colony was limited to Whale Bay and the islands off Angra Pequena, is one of the hypotheses under which the Imperial Government is entitled and bound to grant the house of Lüderitz the protection of the Empire for a settlement which this firm contemplates establishing on territory outside the sovereignty of any other Power, on the south-west coast of Africa'; and when Sir Hercules Robinson was at last able to telegraph that 'Ministers have decided to recommend Parliament to undertake control of the coast line from Orange River to Walfish Bay,' the German Government had already taken steps which prevented the effective operation of this resolution. For on the 25th of April 1884 the Imperial German Consul at Cape Town had announced that he had been instructed by Prince Bismarck to declare officially that Herr Lüderitz and his establishments were under the protection of the German Empire.

Two months later, on the 23rd of June 1884, Prince Bismarck stated in the Reichstag that it was his intention to place under safe anchorage on the whole coast, had been annexed on March 12, 1878, and was incorporated with Cape Colony on August 17, 1884.

the protection of the Empire any similarly established settlements in future, and that the Government intended to issue for Angra Pequena an Imperial Letter of Protection similar to the Royal Charters given by England to the East India Company and the British North Borneo Company. Two days afterwards he defined his policy with regard to colonisation. 'The whole question of German colonisation,' he stated, 'which has recently arisen was due to the acquisition of territories by certain Hanseatic merchants; and their appeal for protection to the Imperial Government had necessitated a thorough examination of the whole subject.' He was entirely opposed to the creation of colonies on what he considered a bad system—namely, to acquire a piece of ground, appoint officials and a garrison, and then to seek to entice persons to come and live there. His policy was not to found provinces but 'mercantile settlements which would be placed under the protection of the Empire.' The enthusiasm in Germany was immense. In spite of the prolonged opposition of the Conservative Reichstag, which had not been favourable to the entry of Germany upon the colonial sphere, the policy of the Colonial party had triumphed. Henceforth the destiny of Germany was upon the sea, and whilst the nineteenth century had been Prussia's century, the twentieth soon to dawn was to be Germany's as a World Power possessing provinces in all parts of the globe—commercial settlements whence could be exported the tropical products required for German industry, and colonies whither would flow the surplus of the German population which had hitherto been absorbed by the great republics of the West. The British Government was obliged to acquiesce in the expansion of Germany overseas with the best grace it could summon. On the 14th of July 1884 Lord Derby instructed Sir Hercules Robinson that her Majesty's Government had determined that it was not in a position to oppose the intentions of the German Ministry to extend protection to German subjects who had acquired concessions or formed settlements where no British jurisdiction already existed.

The acquisition of German South-West Africa was a bold stroke of policy, but it was an action to which Great Britain could hardly take exception. It was impossible for a Great Power such as Germany had become to tolerate any dog-in-the-manger policy on the part of her colonial competitors. Great Britain had had ample opportunities to occupy and utilise the South-West African coasts, but had refused to undertake fresh responsibilities. That so rich a prize—for the country in spite of its sterile coastal belt offered great opportunities for agriculture, cattle-raising, and mining—was left for others to win was entirely the fault of British statesmen.

It is not intended in the present article to discuss German methods of administration in South Africa further than to notice that the national colonial policy was marked by all the defects of the German temperament. At the very outset of her enterprises the Colonial party's official organ in Africa declared that 'Germany had nothing to learn from England or any other colonising nation, having a method of handling social problems peculiar to the German spirit.' So far as South-West Africa is concerned the arrogance of the 'German spirit' has been specially in evidence. As Professor Bonn, of Munich University, stated in an address before the Royal Colonial Institute (January 13, 1914), 'we have had native risings and extremely silly European settlement schemes. . . . Apart from South-West Africa, where we solved the native problem by smashing tribal life and by creating a scarcity of labour, we are only just now beginning to understand native administration. Germany has from the first stood for scientific methods in colonisation, and with true German arrogance she has applied fixed rules to flexible problems. Such success as she has had—and in many directions this success must be freely admitted—has been neutralised by certain things that have tended to throw ridicule upon the efforts of her scientists and social reformers to impose by the aid of the military caste rigid rules and inflexible regulations upon the natives. The complex military and administrative machinery of the Fatherland has been little suited to the soil of Africa, and the scientific methods of dragooning the natives into a dull comprehension of the meaning of German 'culture' have cast discredit upon the excellent work that German administrators have performed in other directions. Germany had indeed much to learn from England, but she was too proud and too imbued with the consciousness of her own superior merit to stoop to Anglo-Saxon levels.

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*THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WAR:
GERMAN AND BRITISH OFFICIAL
PAPERS COMPARED*

IT may be interesting to learn the impressions as to the cause of the war of a person who for seven weeks heard only the German side of it. I had the misfortune to find myself in the kingdom of Prussia when the war broke out, and I only received my release on the 17th of September. I have already related my experiences during that time in an article in the October number of the *Nineteenth Century*; how at first there was a general keen regret at the English declaration of war, a feeling which rapidly, dating principally from the Japanese ultimatum, grew into one of great bitterness, till at last the hatred against England far exceeded that against any of the other enemies. It is probably little exaggeration to say that by the middle of September the general feeling against us nearly equalled in bitterness the feeling against all the eight¹ other enemies which Germany counts to-day. In the article mentioned reference has been made to the concentration of the national desire and purpose on the destruction of England; whereas in the early days of the war the popular animosity was principally directed against Russia, and it had been freely admitted in the days preceding the English declaration of war that England had made earnest endeavours to preserve the peace.

It is a fact that sentiments change facts, and, as mentioned in the article alluded to, not only was this admission absolutely withdrawn, but the origin of the war which had been at first attributed to the giant ambition of barbarous Russia was afterwards attributed to the low cunning of commercial England. It was only possible to hear the German version, and yet even that alone seemed to fail utterly to show a basis for the latter assertion. I read carefully the publication of the telegrams which passed between the King, Prince Henry of Prussia, and the Kaiser, after Prince Henry, in the closing days of July, had

¹ In the Post Office, in addition to the six known enemies, Egypt and Morocco were posted as States with which communication was broken, these belonging to the list of official enemies.

lunched at Buckingham Palace, that luncheon interview being referred to in the telegrams. It seemed rather to vindicate the conduct and attitude of this country, though, in demurely expressing this view, one did not in fact meet with agreement.

A copy of a German White Book, translated, obviously by a German-American, into English, was sent to me by some German friends, and I brought it back with me. It is entitled *Germany's Reasons for War with Russia. How Russia and her Ruler betrayed Germany's confidence, and thereby made the European War. With the Original Telegrams and Notes.* It contains a preface of thirty-two pages, headed 'Foreign Office, Berlin, August, 1914.'

The White Book does not attribute the least blame to England for the origin of the war. On the contrary, it assures us that 'shoulder to shoulder with England Germany laboured incessantly' towards the attainment of a peaceable solution of the conflict. That blame was to come later, when inflamed feeling rather than fact or documentary evidence was to be the basis of it. As shown by its title the gist of the White Book was to show Russia's guilty authorship of the war. At least one of the most vital documents affecting this issue was suppressed in the German White Book.

Let us now consider the pith of the case according to the impressions of one who, having read the German White Book, has now had an opportunity of reading the British Blue Book.

If we take the preface of each, the first pages of it approach the same set of facts and circumstances from somewhat divergent standpoints. Judging both as official documents, certainly the language of the British is more dignified and tends far more to create an impression of objectivity and impartiality. It recites indisputable facts and also refers to the existence of two conflicting atmospheres, in the description and explanation of which an honest seeking after fairness is palpable. The German preface, on the contrary, explains only one of the two atmospheres, namely, the Austrian, and that in a manner *wholly justificatory*, and it bases its explanation largely on mere statements as to Russia's policy in the Balkans, as to which statements, whether they be well founded or not, the document itself vouchsafes absolutely no proofs of their accuracy. Thus, comparing, as we are now doing, the two documents judicially, it will be observed that the method of the British must commend itself far more to the impartial tribunal.

Let us take the opening paragraph of part (2) of the preface to the British Blue Book. It runs as follows :

In the light of this history the storm of anti-Servian feeling which swept Austria-Hungary after the Sarajevo murders is easily understood.

It was a feeling based on patriotism and loyalty. Europe was disposed to excuse its exaggerations and to sympathise with its motives.

To many of us, perhaps, the most painful thought in this war has been that the concrete event leading up to it was the abominable assassination of the Archduke and his wife. We are jealously scrupulous of our fair name, as indeed our presence in the war shows. It is, then, with feelings of deep appreciation that we read in our Blue Book such words as these and as the opening words of the preface, which, referring to the assassination, say 'No crime has ever aroused deeper or more general horror throughout Europe : none has ever been less justified.'

Thus, we open with an assuredly well-deserved attitude of excuse towards Austria. Up to the date of the 1st of August inclusive the Blue Book contains 143 exhibits, as against 34 in the German White Book up to the same date. Exhibit No. 4 is the ultimatum presented by Austria to Serbia on the 23rd of July. That its terms were, to use the expressive colloquial phrase used by Sir Edward Grey in his telegram to the British Chargé d'Affaires at Berlin, 'extraordinarily stiff' is scarcely to be denied. At the same time, as our Foreign Office justly recognised, allowance had to be made for the state of feeling in Austria. In order to make this a little clearer one may be permitted to digress for a moment from the documents.

Last year I was staying with friends in Austria, with whom I have stayed on different occasions within the last sixteen years. They are Bohemians, largely national in sentiment, as was proved by the fact that they frequently and by preference used the Czech language, gave their children, partly, a Czech education, and, altogether, were in strong antipathy towards the German section in Bohemia. Thus they proudly emphasised the fact of their belonging to one of the branches of the great Slav race, and they had a more cordial dislike of the Prussians than was then generally to be found even amongst our own countrymen. The period was that of the close of the Balkan War and of the Treaty of Bucharest. A feeling of grave dissatisfaction, of intense chafing, almost of shame, was current amongst them. They felt that they were humiliated in the eyes of Europe. They believed that their moderation and the Emperor's extreme averseness from war had simply served to bring humiliation upon them. They considered that their diplomacy had been merely another word for weakness. Their Foreign Minister, Count Berchtold, was loudly abused. His policy, leaning—it was thought, excessively—towards peaceful measures, was severely condemned. A quip was going round that even the Emperor had said to him 'Well, how is this? You seem to be making one

blunder after another?' To which the Minister was said to have replied 'Sir, I can't make them all at the same go.'

At the bottom of this feeling was Serbia—the thought that they had so long endured so much from their small neighbour and had allowed her with impunity constantly to offer them so much provocation. That, in fact, Austria had for some years been receiving continued provocation from Serbia is little open to question. What Serbia may have as answer on the ground of the baulking of her national aspirations by Austria it is not proposed now to discuss. Three years ago I paid a short visit to Belgrade and subsequently went down through the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In Sarajevo, where I had for a short time the advantage of the society and assistance as interpreter of a Serb student from Belgrade, the seething disloyalty amongst the Serb population was almost visible to the naked eye. One has always to bear in mind when speaking of those parts that through centuries of oppression by Turkish rule, during which they were kept in a state of abject degradation, the population is still to-day far behind the general European standard of civilisation.

When Bosnia and Herzegovina were annexed in 1908 war almost broke out between Serbia and Austria. Eventually, through the mediation of the Powers and influence brought to bear by Russia at Belgrade, in March 1909, friendly, neighbourly relations purported to be restored between the two countries, Serbia giving to the Powers promises for better behaviour in the future. This settlement did not quite meet with national approbation in Austria. Last year regret was often expressed there that a war with Serbia had not long since taken place.

Our evenings were generally spent in political discussion. It was often asserted that in the event of a war between Austria and Serbia, Russia would not in fact come in. To the person coming from this country that assertion sounded improbable, and still less probable appeared the views expressed as to Russia's military capabilities compared with those of Austria. My host was a recently retired officer of Dragoons who had been stationed in Galicia, and professed a poor opinion of the army beyond the border.

During these friendly political discussions the view of an impartial Britisher, that the only salvation for Austria lay in a thoroughly popular war which would arouse a common enthusiasm amongst all the nationalities in the empire, met with general agreement. But a further view expressed by the same person that the most probable war—namely, one with Russia—would, on account of the numerous Slav population in the empire, scarcely have the quality of general popularity, was doubted. My friends,

though proudly claiming to belong to a Slav race, scorned Pan-slavism as a mere chimera, and they said that the leader of the Young-Czech party, after his return from a political visit to Russia, had openly proclaimed it to be impracticable. Their view as to the popularity of a war against Serbia and Russia would seem, in the particular circumstances leading up to the present war, to have had some foundation. Such communications as I received from Austria and Hungary during my detention in Germany pointed to a surprising degree of keenness amongst the nationalities on the subject of the present war.

It is hoped that this digression may have helped to show more vividly what was the state of feeling in Austria, further prodigiously incensed by the Sarajevo assassination, and how difficult it would have been for any government to run counter to it.

The Austrian ultimatum admonished the Serbian Government that the promises given in 1909 had not been kept : it made various grave charges as to the encouragement by the Kingdom of Serbia of a state of conspiracy among the Serb population in Austria, and it set out very serious findings as the result of the inquiry into the assassination at Sarajevo. The findings, five in number, may be summarised as follows : (1) That the assassination was planned at Belgrade ; (2) that the bombs, arms, and ammunition to be used in the furtherance of the plot were delivered at Belgrade by Commandant Tankosic of the Serbian army and another conspirator ; (3) that the bombs came from the arms depot of the Serbian army ; (4) that lessons in the use of the bombs and arms had been given by one of the conspirators at Topschider, just outside Belgrade ; and (5) that the passage of the criminals and the arms across the frontier had been facilitated by Serbian officials.

The remedies demanded were undoubtedly of a drastic character—the most drastic being the fifth and, in less degree, the sixth demand. The fifth asked Serbia to accept the collaboration in Serbia of representatives of the Austrian Government for the suppression of the subversive movement there complained of. The sixth required that judicial proceedings should be taken by Serbia against accessories to the plot for the assassination who were on Serbian soil, and that delegates of the Austrian Government should participate in the investigations preliminary to the judicial inquiry. The answer was to be given within forty-eight hours.

Shortly before the time limit had expired the Serbian Government gave an answer which, on the face of it, showed an absolutely surprising extent of compliance with Austria's demands. This action must be mainly ascribed to Russian

influence. Before examining the answer in the light of the Austrian official comments on it, let us observe that, on the face of it, it looks so like a nearly complete concession to Austrian demands that it is hardly credible that if Russia had really desired war she would have advised the giving of such an answer. Further, let us observe that the objections to the answer, whatever their soundness, were scarcely so obvious that Baron Giesl, Austria's Minister at Belgrade, could have become seized of them in the few moments which he allowed himself before pronouncing them to be insufficient and demanding his passports. This action would clearly point to instructions from Vienna that, in the event of any answer other than an unqualified acceptance being returned, diplomatic relations were to be broken off, and the whole course would certainly seem to support the opinion expressed by Sir M. de Bunsen, British Ambassador in Vienna, that the acceptance by Serbia of Austria's demands was neither intended nor desired.

It must not thereupon be at once concluded that Austria was playing a guilty part. She may very well have thought that even a full acceptance by Serbia of her demands, though she would have been obliged to acquiesce in it, would, in fact, have led to little result, and that nothing would make any impression on Serbia except military chastisement, for the infliction of which the people throughout the empire were impatiently eager.

For the purpose of the consideration of Serbia's answer we will refer to the German White Book, which contains also the official Austrian commentaries on it. Some of these commentaries taken singly may seem trifling, even, as the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs is reported in our Blue Book to have said, childish; but, taking them together, they succeed in instilling into the mind some distrust of the answer as a whole.

As regards the Serbian answer to the third of the Austrian demands, relating to the elimination from public instruction of all anti-Austrian propaganda, the former is so translated in the German White Book as considerably to alter its sense, and to make it sound far less satisfactory, the word 'provided' being substituted for the word 'when.'

As regards the crucial fifth and sixth demands, Serbia's answer to the former is somewhat vague. Her answer to the latter shows an important misinterpretation of the Austrian demand which can hardly have been accidental. It will be remembered that the demand was to institute judicial proceedings against the participants in the plot who were on Serbian soil, and that delegates of the Austrian Government should take part in the investigations preliminary to the proceedings. To have asked that the delegates should have taken part in the

actual judicial proceedings would have been a much greater affront to the sovereignty of an independent State, yet the Serbian answer purports to have construed the Austrian demand in that sense. As the Austrian Government had already become possessed of important evidence, through the trial already held by them at Sarajevo, the demand that their police should take part in the investigation which should precede the further Serbian inquiry does not seem so preposterous. If it was so outrageous, it is strange that the Serbian Government should have mentioned in their general answer that they had been expecting to have been invited to co-operate in the investigations which had been instituted by the Austrian Government. The Austrian commentary on this last assertion is that, though accurately informed as to the suspicions against definite persons, the Serbian Government had done nothing towards bringing the criminals to justice. That they had in fact taken no steps at all in this direction was not denied by the Serbian Government. Moreover, one of the Austrian commentaries accuses the Prefect of Police at Belgrade of having connived at the escape of one of the principal conspirators. As regards the officer, Commandant Tankosic, charged with being a party to the plot, the Serbian Government replied that they had proceeded to arrest him on the day on which the Austrian ultimatum had been presented.

What is then the impression made upon any judicially constituted mind considering these two documents—the demand and the answer—and the attitude of the two parties? The impression will probably be this : that the one party is really seeking to apply a remedy very different from that of mere documentary promise, and that the other is giving promises which shall in effect and deed amount to little.

In judging the whole, fairly recent history cannot be altogether left out of account. Very few years ago Europe had found it necessary to pass severe censure on the Serbians in respect of the assassination of their King and Queen, and in token of censure to withhold diplomatic representation from the country, England persevering for the longest period in such withholding. Serbia then gave an undertaking that the authors of that crime should be brought to justice, but it is an open secret that in fact no real punishment was ever inflicted upon them. Further, the impartial mind will find itself pressed to admit that Serbia's answer, the very fact of her conceding so much and her alleged arrest of Commandant Tankosic, go far to imply a confession on her part that Austria's charges were not unfounded.

Thus, then, we have the position of a great country and a small country, neither disclosing its real purpose in its words to the other. The position is rendered more critical by the fact

that the great country has a large Slav population with whom the central Government is in a frequent condition of misunderstanding, while the small country looks to the protection of the great Slav Power which asserts a claim to interest herself in all the lesser Slav States. Thus, the difficulty quickly develops into a dispute of that claim by Austria with the constant encouragement of Germany, and a maintenance of the claim by Russia. The Austrian and German attitude was in fact that of a denial that Russia had any *locus standi* in the question, whereas France and Great Britain did not share this view. Anyhow, Russia's assumption of interest was a fact, and it had to be reckoned with.

Sir Edward Grey, clearly realising the latter fact, set himself from the beginning to make vigorous efforts to preserve the peace. That this was his sole object, and that he strove earnestly to achieve it, the correspondence shows in the clearest light. If any reader should hesitate to accept this statement he is asked particularly to look at telegrams dispatched by Sir E. Grey, numbered respectively 101, 103, and 111 in the Blue Book. The first is an answer to the amazing neutrality proposal made by Germany to our Ambassador at Berlin on the 29th of July—in itself very strong evidence as to the real object in the mind of the German Government at the time and of some hollowness in their professed participation in negotiations to preserve peace. The last paragraph of the answer goes to such an extreme length in the effort to keep peace that it must be set out. It runs as follows :

And I will say this: If the peace of Europe can be preserved, and the present crisis safely passed, my own endeavour will be to promote some arrangement to which Germany could be a party, by which she could be assured that no aggressive or hostile policy would be pursued against her or her allies by France, Russia, and ourselves, jointly or separately. I have desired this and worked for this, as far as I could, through the late Balkan crisis, and, Germany having a corresponding object, our relations sensibly improved. This idea has hitherto been too Utopian to form the subject of definite proposals, but if this present crisis, so much more acute than any Europe has gone through for generations, be safely passed, I am hopeful that the relief and reaction which will follow may make possible some more definite rapprochement between the Powers than has been possible hitherto.

From Sir E. Goschen's telegram, No. 109, we learn that not only was this message read by him to the German Chancellor, Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg, but the latter asked to have the text of it as a memorandum, and it was accordingly handed to him. There is no hint of this in the German White Book.

Sir E. Grey's telegram, No. 103, to our ambassador at Petrograd, states a hope that, even if Austria does invade Servia and occupies Belgrade and neighbouring territory, but is then ready

to cease her advance and to discuss how a complete settlement can be arrived at, Russia will also consent to a discussion and to a suspension of further military operations : the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. de Sazonow, is to be informed accordingly.

Sir E. Grey's telegram, No. 111, to our Ambassador at Berlin expresses the belief that the obstacle is Austrian mistrust of Serbian assurances and Russian mistrust of Austrian intentions : it has occurred to Sir E. Grey whether in this case an undertaking by Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy that they would see that Austria should obtain full satisfaction of her demands, provided that the sovereignty and integrity of Serbia were not impaired, would be possible. The telegram goes on to say :

I said to German Ambassador this morning that if Germany could get any reasonable proposal put forward which made it clear that Germany and Austria were striving to preserve European peace, and that Russia and France would be unreasonable if they rejected it, I would support it at St. Petersburg and Paris, and go the length of saying that if Russia and France would not accept it, His Majesty's Government would have nothing more to do with the consequences ; but otherwise I told German Ambassador that if France became involved we should be drawn in.

The fact seems to be that Germany did not greatly desire to preserve the peace of Europe. It is certain that she did not wish to preserve it at the cost of recognising any claim on the part of Russia to have any voice in a question concerning Serbia. This latter fact is practically admitted by the German Government in the preface to their White Book at pp. 4 and 5. Having alleged a Russian plot to form a union of the Balkan States, under Russian protection, directed against Turkey, and the failure of the plot owing to the dispute amongst the States themselves as to the distribution of spoils, and its succession by another plot of the same nature only directed against Austria, the passage goes on to say :

Under these circumstances it was clear to Austria that it was not compatible with the dignity and the spirit of self-preservation of the monarchy to view idly any longer this agitation across the border. The Imperial and Royal Government apprised Germany of this conception and asked for our opinion. With all our heart we were able to agree with our ally's estimate of the situation and assure him that any action considered necessary to end the movement in Servia directed against the conservation of the monarchy would meet with our approval.

We were perfectly aware that a possible warlike attitude of Austria-Hungary against Servia might bring Russia upon the field, and that it might therefore involve us in a war, in accordance with our duty as allies. We could not, however, in these vital interests of Austria-Hungary, which were at stake, advise our ally to take a yielding attitude not compatible with his dignity, nor deny him our assistance in these trying days. We could do this all the less as our own interests were menaced through the continued Serb agitation. If the Serbs continued, with the aid of Russia and France, to menace the existence of Austria-Hungary the gradual

collapse of Austria and the subjection of all the Slavs under one Russian sceptre would be the consequence, thus making untenable the position of the Teutonic race in Central Europe. A morally weakened Austria under the pressure of Russian Panslavism would be no longer an ally on whom we could count and in whom we could have confidence, as we must be able to have, in view of the ever more menacing attitude of our easterly and westerly neighbours. We, therefore, permitted Austria a completely free hand in her action towards Servia but have not participated in her preparations.

Whether the antecedent statements, of which, as already pointed out, absolutely no proof is vouchsafed, though here we are dealing with what we call a Blue Book, are well founded or not, this is a clear admission by Germany that, *for reasons of general policy*, she had announced herself as being ready to embark on a European war.

Sir E. Grey had, early in the history of the dispute, suggested that the four Powers not directly interested in Serbia—namely, England, France, Italy, and Germany—should work simultaneously in Vienna and Petrograd for the maintenance of peace. France and Italy were willing to do so. Germany gave some abstract assent. On the 25th of July the German Chancellor sent to the Ambassador in London a telegram approving the distinction made by Sir E. Grey between an Austro-Serbian and an Austro-Russian conflict, and stating that 'in the event of an Austro-Russian controversy the German Government were, quite apart from their known duties as allies, prepared to intercede between Russia and Austria jointly with the other Powers.'

The telegram is specious. At that time there was already an Austro-Russian controversy and its presence only was causing the general danger. How well conceived Sir E. Grey's suggestion was becomes apparent when we reflect that it afforded two equal sides chosen from the two groups, the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente, each using its influence with the third member of its own group directly concerned in the controversy. If Germany had sincerely undertaken to play this part and had sincerely played it by seeking to influence Vienna, as Sir E. Grey, out of his desire for peace, was seeking to influence Petrograd, there is little doubt that Europe would have been saved from war.

On the 26th of July Sir E. Grey inquired at Paris, Berlin, and Rome if the respective Governments would instruct their Ambassadors in London to meet him in conference immediately for the purpose of discovering an issue which would prevent complications. In Berlin this suggestion met with an answer which shows a misinterpretation of its meaning. The German Foreign Minister said to Sir E. Goschen that it was really a suggestion of a court of arbitration, whereupon Sir E. Goschen pointed out

that it was merely one of discussing and proposing means for avoiding a dangerous situation.

The German Government, on the 27th of July, as shown by the German White Book, telegraphed to their Ambassador in London that 'it was impossible to place their ally in his dispute with Serbia before a European tribunal; their mediation must be limited to the danger of an Austro-Russian conflict.' The Chancellor's reason was rather differently worded in a conversation which he had with Sir E. Goschen on the 28th of July. He said then that he had refused the conference because he did not think that it would be effective, and because, in his opinion, it would have had the appearance of an 'Areopagus' consisting of two Powers of each group, sitting in judgment upon the remaining two Powers.

It is obvious that Germany refused the suggestion without having first put it before Austria. If she had first put it before Austria, her doing so would have been a mere form, and it is almost certain that Austria would then have declined it. If it had really been a proposal of arbitration one could not have blamed Austria for rejecting it. She might, not unreasonably, have asserted that it was derogatory to her position. Moreover, history might have afforded grounds for maintaining that a court of arbitration consisting of European Powers is not always the most satisfactory species of tribunal. The Great Powers are very effective when they are engaged together in war; when they are engaged together in peace they are less so. But the suggestion was not one of arbitration, as any fair and intelligent consideration of it quickly showed.

Still, Sir E. Grey's first and principal suggestion of the using of influences at Petrograd and Vienna by the Great Powers not directly concerned, which he meanwhile was earnestly carrying out, was likely to appear a preferable one in the eyes of Austria. In view of the racial fellow-feeling Russia could hardly have been expected to consider the controversy quite impartially. Still less could Austria have been expected to do so in view of the course of events in recent years, and especially after the awful assassination of the heir to the throne. But no such special aspects of the case entered into it as far as Germany was concerned, so that she ought to have been qualified to play a dispassionate part for the maintenance of European peace. Instead of that, the evidence goes to show that she was regarding the situation from the point of view of the general advantage to be gained from it, and there is grave reason for believing that Germany, viewing the controversy from this standpoint, instead of urging Austria towards a conciliatory attitude, was, in fact, determining her in an attitude quite the reverse. Thus, when posterity comes to weigh

up the moral blame for the Great War, it will be found that Austria's share of it is small compared with that of Germany.

The day after Sir E. Grey had suggested the conference in London, the Serbian Minister here handed him a copy of his Government's reply to Austria. The same day, the 27th of July, Sir E. Grey had a conversation with the German Ambassador, in which the latter said that his Government accepted mediation in principle. Sir E. Grey strongly advised that the 'Servian reply should at least be treated as a basis for discussion and pause, and that the German Government should urge this at Vienna.' This advice is referred to in the preface to the German White Book, and the latter contains a telegram of the same date, July 27, from the Chancellor to the Ambassador here, saying 'We have at once started the mediation proposal in Vienna in the sense desired by Sir E. Grey.'

To the impartial judge it must be a matter of great regret that the German White Book does not disclose the document in which it had 'started the mediation proposal.' One would have thought that this document might have been disclosed, because, presumably from the answer to it, it was a telegram to the German Ambassador at Vienna. The next document set out in the White Book is a telegram, dated July 28, from the Ambassador to the Chancellor, which runs as follows :

Count Berchtold requests me to express to your Excellency his thanks for the communication of the English mediation proposal. He states, however, that after the opening of hostilities by Servia and the subsequent declaration of war the step appears belated.

On the same day, July 28, our Ambassador at Vienna had a conversation with Count Berchtold, the Austrian Foreign Minister, in which the latter said quite firmly that no discussion could be accepted on the basis of the Serbian note, and that war would be declared that day. Thus, the refusal of the proposal was one upon its merits, and not on the ground of its being too late, as the German Ambassador's telegram might have led us to conclude. Does not this cause more doubt in our minds as to the reality of the furtherance of the mediation proposal, which, in terms nowhere disclosed, the German Chancellor had urged the day before at Vienna?

In his conversation with the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs, our Ambassador, Sir M. de Bunsen, pointed out to him that any difference of view which might arise during the crisis would not arise from want of sympathy with the many just complaints which Austria had against Serbia, but from the fact that, whereas Austria put her quarrel with Serbia first, Sir E. Grey was anxious, in the first place, for the peace of Europe.

Meanwhile direct conversations between Austria and Russia had been proposed by the latter and there seemed to be a prospect of their being opened. Our Government welcomed this step as affording hope of an understanding between these two Powers. Sir E. Grey showed so much appreciation of Germany's declared acceptance of mediation in principle that, on the 28th of July, he telegraphed to our Ambassador at Berlin that he was ready to propose that the German Foreign Secretary should suggest the lines upon which the principle should be applied; but meanwhile he awaited the progress of the direct conversations between Russia and Austria.

Such conversations were in fact opened later. The German White Book informs us that, on a suggestion from Berlin, the Austrian Government instructed their Ambassador at Petrograd to enter into conversation with the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs. As the German Government credit themselves that this was done on their suggestion, we may, perhaps not unreasonably, speculate how much more might have been effected on their suggestion.

What Germany meant by these words, in themselves so securely vague, 'mediation in principle,' bids fair to prove to the historians of all time one of the most tantalising problems of these already somewhat tangled negotiations. We have just seen Sir E. Grey's statement to Sir E. Goschen. On the 29th of July Sir E. Grey spoke to the German Ambassador here to the following effect, set out in a telegram to Sir E. Goschen:

The whole idea of mediation or mediating influence was ready to be put into operation by any method that Germany could suggest if mine was not acceptable. In fact, mediation was ready to come into operation by any method that Germany thought possible if only Germany would 'press the button' in the interests of peace.

Italy, too, seems to have been equally baffled by the cryptic words. Our Ambassador in Rome telegraphed on the 29th of July that the statement by the German Government of acceptance of mediation in principle conflicted with the statement to Sir E. Goschen rejecting the proposal of a conference, and that the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs was of opinion that the latter statement correctly set out the view of the German Government, but that what created difficulty was rather the 'conference' than the principle.

Whatever Germany may have meant by her words 'mediation in principle,' it must be admitted that she had stated fairly plainly that she did not desire a conference. The probability seems to be that she preferred to adopt a course, open to the name of mediation, consisting in advice to be given to Austria and Russia respectively by the friends of the one communicating

with the friends of the other and thus securing to herself a considerable power of reservation as to the advice which she was actually giving.

The Italian Foreign Secretary expressed his intention at once to urge at Berlin an exchange of views in London, and he suggested that the German Foreign Secretary might propose a formula acceptable to his Government. We have already seen that the British Government were suggesting the same privilege for Germany, so that she might have stated the case in any way that she desired for peaceful diplomatic solution if she had really preferred that to war.

On the 29th of July Sir E. Goschen had interviews with the German Chancellor and with the German Foreign Secretary, in which both these Ministers referred to the fact of their having given advice at Vienna, and the latter feared that this might have conveyed to Austria the idea that it was sought to bring pressure to bear upon her and had consequently only served to precipitate matters. He was troubled by rumours of mobilisation in Russia and of certain military measures in France. Sir E. Goschen tells us that the same day the Foreign Secretary spoke to the French Ambassador about these rumours, and that the latter stated that his Government had so far done nothing more than that which the German Government had done, namely, to recall officers on leave. The Foreign Secretary denied that Germany had done this, but, according to Sir E. Goschen, it had in fact been done.

The Chancellor in an interview with Sir E. Goschen that day expressed a hope that, from the fact that he had gone so far in the matter of giving advice at Vienna, the British Government would understand that he was sincerely doing all in his power to prevent danger of European complications. In a previous interview on the same day he had expressed his desire to co-operate with England, and had concluded the interview with the words 'A war between the Great Powers must be avoided.'

Let Germany have the benefit of all these assertions for what they are worth, but let us remember that they are mere statements of Counsel and the proofs of them are not vouchsafed. Let Germany have the advantage of all that she has stated in her defence, whether in her White Book or in any conversations recorded in our Blue Book, but as she has not chosen to give what is legally termed 'best evidence,' in the shape of the actual words transmitted to Vienna, she must not complain if the tribunal of humanity declines to lay much weight on this secondary evidence. Though, in order that the impartial judge may arrive at a conclusion as to where the responsibility for the outbreak of the war lies, it is of the utmost importance to put

before him the actual instructions given by the German Government to their Ambassador at Vienna, where the kernel of the conflict was believed to be, the German White Book does not set out a single telegram from the German Government to their Ambassador. It only sets out two telegrams from the Ambassador to his Government.

It is a matter for observation, though the importance is not the same, that the White Book sets out only five telegrams from the German Government to their Ambassador in London and not one from him to his Government.

Meanwhile Austria had refused to enter into direct discussion with Russia and had, on the 28th of July, declared war against Serbia. The same day the Russian Government telegraphed to their Ambassador in London the following message :

The Austrian declaration of war clearly puts an end to the idea of direct communications between Austria and Russia. Action by London Cabinet in order to set on foot mediation with a view to suspension of military operations of Austria against Servia is now most urgent.

If Russia had desired war it is very improbable that she would have, at this juncture, urged recourse to mediation. Thus, even the declaration of war against Serbia had by no means closed the door on peace. The documents bear evidence that even the opening of actual hostilities still would not have dispelled all prospect of peace if Austria and Germany had not persisted in ignoring any right on the part of Russia to express a voice in the dispute.

Mobilisation has already been mentioned. It was referred to as far back as the 24th of July by M. de Sazonow, the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs, in a conversation with our Ambassador at Petrograd immediately after the text of the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia had been received by him. On that occasion M. de Sazonow expressed himself strongly on the subject of Austria's action and hoped that the British Government would proclaim their solidarity with Russia and France. He considered that the Serbian question was part of the general European question. He said that he personally thought that mobilisation would have to be carried out, but that a council of Ministers, at which the Czar would preside, was to be held, probably the next day.

M. de Sazonow's disposition on this occasion would certainly appear to have been irate, but at least there seems not to have been any deception about it. The German White Book sets out a telegram of the same date from the German Ambassador at Petrograd to the Chancellor, which says :

The Secretary (Sazonow) indulged in unmeasured accusations towards Austria-Hungary and he was very much agitated. He declared most

positively that Russia could not permit under any circumstances that the Servo-Austrian difficulty be settled alone between the parties concerned.

Thus, at an early stage Russia gave a very clear indication not only of her attitude towards the question between Austria and Serbia but also of her determination in respect of it. The unfortunate thing was that, as appears from different passages in these various documents, Russia's determination in the matter, or her fitness to go to war, seems not to have been believed either at Vienna or Berlin. We have already seen that Russia, largely through British influence, was soon ready to take a calmer and, indeed, a conciliatory attitude. As stated by Sir M. de Bunsen, our Ambassador at Vienna, the Russian Ambassador there would seem to have shown a marked disposition towards conciliation and even concession. On the 27th of July he told Sir M. de Bunsen that he would advise the Russian Government to induce the Serbian Government to avoid any conflict as long as possible, and to fall back before an Austrian advance.

Indeed, even till a later period efforts at peace were being proposed from Italy and from here, and were receiving some general discussion on the basis of the limitation of Austrian hostilities to an occupation of Belgrade, to be followed by a general consideration of terms of settlement after Austria should have thus inflicted chastisement on Serbia. The already begun mobilisation appears to have been regarded as an obstacle, but notwithstanding her mobilisation there is evidence that Russia would have been ready to welcome the preservation of peace on such terms.

The German Ambassador, who appears, till a dangerously late period, to have been imbued with the idea that Russia was only 'bluffing,' had, at two o'clock on the morning of the 30th of July, an interview with M. de Sazonow, when, perceiving at last the imminence of war, he would seem to have had an attack of nerves. He appealed, as our Ambassador at Petrograd was informed, to M. de Sazonow to make some suggestion which he could telegraph to the German Government as a last hope, and the latter accordingly drew up and handed to him a formula, which, with an amendment afterwards made on British suggestion in pursuance of the last-mentioned proposal, ran as follows :

If Austria consents to stay the march of her troops on Servian territory, and if, recognising that the Austro-Servian conflict has assumed the character of a question of European interest, she admits that the Great Powers may examine the satisfaction which Servia can accord to the Austro-Hungarian Government without injury to her sovereign rights as a State and to her independence, Russia undertakes to preserve her waiting attitude.¹

¹ As originally framed the formula was : 'If Austria, recognising that her conflict with Servia has assumed character of question of European interest,

This formula was communicated to all the Powers on the 1st of August. There is no allusion to it in the German White Book.

We have digressed from the subject of mobilisation. We propose now to return to it and, with one signal exception, not to make further mention of overtures of peace touching the question in dispute.

On the 25th of July our Ambassador at Petrograd had a further interview with M. de Sazonow. His report of it to Sir E. Grey contains the following statements :

On my expressing the earnest hope that Russia would not precipitate war by mobilising until you had had time to use your influence in favour of peace, his Excellency assured me that Russia had no aggressive intentions, and she would take no action until it was forced upon her. Austria's action was in reality directed against Russia. She aimed at overthrowing the present *status quo* in the Balkans and establishing her own hegemony there. He did not believe that Germany really wanted war, but her attitude was decided by ours. If we took our stand firmly with France and Russia there would be no war.

In this conversation, which undoubtedly sounds much less conciliatory than Russia's conduct in fact was, M. de Sazonow obviously was actuated by a strong desire to induce England at once to declare herself wholly as Russia's partisan in the conflict, and therefore the seeming combativeness of his words is probably somewhat to be discounted. If England had done as he desired, she could hardly have claimed to be filling the rôle of impartial peacemaker. This was pointed out at the interview by our Ambassador, who reports further, as follows :

I said all I could to impress prudence on the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and warned him that if Russia mobilised Germany would not be content with mere mobilisation, or give Russia time to carry out hers, but would probably declare war at once. His Excellency replied that Russia could not allow Austria to crush Servia and become the predominant Power in the Balkans, and, if she feels secure of the support of France, she will face all the risks of war. He assured me once more that he did not wish to precipitate a conflict but that unless Germany could restrain Austria I could regard the situation as desperate.

The German White Book exhibits a telegram of the same date, namely, July 25, from the German Ambassador at Petrograd to the Chancellor, which reads as follows :

Message to H.M. from General von Chelius (German honorary aide-de-camp to the Czar) :

The manoeuvres of the troops in the Krasnoe camp were suddenly interrupted and the regiments returned to their garrisons at once. The manoeuvres have been cancelled. The military pupils were raised to-day

declares herself ready to eliminate from her ultimatum points which violate principle of sovereignty of Servia, Russia engages to stop all military preparations.'

to the rank of officers instead of next fall (autumn). At headquarters there obtains great excitement over the procedure of Austria. I have the impression that complete preparations for mobilisation against Austria are being made.

On the following day the Ambassador telegraphed again to the Chancellor :

The Military Attaché requests the following message to be sent to the General Staff: I deem it certain that mobilisation has been ordered for Kieff and Odessa. It is doubtful at Warsaw and Moscow and improbable elsewhere.

Whether the German Military Attaché was quite accurate in his surmise remains open to doubt, because on the next day the Ambassador telegraphs further, as follows :

Military Attaché reports a conversation with the Secretary of War: Sazonow has requested the latter to enlighten me on the situation. The Secretary for War has given me his word of honour that no order to mobilise has as yet been issued. Though general preparations are being made, no reserves were called and no horses mustered. If Austria crossed the Servian frontier such military districts as are directed towards Austria, viz. Kieff, Odessa, Moscow, Kazan, are to be mobilised. Under no circumstances those on the German frontier, Warsaw, Wilna, St. Petersburg. Peace with Germany was desired very much. Upon my inquiry into the object of mobilisation against Austria he shrugged his shoulders and referred to the diplomats. I told the Secretary that we appreciated the friendly intentions, but considered mobilisation even against Austria as very menacing.

Russia would seem to have made little secrecy about these movements. As already mentioned, on the following day, July 28, Austria declared war against Serbia. On that day M. de Sazonow telegraphed to the Russian Ambassador at Berlin saying that, in consequence of the declaration of war, the Russian Government would announce the following day mobilisation in the military circonscriptions of Odessa, Kieff, Moscow, and Kazan. He added : 'Please inform German Government, confirming the absence in Russia of any aggressive intention against Germany.'

On the day before Austria's declaration of war against Serbia, Sir E. Goschen telegraphed a conversation which he had had with the German Minister for Foreign Affairs, in which the latter stated that as yet Austria was only partially mobilising, but that if Russia mobilised against Germany the latter would have to follow suit. In reply to the question what he meant by 'mobilising against Germany,' he said that if Russia only mobilised in the south, Germany would not mobilise, but if she did so in the north, Germany would have to mobilise too, and that the Russian system of mobilisation was so complicated that it might be difficult to locate it.

After Germany had, on the 31st of July, presented an ultimatum to Russia requiring her within twelve hours to cease every measure of war against Germany and Austria—i.e. to demobilise—Sir E. Goschen had, on that same day, an interview with the German Minister for Foreign Affairs. He asked the Minister why the demand had been made even more difficult for Russia by its requiring demobilisation in the south as well. The Minister replied that this had been done in order to prevent Russia from saying that her mobilisation was only directed against Austria. Was this purely the reason, or was it mingled with a desire that by requiring total demobilisation a refusal of the ultimatum should be secured?

On the 30th of July the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs informed the Russian Ambassador that as Russia had mobilised Austria must do so too; but that should not be regarded as a threat, but merely as the adoption of military precautions similar to those which had been taken across the frontier. If the German Government could have contrived to take a like view, the war might have been avoided. It is true that their White Book tells us that they had at an earlier stage directed their Ambassador to make the following statement to Russia :

Preparatory military measures by Russia will force us to counter-measures which must consist in mobilising the army. But mobilisation means war.

These are grave words, but still words, and in the events there is good ground for believing that mobilisation need not in fact necessarily have meant war unless Germany was resolved that it should do so by declaring war.

The German White Book sets out a report of a conversation on the 29th of July which the German Military Attaché at Petrograd had with the Chief of the Staff of the Russian Army :

The Chief of the General Staff has asked me to call on him, and he has told me that he has just come from His Majesty. He has been requested by the Secretary for War to reiterate once more that everything had remained as the Secretary had informed me two days ago. He offered confirmation in writing, and gave me his word of honour in the most solemn manner that nowhere had there been a mobilisation, viz. calling in of a single man or horse up to the present time, i.e. three o'clock in the afternoon. He could not assume a guaranty for the future, but he could emphasise that in the fronts directed towards our frontiers His Majesty desired no mobilisation.

As, however, I had received here many pieces of news concerning the calling in of the reserves in different parts of the country, also in Warsaw and in Wilna. I told the General that his statements placed me before a riddle. On his officer's word of honour [i.e. on his word of honour as an officer] he replied that such news was wrong, but that possibly here and there a false alarm might have been given.

I must consider this conversation as an attempt to mislead us as to the extent of the measures hitherto taken in view of the abundant and positive information about the calling in of reserves.

On the 28th of July the telegrams between the Kaiser and the Czar began with one from the former. On the 31st of July telegrams from the one Sovereign to the other crossed, and according to the German White Book, where both telegrams are set out, each would seem to have been sent off at two o'clock in the afternoon. That from the Kaiser reads as follows :

Upon your [the second person singular is used throughout in each] appeal to my friendship and your request for my aid I have engaged in mediation between your Government and the Government of Austria-Hungary. While this action was taking place your troops were being mobilised against my ally Austria-Hungary, whereby, as I have already communicated to you, my mediation has become almost illusory. In spite of this I have continued it, and now I receive reliable news that serious preparations for war are going on on my eastern frontier. The responsibility for the security of my country forces me to measures of defence. I have gone to the extreme limit of the possible in my efforts for the preservation of the peace of the world. It is not I who bear the responsibility for the misfortune which now threatens the entire civilised world. It rests in your hand to avert it. No one threatens the honour and peace of Russia, which might well have awaited the success of my mediation. The friendship for you and your country, bequeathed to me by my grandfather on his deathbed, has always been sacred to me, and I have stood faithfully by Russia while it was in serious affliction, especially during its last war. The peace of Europe can still be preserved by you if Russia decides to discontinue those military preparations which menace Germany and Austria-Hungary.

While the Kaiser was thus telegraphing to the Czar, with more brevity the Czar was telegraphing to the Kaiser as follows :

I thank you cordially for your mediation which permits the hope that everything may yet end peaceably. It is technically impossible to discontinue our military preparations which have been made necessary by the Austrian mobilisation. As long as the negotiations between Austria and Servia continue my troops will undertake no provocative action. I give you my solemn word thereon. I confide with all my faith in the grace of God, and I hope for the success of your mediation in Vienna for the welfare of our countries and the peace of Europe.—Your cordially devoted,

NICOLAS.

In the afternoon of the same day, Friday, July 31, general mobilisation was ordered in Russia. In Germany the state of things which is officially called 'war danger' was proclaimed, and at midnight the ultimatum already mentioned, with a time limit of twelve hours, was presented to Russia. An ultimatum demanding an answer as to neutrality within eighteen hours was sent to France. Meanwhile conversations between the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Austrian Ambassador were being continued at Petrograd, and, as a result of them, on the

same day the following cheering communication was dispatched from Petrograd to London :

The Austro-Hungarian Ambassador declared the readiness of his Government to discuss the substance of the Austrian ultimatum to Servia. M. de Sazonow replied by expressing his satisfaction and said it was desirable that the discussions should take place in London with the participation of the Great Powers.

M. de Sazonow hoped that the British Government would assume the direction of these discussions. The whole of Europe would be thankful to them. It would be very important that Austria should meanwhile put a stop provisionally to her military action on Servian territory.

On the following day, August 1, this message was telegraphed by Sir E. Grey to our Ambassador at Berlin, and it was communicated to all the Powers. Nowhere in the German White Book is there any allusion to it. Whether the development mentioned in it could have been effective or not, it is hardly too much to say that the failure to make any mention of it in an official publication, proposing to relate accurately the history of the origin of the War, seems scarcely honest.

We have now reached the border of the last stage. Across it Germany stood forth alone, holding in her own hand the dwindled thread upon which hung the peace of Europe. She held enough to be able to snatch that peace from the vast pit into which it was about to fall. But Germany willed otherwise.

Berlin had become the pivot on which all revolved. The ally, Austria, could no longer be quoted as the cause. Not only was she declared to be now ready to do what before she had been unwilling to do, but she had already emphasised that her mobilisation was not a final rejection of efforts after peace. All the other Powers thought alike on this—except Germany.

On the fatal 1st of August our Ambassador at Berlin had a long interview with the German Minister for Foreign Affairs. He pointed out to him that if Austria and Russia, as was evident, were ready to discuss matters, and Germany did not desire war on her own account, it seemed only logical that Germany should hold her hand and continue to work for a peaceful settlement. The Minister answered that Austria's readiness to discuss was the result of German influence at Vienna, and, had not Russia mobilised against Germany, all would have been well. It is helpful here to call to mind that when, three days before, the German Chancellor was eagerly inquiring whether England would stand out of a war between Germany and France and Russia, if Germany would take nothing from France but her colonies, Russia had not as yet ordered general mobilisation.

The German ultimatum expired on the 1st of August at noon, and at two o'clock the Czar sent to the Kaiser a telegram, set out in the German White Book, which reads as follows :

I have received your telegram. I comprehend that you are forced to mobilise, but I should like to have from you the same guaranty which I have given you, viz. that these measures do not mean war, and that we shall continue to negotiate for the welfare of our two countries and the universal peace which is so dear to our hearts. With the aid of God it must be possible to our long-tried friendship to prevent the shedding of blood. I expect with full confidence your urgent reply.

The Kaiser replied :

I thank you for your telegram. I have shown yesterday to your Government the way through which alone war may yet be averted. Although I asked for a reply by to-day noon, no telegram from my Ambassador has reached me with the reply of your Government. I therefore have been forced to mobilise my army. An immediate clear and unmistakeable reply of your Government is the sole way to avoid endless misery. Until I receive this reply I am unable, to my great grief, to enter upon the subject of your telegram. I must ask most earnestly that you, without delay, order your troops, under no circumstances, to commit the slightest violation of our frontiers.

The last words are remarkable, seeing that about three hours earlier--namely, at 12.52 P.M., the German Government, according to their White Book, had dispatched to their Ambassador at Petrograd a declaration of war to be delivered that afternoon at 5 P.M. if no satisfactory answer to the ultimatum should meanwhile have been received. Thus, there could only have been a space of about two hours to apply to any possible violation of the frontier so 'earnestly' deprecated by the Kaiser.

Unless the Czar's telegram was a mere lying device, it clearly expressed the promise and intention not to commit any hostility. The day before M. de Sazonow had stated to the French and British Ambassadors that in no case would Russia be the first to begin hostilities. The German White Book makes the trivial statement that on that afternoon, the 1st of August, Russian troops crossed the German frontier, and immediately follows up this allegation by the hollow conclusion, in a separate paragraph : 'Thus Russia began the War with us.'

The conclusion is an untruthful statement, and if it were literally true, what value would it have in the light of a transmission from Berlin before one o'clock that day of a declaration of war to be presented at five o'clock?

According to a statement made that same day by the President of the French Republic to our Ambassador at Paris, German troops had already made an incursion on French soil. Early the next morning the German army invaded the neutral Grand Duchy of Luxemburg.

The War was for Germany the result of cool, careful calculations, beginning long before and uncovering their sordidness in the degrading proposal of neutrality made to us on the 29th of July. It is fairly clear that she did not desire a conflict with

us at present. She would have liked to have been allowed to deal with France and Russia without further obstacle, and, if victorious over them, to have been able to assign to us whatever position she should think fit.

We have now finished our comparison of the official publications of the two Governments, the British and the German. The one excites our admiration as a memorial of universal public spirit and of honest statesmanship. The other serves at least to show that even the not too candid publication of a biased Government admits the earnestness of the efforts made, not only by our Government, but also by the French, to preserve peace, thus giving the lie to later public statements that the War was a conspiracy—the outcome of jealousy—on the part of France, Russia, and ourselves, against Germany.

But the German White Book has also served, very effectively, another purpose—one which we had better realise. The German Government has by this and like means succeeded in absolutely convincing the German nation that it has been forced into war by aggressors. Even the most enlightened, sober and open-minded are imbued with this belief. The result is an attitude of remarkable keenness and determination throughout the whole nation, which is a great asset to a country at war.

The writer of an able article in a recent review has pointed out that Germany has always laid great weight on the *morale* not only of an army but of a nation, and having a high degree of self-estimation—a quality in which the Germans are by no means deficient—in this respect, she thinks that other nations are not a match for her.

There is no exaggeration in the reports of the adherence of the Social-Democrats. I have heard it from Saxon soldiers, artisans coming from the most active centre of Social-Democracy in Saxony, that kingdom where the party has always been strongest. A member of the military told me that on the first day of mobilisation, in a certain North German town where Social-Democracy is strong, extreme measures, including, if necessary, the shooting down of Social-Democrats, had been provided for, but it was found unnecessary to carry them out when the Social-Democrats marched into the town waving the red flag but singing national songs.

Thus, the German Government have not in vain told to the nation about the origin of the War a story which was dictated rather by a regard to expediency than to truth. For our part, it is well that we should realise the temper of a foe whom we must lay low just because he would so dearly love to lay us low.

R. S. NOLAN.

1914

*THE ULTIMATE DISAPPEARANCE OF
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY*

THE War, as far as the land campaign is concerned, may end in three different ways. It may end in the victory of Germany and of Austria-Hungary, it may lead to the exhaustion of the land Powers engaged in it, and may thus remain undecided, or it may result in the defeat of Germany and Austria-Hungary. In each of these three eventualities, the question as to the position and future of the Dual Monarchy will be of the very greatest interest and importance not only to all Europe but to the world.

The War has yielded a twofold surprise to all who are interested in military affairs. The Germans have fought far better, and the Austrians infinitely worse, than was generally expected. The Germans, after three months of warfare, are still fighting in the territories of their opponents. The combined land forces of France, Russia, Great Britain, and Belgium have not yet succeeded in driving them back within their own frontiers. The Austrian armies, on the other hand, have utterly collapsed. It was expected by the German General Staff that their allies would be able to hold back the Russian hosts from the Austro-German frontiers until the Germans had destroyed the French armies, taken Paris, and occupied the most valuable portions of France. Instead of this Austria has suffered at the hands of Russia the most disastrous defeat in her history, a defeat compared with which her defeat at Königgrätz and France's defeat at Sedan appear unimportant. Galicia, the Bukovina, and part of Hungary, districts inhabited by about 10,000,000 people and possessed of enormous resources of every kind, with Lemberg, the third largest Austrian town, have been overrun by Russia, and even the little army of poor and war-exhausted Serbia has utterly defeated the numerically far stronger Austrian forces sent against it. Prince Lichnowsky, referring to Austria-Hungary, said, not without reason, to a friend shortly before leaving London : 'Germany goes to war with a corpse hanging round her neck.'

Owing to the collapse of the Austrian army and the truly wonderful achievements of the Germans against heavy odds—

achievements which one could frankly admire, had the German soldiers by their brutality and unspeakable crimes not covered the German name with everlasting infamy—Germany has taken the conduct of war completely into her own hands and Austria has become a mere cypher. The Austrian army commanders and the Austrian Chief of the General Staff have been dismissed, and for all practical purposes the Austrian army has become an adjunct and a subordinate portion of the German army. Austria's dependence upon Germany was formerly disguised. Berlin did not wish to hurt the susceptibilities of Vienna, and allowed the Austrians to make a brave show and to pose as a Great Power. To humour their vanity, Austrian statesmen were permitted to 'lead off' when the War for the hegemony in Europe and the mastery of the world had been resolved upon in Berlin. But the relations between Germany and Austria-Hungary will never again resemble those which existed before the War. The rulers and people of the Dual Monarchy have become aware that they depend upon Germany's good will for their very existence. The German people, and especially the German officers, refer to beaten and decadent Austria with undisguised contempt. Austria's independence is a thing of the past. She is at present a German vassal.

If Germany should be victorious in the War on land, or if the campaign should end undecided, Austria-Hungary will continue to be a German appendage and for all practical purposes a subject State. There may still be an Austrian Emperor in Vienna, but he will be a German puppet, not only in all questions of foreign policy, but in domestic, administrative, and military matters as well. Germany will certainly not relinquish her present control over the Austrian army. *Machtpolitik*, the policy of power, will exact payment and punishment from Austria's weakness and failure. We must, therefore, reckon with the fact that if the War should end in a draw, Germany and Austria-Hungary will form a single State, possibly even in outward form. It is conceivable that Austria-Hungary will have to enter the German Federation. At any rate, it seems likely that the German Emperor will, in case of a drawn war, rule in the near future over 120,000,000 people and dispose of an active army of 12,000,000 men in case of war; that Pola, Fiume, and Cattaro will be German war harbours in addition to Kiel, Wilhelmshaven, and Emden; that a vigorous policy of Germanisation will take place throughout Austria-Hungary; that the Austrian Slavs will gradually become Germans; that the power of Germany will be doubled even if she should not be able to retain any of her conquests. If, on the other hand, Germany and Austria-Hungary should be victorious on land, Germany's pre-

dominance would become not merely European but world-wide. In that case, she would retain in the West all Belgium and a large part of Eastern France; and Holland, wedged into German territory, would undoubtedly be compelled to enter the German Federation. In the East she would annex Russian Poland, and the formerly German Baltic Provinces of Russia, Livland, Esthland, and Courland. In addition, Germany would very likely take the French colonies. Austria-Hungary would receive a portion of Western Russia and all Serbia, and she would probably punish Italy's desertion by once more converting Lombardy and Venetia into Austrian provinces. For all practical purposes Germany and Austria-Hungary would be a single State of 150,000,000 inhabitants, or more. As France and Russia would be crippled for many decades, the great German Empire would dominate the Balkan States and Turkey, and these would become German protectorates. Stretching from Calais, from Havre, or perhaps from Cherbourg, to the vicinity of Petrograd, and from the Italian plain to Constantinople, and to the lands beyond the Bosphorus far into Asia, Germany, together with her protectorates, would form a gigantic and compact State of more than 200,000,000 inhabitants. It would control the most valuable strategical positions in Europe and on the Mediterranean. It would dispose of unlimited armies, unlimited resources, and unlimited wealth. The Hohenzollerns would rule a State far larger than the Empire of Charlemagne. William the Second would rule the world, for the British Empire and the United States combined would scarcely be able to resist Germany for long. Although in the present War Great Britain should be victorious at sea, her ultimate downfall and that of the United States would probably be merely a question of time. Germany would rule the world, unless the power she had gained was wrested from her in a still greater war than the present one by the combined Anglo-Saxon, Latin, and Slav nations. A subordinate Austria-Hungary, which would vastly increase Germany's population and army and which, besides, would form a bridge between Germany and Constantinople, would evidently play a very important part in enabling Germany to recreate the Empire of Charlemagne.

The military weakness of Austria-Hungary and her internal divisions may lead to her absorption into Germany if the land war should prove indecisive or if it should end in a German victory. In either case, Austria-Hungary might gradually become a homogeneous, centralised, Prussianised, and powerful, though dependent, State, a kind of Greater Bavaria, and her accession would enormously increase Germany's power on land and sea.

However, it seems unlikely that Germany and Austria-Hungary will be victorious, or that the War will end in a draw. Russia has thrown as yet only a part, and the British Empire only a small fraction, of its full strength into the scales. Besides, Italy and Roumania may before very long act on the side of the Entente Powers, and their intervention would more than counterbalance Turkey's possible action in favour of Germany. In these circumstances it is worth while considering closely the future of Austria-Hungary in case of an Austro-German defeat.

Austria-Hungary is not a modern State but a medieval survival. Modern States are erected on the broad basis of a common nationality. In modern States, State and nation are synonymous terms, and the people feel that they constitute a single family in a world of strangers. In Austria-Hungary, as in Turkey, the State is not formed by a politically organised nation. Austria-Hungary, like Turkey, is a country which is inhabited not by a nation, but by a number of nations which have little in common and which hate and persecute one another.

The Habsburg family possesses certain very marked hereditary peculiarities. The hanging Habsburg lip and the long narrow jaws may be traced back through generation after generation as far as the fifteenth century. King Alphonso of Spain curiously resembles his great ancestor, the Emperor Charles the Fifth, who ruled four centuries ago. Certain traits of character of the Habsburg family are equally persistent, and among these the spirit of acquisitiveness is particularly marked. The Habsburgs have been the most successful family of matrimonial and land speculators known to history. While most dynasties rose to eminence by placing themselves at the head of great nations and by conducting successful wars of conquest, the Alsatian family of the Habsburgs rose from obscurity to the greatest power by acquiring territories in all parts of the world by judicious purchase, by exchange, and especially by highly profitable marriages. Spain and the countries of the New World were one of the dowries gathered in by the Habsburg princes. Four and a half centuries ago the witty Hungarian King Matthias Corvinus wrote the distich :

Bella gerant alii! Tu felix Austria nube.
Nam quae Mars aliis dat tibi regna Venus.

(Let other nations wage war! You, happy Austria, marry. For Venus will give you those lands which usually Mars bestows.) The Austrian Empire is not an Empire in the generally accepted sense of the term. It is the result of gigantic deals in land, and of equally gigantic matrimonial ventures. Since the earliest times the Habsburgs have cared for land, not for people. They

acquired lands right and left, regardless of the nationality of the inhabitants whom they got thrown in. Thus the Habsburgs ruled at one time or another not only the ten nations which constitute Austria-Hungary, but Switzerland, Burgundy, Lorraine, Germany, Holland, Belgium, Italy, Spain, Portugal, North Africa, and the countries of the New World as well. Austria-Hungary is the residue of a much larger fortuitous collection of States and nations. Recognising that Austria-Hungary is neither a State nor a nation, but a collection of States and nations, Austrian rulers speak habitually of their peoples, not of their people, and of their lands, not of their land. The curious genesis of the Habsburg monarchy, and the fact that the so-called Dual Monarchy is in reality a multiple monarchy, is apparent from the title of its ruler, who is called Emperor of Austria, Apostolic King of Hungary, King of Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, Galicia, Lodomiria and Illyria, King of Jerusalem, Archduke of Austria, Grand Duke of Toscana and Cracow, Duke of Lorraine, Duke of Salzburg, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, the Bukovina, of Upper and Lower Silesia, Modena, Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla, Prince of Transylvania, Margrave of Moravia, Princely Count of Tyrol, etc., etc., etc.

The peoples of Austria-Hungary are organised in two self-governing States, Austria and Hungary. These are loosely connected by various links, and Bosnia and Herzegovina are a joint possession of the two States. If, for simplicity's sake, we credit each of these States with one half of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina, we find that their racial composition is as follows :

	Population of Austria and Half of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1910		Population of Hungary and Half of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1910
Germans . . .	9,950,000	Magyars . . .	10,051,000
Czechs . . .	6,436,000	Roumanians . . .	2,949,000
Poles . . .	4,968,000	Germans . . .	2,037,000
Ruthenians . . .	3,519,000	Serbians . . .	2,006,000
Slovenes . . .	1,253,000	Slovacks . . .	1,968,000
Serbians . . .	1,683,000	Croatians . . .	1,833,000
Italians . . .	768,000	Ruthenians . . .	473,000
Roumanians . . .	275,000		
Magyars . . .	11,000		
	<hr/> 28,863,000		<hr/> 21,317,000

The ten nations enumerated in this table speak ten different languages—the Serbians and Croats are one race and differ only in religion—and each of them has a strongly marked character and individuality of its own.

A composite State which is peopled by different races can be ruled comparatively easily either on democratic or on autocratic lines; democratically if the different races have full self-govern-

ment as they have in Switzerland and Canada, and autocratically if the ruling race constitutes the majority of the population. Austria is ruled by the Germans and Hungary by the Magyars. The Germans of Austria form about one third of the population. The Magyars are apparently about one half of the population of Hungary; but their number is greatly overstated. In their anxiety to Magyarise Hungary and to make a good show, they have manipulated the census statistics, as will be shown later on. Hungary has in reality only between 7,000,000 and 8,000,000 *bona fide* Magyars. In other words, the ruling race, both in Austria and in Hungary, constitutes only a minority. In both halves of the Dual Monarchy one third of the people rule over the remaining two thirds. That is not a healthy state of affairs.

Austria and Hungary, like their ally Germany, are nominally constitutionally governed limited monarchies endowed with representative government and all the usual trappings of democracy. In reality Austria-Hungary, like Germany, is an autocracy which is governed by the ruler and for the ruler under the observation of certain Parliamentary forms. In Austria-Hungary and in Germany the Emperor is the State. The Austrian Emperor, like the German Emperor, directs the entire machinery of the government and administration in accordance with his will. Thus in Austria-Hungary, as in Germany, the bureaucracy is the State, and the officials are the servants of the Emperor-King who appoints and dismisses them. Parliament has no power whatever over the administrative apparatus. The people of the Dual Monarchy are ruled with the assistance of the Civil Service, the army, the exceedingly powerful political police, which spies upon every citizen, the law courts, the school, the church, and the press, and all seven are government institutions controlled by the Emperor. Church and press are no exception to the rule. In Germany the Emperor is the official head, the Pope, of the Protestant State Church. That perhaps accounts for his intimate relations with the Deity. The Austrian Church is Roman Catholic. Its head is nominally the Pope, but in reality it is the Emperor. In a decree published by the Emperor Leopold the Second on the 3rd of March 1782 we read :

Although the priest's province is the cure of souls, he must also be considered as a citizen and as a State official engaged in religious work, for he can directly and indirectly exercise the greatest political influence over the people by working upon their feelings.

It may sound strange, but it is a fact that in Austria the Church is a branch of the bureaucracy. The Press of the Dual Monarchy is Government-inspired, Government-subsidised,

Government-muzzled, and Government-controlled to a far greater extent than it is in Germany. Every Department of State has a Press bureau of its own, and enormous sums are spent by the Government upon the Austrian Press. The judges of the Dual Monarchy, being a part of the Civil Service, possess no real independence. That may be seen by their disgraceful partisan behaviour in political prosecutions, in which they frequently browbeat, fine, and expel from the court not only the witnesses for the defence but even the defending solicitors.

Austria-Hungary is governed by absolutism, and absolutism can be successfully maintained only if the people are weak and ignorant. Endeavouring to keep the people in ignorance and subjection, the Austrian rulers have habitually favoured the Roman Catholic Church and opposed education. Guided by the principle 'Cujus regio, ejus et religio' they have persecuted Protestantism in the most savage manner, recognising in it a revolt of the people against established authority. Herein lies the reason that, although Protestantism took powerful root in the Dual Monarchy in the time of Huss, there are in Austria at present only 588,686 Protestants, as compared with no fewer than 25,949,627 Roman Catholics. While the Austrian people are poor, the Austrian Church is exceedingly wealthy and powerful. Illiteracy in Austria-Hungary is very great. From the latest issue of the *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften* we learn that of 10,000 recruits only 3 are illiterate in Germany, 2200 are illiterate in Austria, and 2590 in Hungary. Among the oppressed nationalities, for instance, in the Slavonic parts of Austria and Hungary, illiteracy rises to 7000 among every 10,000 recruits. While the Austrian Government always discouraged knowledge and independence among the people, keeping them down by means of the officials, the police, and the Church, it endeavoured to prevent popular dissatisfaction by encouraging amusement and not discouraging vice. The Austrian towns, which might become hotbeds of revolution, are the gayest and at the same time the most immoral towns in Europe. In 1910 of all the children born alive 18.25 per cent. were illegitimate in Upper Austria, 21.9 in Lower Austria, 23.0 in Styria, 23.6 in Salzburg, and 35.6 in Carinthia. In Vienna the percentage of illegitimate births is on an average about forty, according to the official statistics. Possibly they underestimate the facts.

While, for the sake of making their peoples obedient, the Austrian rulers forced them by the most savage persecution into a religious uniformity, they had no desire to weld them together into one nation. The old principle of the Habsburg monarchy is 'Divide et impera.' Francis the Second, who ruled

Austria at the time of the Congress of Vienna, said to the French Ambassador :

My peoples are strangers to each other. That is all the better. They do not catch the same political disease at the same time. If the fever takes hold of you in France all of you catch it. Hungary is kept in order by Italian troops, and Italy is kept down by Hungarians. Everybody keeps his neighbour in order. My peoples do not understand each other, and hate each other. Their antipathies make for security and their mutual hatreds for the general peace.

Absolutism is maintained by fear. Absolute rulers in the East and the West habitually distrust their principal advisers, fearing that their power may become too great. Actuated by fear and distrust the Austrian rulers have usually entrusted the government of the country to mediocrities and nonentities, and have treated with ingratitude the public servants who had rendered the greatest services to their country. If Austria-Hungary entered upon a war in which she was absolutely certain of victory, her armies were commanded by a member of the ruling house so that the dynasty should receive new glory. If she was likely to lose, the command was given to officers who were afterwards dismissed and disgraced for their incompetence. Generals von Auffenberg, Dankl, and Conrad von Hötzendorff have shared the fate of General von Benedek, who was defeated at Königgrätz, while Admiral Tegethoff was very badly treated by the Government because he unexpectedly defeated the far stronger Italian fleet at Lissa and was made a hero by the people. Austria's stagnation is largely due to the fact that she has usually been governed and administered by mediocrities and that her armies have been entrusted to military nonentities in time of war.

Austria-Hungary curiously resembles ancient Spain. In both countries we have seen rulers actuated by tyranny, treachery, cruelty, and jealousy. After all, the Spanish and Austrian dynasties are closely related. Both possess the same traditions and the same unbending Court ceremonial. Austria-Hungary, like ancient Spain, pursues not a national but a purely dynastic policy. The people are merely pawns and they are exploited, oppressed, and treated with perfidy and ingratitude. The attitude of the Austrian rulers towards their subjects will be apparent from a few examples out of many. In 1690 the Emperor Leopold the First invited 200,000 Serbs to leave their country and to settle in Austria. They were to clear the Eastern frontier provinces of the Turks and to defend them against Ottoman aggression. They were promised freedom of religion and their nationality was to be respected. During one hundred and sixty years the Serbs and their descendants fought Austria's battles against the Turks. They fought for Austria in Italy and on the

Rhine. Notwithstanding Austria's promises, they were deprived of their leaders and forcibly denationalised. Their religion was suppressed, the building of Serbian churches and convents was prohibited, and during a century printing in the Serbian language was not allowed. The books required for religious service had to be copied by hand as late as the nineteenth century. The Serbian saints were excluded from the calendar, and on the sacred days of their Church Serbs were purposely sent to forced labour. These persecutions drove thousands of Serbs from Austria to Russia and even to Turkey, where at least they were allowed to practise their religion.

During the struggles of the Serbians with the Turks a century ago Austria disregarded their pitiful appeal for help, betrayed them to the Turks and forced them into surrender to them by closing against them the Austrian frontier, whence alone they could obtain food. During the Revolution of 1848 the Roman Catholic Serbs of Austria, the Croatians, loyally aided the Emperor against the Hungarian revolutionists, defeated them and reconquered Vienna. Yet after the suppression of the Hungarian revolution they were handed over to Hungary to be ill-used and oppressed. The Roumanians, who also had loyally supported their Emperor against the rebellious Magyars, were likewise handed over to their enemies, their protests notwithstanding. When the revolution broke out in Hungary, the Austrian officers stationed there were treated with the greatest duplicity by the Austrian Government. Believing that the Hungarians would succeed in making themselves independent, and fearing their hostility, the Austrian Government wished to keep them quiet and encouraged the Austrian officers in Hungary to take service under the Hungarian Government in order to allay its suspicions. A little later when, with the help of Russia, Austria succeeded in defeating the Hungarian armies, she had many of the deluded Austrian officers executed for high treason.

A king or emperor who rules over a number of different nationalities will, for convenience' sake, make one of their languages the official language of the Government. The Austrian Habsburgs, being German princes, not unnaturally made German the official language and handed over to the Austro-Germans the government of the Austrian peoples and the administration of their lands. German became the language of the upper classes, and of literature, for until lately only the upper classes in Austria could read and could afford to buy newspapers and books. Not very long ago the Magyar, Czech, Polish, Serbian, Roumanian, Ruthenian, Slovenian, and Slovak languages, which now have a great and glorious literature, were hardly more than rude local patois used only by the common people. Books in

most of these languages did not exist. The official language of the Magyars was Latin and German. The debates of the Hungarian Parliament were conducted in a mongrel Latin until a short time ago.

Joseph the Second, who ruled from 1765 to 1790, was an enthusiast and a great admirer of Frederick the Great, his contemporary. Animated, perhaps, by a premonition of the rise of a great German State outside Austria, he endeavoured to Germanise his numerous non-German possessions. He strove to Germanise the people of the monarchy by forcing upon them a centralised German administration and the German language. Acting clumsily and high-handedly, he outraged the non-German peoples and brought about a revival of their languages. Patriotic native philologists began to study the non-German patois and to elevate them into a language by purifying them. Languages which had apparently died were painfully constructed out of the debris at hand. Polish, Magyar, Czech, and other writers created a great and beautiful literature in their revived languages. The cultured Magyars abandoned Latin and German for Magyar, and the leaders of the other nationalities also took to their rediscovered national languages. The current of nationalism could not be stemmed. The nationalities acquired race consciousness and race pride. The rapidity with which the non-German languages have progressed even during the most recent times will be seen from the following figures which are taken from an official Austrian publication, *Statistische Rückblicke auf Oesterreich*, which was published in Vienna in 1913.

Newspapers and Periodicals printed in Austria.

	German	Czech and Slovak	Polish	Ruthenian	Slovenian	Italian	Various	Total Non-German
1882	912	176	89	24	27	85	65	466
1892	1252	374	108	24	30	67	90	693
1902	1817	631	238	41	57	99	92	1158
1912	2492	1209	389	65	96	130	153	2042

Between 1882 and 1912 the number of papers and periodicals of the Czechs increased sevenfold and those of the Poles more than fourfold. In 1882 there were two German papers and periodicals to every single non-German one in Austria. In 1912 the number of German and non-German papers and periodicals had become nearly equal. The huge increase of the Czech papers and periodicals is particularly noteworthy. It has been far greater than that of the other nationalities, because the reawakened nationalism has grown particularly vigorously in Bohemia, where formerly it had been most ruthlessly suppressed.

The nationalities had been murmuring for many years against Austrian misrule, and the German-Austrians also had become more and more dissatisfied with the reactionary and oppressive methods of government which Metternich had introduced after the downfall of Napoleon in 1815. The great revolution of 1848 shook the monarchy to its very foundations. The German, Italian, and Hungarian lands rose in arms. The Emperor and Prince Metternich had to flee from Vienna. The revolution was overcome with the greatest difficulty and with terrible bloodshed, and the reconquered lands were treated with the utmost barbarity by the victors. In 1859 the Italians rose once more against their Austrian oppressors and, with the help of France, wrested Lombardy from them. Still Italy remained dissatisfied, for Austria retained Venetia. A second war with Italy was likely. Since the early sixties, and especially since the time when Bismarck had become Prussia's Prime Minister, Prussia had begun to arm with feverish haste and was doubling her military forces. Her attitude towards Austria became more and more menacing. It was clear to all Austrians that before long the Monarchy might have to fight a war on two fronts. In these circumstances it was, of course, most important that Austria, when at war in the South and the North, should not be attacked in the rear by the Hungarians under Kossuth's leadership. A reconciliation between Austria and Hungary was urgently required, and Vienna began to move. Austria's necessity was Hungary's opportunity. In the third volume of Kossuth's memoirs, on page 649, there is a report from Budapest dated August 16, 1861, in which we read :

The Vienna Court will not give way, but is embarking upon new and desperate experiments. In the meantime the difficulties with which it is faced are constantly increasing. Its power keeps on diminishing and at last a moment will arrive when it will have to fulfil all that Hungary desires merely in order to save the Habsburg dynasty.

Kossuth's forecast came true. Before 1866, when Prussia and Italy together made war upon Austria, the Magyar leaders were promised self-government. Austria was defeated by Prussia, but she prepared everything for an early war of revenge in which she reckoned upon the support of France. To defeat Prussia it was necessary to satisfy the wishes of the Magyars and to convert them from opponents into staunch and reliable supporters with the least delay. In the year following her defeat the negotiations between Vienna and Budapest were hastily concluded. By the Ausgleich, the compromise, of 1867, the monarchy was cut in two. Vienna was to rule Austria and Budapest Hungary. The Ausgleich established the Dual system. Henceforth there was to be an Empire of Austria, and a self-governing

Kingdom of Hungary. The monarchy became a Dual Monarchy. The non-Magyar nations in Hungary were handed over to the tender mercies of the Magyars, while the Austro-Germans continued to rule over the non-German races of Austria.

The Magyars had revolted against alien rule. They had claimed self-government in the name of equality, liberty, and justice. However, as soon as they had obtained self-government, they denied to the non-Magyar nations of Hungary that liberty, equality, and justice which they had claimed for themselves as a natural right. A German minority oppressed and persecuted a non-German majority in the Austrian half of the monarchy, and a Magyar minority introduced worse than Austrian methods of government in the Hungarian half. However, the Austrian Germans and Hungarian Magyars did not persecute and oppress all the other nationalities, but, faithful to the principle 'Divide et Impera,' endeavoured to weaken them by giving favours here and there and setting them against one another. The Poles in Galicia were protected by the Austrians because their good will would be precious in case of a war with Russia. At the same time, they allowed the Poles to oppress the neighbouring Ruthenians, so that the hostility of the Ruthenians could be used as a counterpoise if the Poles should become too overbearing. Hungary patronised the Serbo-Croats for similar reasons.

The Ausgleich of 1867 divided Austria-Hungary into two States, but it did not bring about a final settlement between the two leading races. Hungary aimed at full equality with Austria, if not at supremacy. Austria, which hitherto had been supreme, resisted Hungary's claims and endeavoured to keep the control of the foreign policy of the Dual Monarchy in her own hands, notwithstanding Hungary's objections. In numerous matters of national concern Vienna required the consent of Budapest, and every Austrian demand was used by the Magyars as a means for extorting fresh concessions from their unwilling partner. Year by year the friction between the two countries increased. Year by year the feelings between Austrians and Magyars became more bitter. The Hungarians openly threatened to make themselves entirely independent of Austria, and to leave her in the lurch. On many occasions they showed their determination to achieve complete supremacy and make Austria a subordinate State. On the 1st of October 1909, for instance, the Hungarian Minister, Count Albert Apponyi, published a decree addressed to the educational authorities, demanding that in books and maps the words 'Austro-Hungarian Monarchy' should everywhere be replaced by the words 'Hungary and Austria.' Austrians and Magyars, Vienna and Budapest loathe each other. In 1910 Austria-Hungary had in round figures 50,000,000

inhabitants. Of these about 18,000,000, the Germans in Austria and the Magyars in Hungary, form the ruling nations—the 2,000,000 Germans in Hungary are left out because they are oppressed by the Magyars—and these rule over 32,000,000 people, the subject nationalities. Now the two ruling nations are divided into 10,000,000 Germans and 8,000,000 Magyars who hate each other with the fiercest hatred, while they themselves are equally bitterly hated by the various nationalities which they try to keep down. Hobbes' 'Bellum omnium contra omnes' prevails in the Dual Monarchy. The Dual Monarchy is a Dual Anarchy, and the anarchy which prevails in the country is largely responsible for its defeats. A State which is inhabited by ten different nations, which persecute and hate one another, cannot progress in peace and cannot offer a united front against an enemy in war.

The inter-racial relations in Austria-Hungary are most complicated. As a full and adequate account would require a book, I will briefly deal with the position of only the more important nationalities, and especially those which are most likely to be directly affected by the present War.

Galicia is inhabited by Poles and Ruthenians. The Poles, as has been previously stated, are the ruling element in Galicia, for they have been allowed by Austria to oppress the Ruthenians and they have been given a good deal of freedom. On the 5th of August, the Grand Duke Nicholas, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian forces, addressed the following appeal to the Poles in Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary :

Poles, the hour has sounded when the sacred dream of your fathers and your forefathers may be realised. A century and a half has passed since the living body of Poland was torn in pieces, but the soul of the country is not dead. It continues to live, inspired by the hope that there will come for the Polish people an hour of resurrection and of fraternal reconciliation with Great Russia. The Russian Army brings you the solemn news of this reconciliation which obliterates the frontiers dividing the Polish peoples, which it unites conjointly under the sceptre of the Russian Czar. Under his sceptre Poland will be governed again, free in her religion and her language. Russian autonomy only expects from you the same respect for the rights of the nationalities to which history has bound you. With open heart and brotherly hand Great Russia advances to meet you. She believes that the sword with which Poland struck down her enemies at Grünwald has not yet rusted. From the shores of the Pacific to the North Sea the Russian Armies are marching. The dawn of a new life is beginning for you, and in this glorious dawn is seen the sign of the Cross, the symbol of suffering and of the resurrection of peoples.

The 5,000,000 Austrian Poles receive preferential treatment from Austria, and they have little reason to be dissatisfied with their present position. Still, if Russia carries out her programme

and reconstitutes the ancient Kingdom of Poland, the Galician Poles will scarcely care to be left out. Polish independence is bound to prove more attractive than the privileges which they receive at present from Austria, and which may be withdrawn. Besides, the Galician Poles remember the wrongs which they have suffered at Austria's hands. They remember not only the partition of Poland, but also the sanguinary agricultural risings and the fearful butcheries which Austria perpetrated in Galicia in order to weaken the Poles, and the infamous extinction of the Republic of Cracow in 1846. After the Revolution of 1848 the Poles were treated worse than ever. Only after her defeat of 1866 did Austria give them greater freedom. If the Allies should be victorious, the loss of the Polish districts of Austria seems inevitable.

Germans and Austrians have frequently told us that the Poles are unfit to govern themselves, that they are unprogressive, wasteful, unthrifty, dirty and drunken. These arguments as to Poland's unfitness to govern herself can best be refuted by the following most remarkable figures :

Polish Co-operative Societies.

—	Number	Members	Share Capital	Deposits	Loans Outstanding
1900	420	297,607	£ 1,079,929	£ 12,420,057	£ 12,047,717
1904	849	509,168	2,370,613	19,652,581	20,165,980
1909	1812	916,476	4,439,337	34,944,184	39,048,734
1912	2686	1,307,120	6,309,926	46,970,354	55,203,622

These most remarkable figures are taken from Michalski's book *Les Sociétés Coopératives Polonaises* (Lemberg 1914). They refer to all Poland, and they show that the co-operative movement, the best test of a nation's providence and progress, has made enormous strides among the Poles. In the short space of twelve years the number of Polish co-operators has more than quadrupled, the share capital of the Societies has increased about sixfold, and the deposits, which represent chiefly the savings of poor people, have increased from £12,420,057 to no less than £46,970,354. People who display such remarkable prudence in their own affairs may be entrusted with self-government.

The 3,500,000 Ruthenians who inhabit Southern Galicia and the neighbouring districts of Hungary are part of the great Slav family. They are part of the 'Little Russians,' who dwell in South Russia in the Ukraine. Desiring to weaken Russia, Austria-Hungary has lately discovered that the Ukrainians are

a separate race and possess an ancient history and language. The Austrian Government, which is not at all desirous to stimulate nationalism in its own borders, has suddenly become a passionate advocate of the national and linguistic claims of the Ukrainians. In the realm of the Habsburgs the end justifies the means. Men who are the enemies of nationalism in their own country have passionately championed the national claims of Albania and the Ukraine. Government money has been spent without stint in placing the claims of the Albanian and the Ukrainian nations before the public of the principal countries, by expensive illustrated books, articles, lectures, letters to the Press, etc. Besides, Austria has thoughtfully established Ruthenian professorships at the Lemberg University. The Austrians have become enthusiastic about the Ukrainian nationality in the hope of producing a split among the Russians. According to Government-paid Austrian writers, South-western Russia, with Kiev, is Ukrainian, and claims, rightly, an individuality and an independent national existence. The Austrian Government has raised the Ukrainian question in order to foment troubles in Russia. Its attempts are likely to prove unsuccessful. The Ruthenians and their Russian neighbours across the frontier are one people, and their reunion after an Austro-German defeat is inevitable.

Until 1866 all the non-German nationalities in Austria were brutalised by the ruling race. Austrian persecution was most severely felt and most bitterly resented by that highly gifted and energetic Slav race, the unfortunate Czechs of Bohemia. The Bohemian Czechs have been ill-treated by Austria during many centuries. Johann Huss, following in Wycliffe's footsteps, introduced the Reformation there about the year 1400, partly as a protest against the degradation of the Roman Catholic Church, partly, and probably chiefly, as a protest against German domination and German brutality. Huss died a martyr. The Reformation in Bohemia was suppressed with the greatest savagery, and Bohemia was totally devastated. Germans were settled among the Czechs, Roman Catholic dragoons were quartered upon Protestant Bohemians in order to 'convert' them. The Czechs were treated as helots by the Germans settled among them up to a very recent date. When the Prussian armies invaded Bohemia in 1866 they endeavoured to raise the Czechs against the Austrians by addressing to them the following proclamation :

Inhabitants of the Glorious Kingdom of Bohemia!

In consequence of the war, which has been caused against our wishes by the Emperor of Austria, we enter your country not as enemies and conquerors, but full of respect for your historic and national rights. To the inhabitants, without regard of their calling, religion, and nationality, we bring not war and destruction, but consideration and friendship. Do

not believe, as your enemies will tell you, that we have brought about this war through lust of conquest. Austria has forced us to fight by threatening to attack us. But believe us that we have not the slightest intention to oppose your just desire for independence and for unrestrained national development.

Remembering the heavy and almost unbearable burdens which the Government has placed upon you in preparing for this war, we shall not impose additional taxes, nor shall we ask you to act against your convictions. We shall respect and honour particularly your holy religion. At the same time we shall not tolerate open resistance, and must punish severely all treasonable acts. We leave the issue of the war confidently to the Lord of Hosts. *If our just cause should prove victorious, the moment may perhaps arrive when the national aspirations of the Bohemians and Moravians may be fulfilled in the same way in which those of the Hungarians have been fulfilled, and then may Providence establish their happiness for all time.*

The proclamation is very interesting because it throws a strong light not only upon the dissatisfaction existing in Bohemia, but also upon Prussian methods of warfare.

Of the 6,700,000 inhabitants of Bohemia, 4,240,000, or about two thirds, are Czechs and Slovaks, and the remaining third are Germans. In the neighbouring land of Moravia, which lies to the East of Bohemia, approximately the same proportion of Germans and Slavs obtains. Although the Czechs form the great majority of the inhabitants of Bohemia, their language was suppressed until recently. German was the official language used throughout Bohemia in the law courts and elsewhere. German inscriptions were to be seen in the Czech villages and towns. To the casual visitor, Bohemia seemed to be a German land. Step by step the Czechs have ousted the Germans. To-day Prague, that old stronghold of Germanism, is a Czech town. So great is the hatred between Czechs and Germans that there is practically no intercourse between the two nations. A German will not enter a Czech restaurant or hotel in Prague, nor will a Czech enter a German place of entertainment. The two nations have separate schools, theatres, concert rooms, banks, savings banks, co-operative societies, etc. At the German University of Prague there were in 1910-11 1726 German students and only eighty-six Czechs. At the Czech University of Prague there were in the same year 4225 Czechs and only nine Germans. At the German Technical High Schools of Prague there were 880 Germans and thirty-seven Czechs. At the corresponding Czech establishments there were 2686 Czechs and ten Germans. In Bohemia the two nationalities follow the policy of segregation, because the Czechs absolutely refuse to associate with Germans. A similar policy of non-intercourse is noticeable between the Poles and Ruthenians at the Cracow University, where there were in 1910-11 71 Poles and only thirty-four Ruthenians.

By their strength of character and strength of intellect, and by their great artistic and scientific achievements, the Czechs have become the leading nation among the Austrian Slavs. Their intellectual pre-eminence may be seen from the extent and from the wonderful progress of their Press, regarding which figures have been furnished on another page. The Czechs occupy a most important position in the Dual Monarchy. Owing to its mines,

fruitful soil, and its very highly developed industries, Bohemia is the most valuable possession of Austria, and the Dual Monarchy would lose it most unwillingly. Besides, Bohemia occupies a most valuable strategical position. Bohemia, with its surrounding mountain walls, is a strong natural fortress, and it lies on the direct route from Berlin to Vienna. At present Bohemia respects Germany and Austria, Berlin and Vienna. An independent Bohemia would separate the two States and their capitals. Austria-dependent Bohemia and Moravia would border to the east ship, in independent Poland. Prussia, which at present is in their with Austria through Silesia and Bohemia, would be Austria'd from the German districts of Austria by a solid wall have ethnic nations if Poland, Moravia, and Bohemia should schools-independent States. In that case the German parts of have tr'would be in contact with Germany only by means of rule for That is an important fact, the political and strategical

Owing of which will presently be considered.
bitterest inhabitants of Bohemia and Moravia, two thirds, as Unrede said, are Slavs, and one third are Germans. The and free form a broad fringe along the Austro-German frontier. the one future frontiers of Bohemia should be determined on a brothers sis, about one third of its territory should fall to Ger- the wou't might perhaps fall to the Kingdom of Saxony upon war with orders, and which then would regain some of its former Verso la of which it was deprived by Prussia exactly a cen-

I believe After the War the Southern States of Germany may us. We ha'ngthening against Prussia, so as to create a balance Austria-Hu'within Germany.

towards ou' Czechs have at last conquered for themselves a pos- that Aust' which they can freely use their language and develop Emperor, Hungary, individuality, and as their influence in Austria-Hungary, Austria's yet is not great, is bound to increase, they may hesi- will be cut the connexion with Austria, especially as their manu- trium, ting industries depend very largely upon the Austrian market two r.

The sale of their productions. The action of Bohemia will probably largely depend upon that of the other nationalities. An isolated Bohemia and Moravia, being shut off from the sea, would politically, militarily and especially economically occupy a very

exposed and insecure position, unless it could enter into a federation with some of its neighbours.

South of Bohemia lie the German districts of Austria. These extend in a solid block from Switzerland and Bavaria in the west to a line about thirty miles east of Vienna. The southern border of Bohemia forms the northern frontier of the German territory of Austria, and the River Drau its southern limit. Austria and Moravia should cut themselves off from Germany. At Austria, the physical connexion between German Austria and Prussia would be destroyed, while direct contact between Germany and Bavaria would be retained. Bavaria and her neighbour Baden are the most strongly Roman Catholic State in Germany. Of their joint population of 9,000,000, a 6,100,000, or two thirds, are Roman Catholics. The easy sympathise far more with the people of Bavaria than with the overbearing Prussians. An organic connexion of German Austria, Bavaria, and Baden, would give 20,000,000 inhabitants to German Austria, and would spondingly weaken the power of Prussia for mischief, which lies to block of nations might be joined by the remaining South German States, Würtemberg, Saxony, and the rest, and thus even balance of power might be produced in Germany. Their language was German race would be divided into almost equal halves, in character, religion and tradition, and possessing different capitals. They would be extremely powerful for their language used in towns. To but would presumably be less dangerous for an attack uniting with Bavaria and Baden, Austria would border the Rhine. She would occupy once more a position of great strategic importance, not only towards Russia and the Balkan Peninsula, but also towards France. That should secure the peace of Europe and of the world.

In e, nor will a Czech

In the south, Austria possesses two almost pure districts : the Italian Tyrol, with towns such as Trento, Ala, Bondo, Borgo, etc., and the western part of a narrow strip of the Adriatic coast with Trieste, Capodistria, Zara, Sebenico, Spalato, Ragusa, Cattaro, etc. The names of the towns mentioned show their Italian origin. At the German possession of the Italian Tyrol is a matter of vital importance towards the North by a crescent of mountain walls, the Italy is protected by that powerful barrier against invasion from France and Switzerland. But by retaining the Italian Tyrol, Trentino, after withdrawing from Italy, and by occupying the mountain passes down to the foot of the mountains as far as the Lago di Garda, Austria occupies with her army a wide breach in Italy's ramparts. Thus she can easily invade the country and

strike at Verona, Padua and Venice by marching to the east, or at Brescia and Milan by turning to the west. While the east coast of Italy is flat and open, the opposite coast of the Adriatic, occupied by Austria, is studded with an abundance of excellent natural harbours, the entrance to which is protected by high mountains and by mountainous islands lying in front of it.

The positions occupied by Austria in the Trentino, in Istria, and in Dalmatia, threaten Italy's security in the north and east, and Italy is all the more reluctant to see them remaining in Austria's hands, as they are largely inhabited by Italians, who are very badly treated by the Austrians. Possibly the recent disastrous fire at the Monfalcone dockyard was caused by the resentment of the ill-treated Italians who live in Austrian territory. Many of these unfortunate people, although born in Austrian territory, are not allowed to acquire Austrian citizenship, and they may, and often are, expelled without notice from their homes without adequate reason. Ever since 1866 the Austrians have persecuted the Italians dwelling in Austria, and have endeavoured to destroy their nationality by denying them schools, colleges, and a university. Apparently the Austrians have tried to punish the Italians who have remained under their rule for the loss of Lombardy and Venetia.

Owing to Austria's foolish policy, Italy is filled with the bitterest hatred against the Austrians. The Irredenta Italia, Unredeemed Italy, is in the thoughts of every patriotic Italian, and frequent Austrian outrages on Italians living in Austria, on the one hand, and Italian passionate agitation in favour of their brothers who live under the Austrian yoke, on the other, keep the wound open. Many Italian societies and newspapers preach war with Austria. Signor Pellegrini wrote in his important book, *Verso la Guerra?—Il dissidio fra l'Italia e l'Austria*:

I believe we cannot live any longer under an illusion which deceives us. We have lived under the impression that the internal difficulties of Austria-Hungary are so great as to prevent her from aggressive action towards ourselves and from expansion towards the east. We have believed that Austria-Hungary would fall to pieces after the death of the present Emperor. These views are erroneous. If the political crisis in Austria-Hungary should become more acute, and there is reason for doubting this, Austria-Hungary's need to expand and to acquire new markets in the east will become all the greater. And as long as Italian commerce pursues its triumphant course in the east, the more are the opposing interests of the two nations likely to bring about the final collision. . . .

We cannot continue a policy of vassalage which will compromise for all time Italy's future in order to preserve the outward form of the Triple Alliance. We must ask ourselves: What are our interests? Are we ready to defend them? What are the conditions of the Italians who dwell on the shore of the Adriatic under foreign domination? What are our interests on the Adriatic compared with those of Austria? What are the wishes of

our people, and what is Italy's mission in the Balkan Peninsula? Is it possible to avoid a conflict with Austria? I believe I have shown that Austria-Hungary is at the same time our ally and our open enemy against whom we must prepare for war. . . . We have to calculate in the future with the fact that the Austro-Hungarian Empire, though nominally our ally, is our determined enemy in the Balkan Peninsula.

Many similar views may be found in the writings of Enrico Corradini, Salvatore Barzilai, Vico Mantegazza, Giovauni Bertacchi, Innocenzo Cappa, Romeo Manzoni, Filippo Crispolti, Scipio Sighele, Luigi Villari, and many others, in the publications of the *Società Dante Alighieri*, the *Trento Trieste*, the *Giovine Europa*, the *Italica Gens*, and in periodicals such as *Il Regno*, *l'Italia all'Estero*, *Il Tricolore*, *La Grande Italia*. The Austrians have replied to the Italian threats with counter-threats. The *Oesterreichische Rundschau*, the most important Austrian periodical, which is edited by Freiherr von Chlumecky, an intimate friend of the late Archduke Francis Ferdinand, and *Danzer's Armeezeitung*, the widely read army journal, have published innumerable articles recommending an Austrian war with Italy.

On the walls of the Ducal Palace at Venice may be found some marble tablets giving the result of a plebiscite taken in the year 1866 in Venetia. They tell us that 641,000 of the inhabitants voted for a reunion of Venetia with Italy, and only sixty-eight against it. Austria has never known how to gain the affection of the people over whom she has ruled. She occupied Venetia from 1815 to 1866. In fifty-one years she gained among the inhabitants sixty-eight adherents and 641,000 enemies. If to-day a plebiscite should be taken in the Italian Tyrol, in Trieste, Pola, and the other Italian towns on the Dalmatian coast, the result would probably be similar. At one time or another Verona, Venice, Milan, Florence, Turin, Naples, Palermo, Lombardy, Venetia, Toscana, the southern half of Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia—in fact, practically all Italy, except the States of the Church—were Austrian, but nowhere in Italy will a man be found who regrets Austria's departure or who speaks of her occupation with affection, or even with esteem. In Italy, as elsewhere, Austria has solely been an influence for evil.

Although Trieste, Pola, and Fiume, and part of Istria and Dalmatia are inhabited by Italians, it is by no means certain that these towns and districts will revert to Italy after a defeat of Germany and Austria-Hungary. Ports and coastal positions are of value because of the hinterland which furnishes them with trade. Large inland States lying near the coast have the strongest claims upon natural outlets towards the ocean. The Italian towns on the east coast of the Adriatic are ancient Venetian trading stations and ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~now~~ ^{now} ~~they~~ ^{they} live

10,000,000 Serbs in compact masses, the Serbians in Serbia proper, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in Dalmatia, and the Serbo-Croats in Croatia-Slavonia. The Italians cannot expect that a Greater Serbia will consent to be deprived of adequate harbours. A Greater Serbia will certainly claim all the harbours of Dalmatia. Trieste, which has no Italian hinterland, may, after all, not revert to Italy. Trieste is perhaps more likely to be a prize of war than a prize of neutrality.

Serbia does not intend seizing Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dalmatia and Croatia-Slavonia by force; but if these lands are dissatisfied with Austrian rule, and wish to shake it off and unite with Serbia, the Serbs will certainly not deny them. The Serbians in Serbia have been ill-treated in the past by Austria, as has been shown in another part of this paper. Ever since the Russo-Turkish War, Austria-Hungary, covetous of Serbia's territory, has endeavoured to ruin that country by preventing her gaining an outlet to the sea, by controlling her foreign trade overland and by arbitrarily interrupting and destroying it by closing the frontier against Serbia under mendacious pretexts. In 1885 the Austrians brought about war between Serbia and Bulgaria for their own ends. They favoured the outbreak of the first Balkan War, hoping for Serbia's destruction. When the Allies were victorious, Austria-Hungary prevented Serbia securing the smallest outlet on the sea, and then encouraged Bulgaria to attack that country, hoping that the second Balkan War would lead to Serbia's downfall. Having suffered so much at Austria's hands in the past, the heroic Serbians wish to make themselves secure for the future by establishing a Greater Serbia, a State of 10,000,000 inhabitants, at Austria's cost, and obtaining adequate outlets to the sea. Probably they will succeed. Their heroism and their sufferings deserve a full reward.

Of the territory of Hungary, 105,811 square kilometres contain a population of which 77.61 per cent. are Magyars, 85,026 square kilometres have a population of which only 25.63 per cent. are Magyars, and 74.32 per cent. non-Magyars. Of these, the majority are Slavs. Of the population of the remaining territory of 88,650 square kilometres, 25.09 per cent. are Magyars, while the majority are Roumanians. Of the whole of Hungary, four tenths are essentially Magyar territory, three tenths are essentially Slavonic territory, and three tenths are Roumanian territory.

In a table given in the beginning of this article, the strength of the Magyars in Hungary was stated to be 10,051,000, according to the census of 1910. This figure is greatly exaggerated. In order to swell their numbers, the Magyars have manipulated the census. The citizens are asked, in the census forms which they have to fill up, to state the language which they speak best or like best. In view of the pressure exercised by the ruling

Magyars, many non-Magyars profess that they like Magyar best, even if they do not understand the language, and they appear as Magyars in the census. Besides, the ruling Magyars have put pressure upon the non-Magyars to Magyarise their names. Schoolmasters, post-office officials, and railwaymen in Government services, are compelled to Magyarise their names. As a further inducement, the cost of Magyarising one's name was reduced in 1881 from 10 crowns to 10 pence. As an aristocratic Magyar name is a great advantage in society and in business, men with common non-Magyar names have provided themselves for tenpence with the most aristocratic Magyar names. Mr. Seton-Watson has told us in his excellent book, *Racial Problems in Hungary*, that Toldy, the author, was originally called Schebel; Hunfalvy, the ethnologist, Hunds dorfer; Munkácsy, the painter, Lieb; Arminius Vámbéry, Bamberger; Petöfi, the poet, Petrović; Zsedényi, the politician, Pfannschmied; Irányi, Halbschuh; Helfy, Heller; Komlóssy, Kleinkind; Polónyi, Pollatschek, etc. The Magyars have Magyarised all non-Hungarian place-names. Ancient Pressburg was turned into Pozsony, Hermannstadt into Nagy-Szeben, Kirchdrauf into Szepes-Váralja, etc.

According to official Hungarian statistics, the Magyars are about one half of the Hungarian population. According to the most reliable non-Magyar authorities, they are only about one third, numbering from 7,000,000 to 8,000,000. In Hungary, as in Austria, one third of the population rules over the remaining two thirds.

On paper Hungary is the most liberal country in the world. It has possessed a Parliament and a Constitution since the dawn of its history. However, under the cloak of liberalism and legality, Hungary exercises the most arbitrary and tyrannous government over the non-Magyars.

Although Magyars and non-Magyars are on paper equal before the law, and are nominally fully represented in the Parliament at Budapest, the representatives in the Hungarian Parliament represent neither the subject nationalities nor the masses of the people, but only the Magyar oligarchy. This is strikingly proved by the following table, which shows the composition of the Hungarian Parliament during the five last electoral periods :

Result of Hungarian Elections.

—	Magyars, including a few Nondescripts	Socialists	Roumanians	Slovaks	Serbs	Total
1896	412	0	1	0	0	413
1901	408	0	0	4	1	413
1905	402	1	8	1	1	413
1906	387	0	14	7	5	413
1910	404	1	5	3	0	413

Of the 413 members of the Hungarian Parliament about 400 are Magyars. The preponderant number of non-Magyars and the numerous Socialists send the remaining thirteen members. As representation shapes legislation, the legislation of Hungary is pro-Magyar and hostile to the non-Magyars, to the Socialists, and to the common people. Of the men of voting age only about one fourth are given the franchise. As a high property qualification is required, only the well-to-do can vote. The non-Magyars of Hungary are poor, partly because the Magyars settled in the rich plains whence they drove the non-Magyars, partly because in districts where Magyars and non-Magyars dwell together, the former have secured for themselves the greater part of the wealth and the best land by violence and by political pressure.

The non-Magyars are disfranchised not only by a high property qualification but by deliberate violence and trickery. If we look into the electoral statistics we find that the more Roumanian a county is, the fewer voters does it possess. We find further that the larger a constituency is, the farther from its centre is placed the solitary polling booth. At election time bridges are often broken down or declared unsafe for the passage of vehicles, in order to force opposition voters either to walk impossible distances, or lose their vote, and with the same object in view all the horses in the outlying villages are often placed under veterinary supervision at the last moment. The voting is not secret but public, and by word of mouth. Non-Magyars are thus publicly terrorised into voting orally for Magyar members. Thousands of voters are disqualified for flimsy reasons by the presiding Magyar when intending to vote for the opposition candidate. Often hundreds and thousands of voters, who have travelled all day to the polling booth, are prevented by large forces of military and gendarmes from voting or from entering the village where the poll takes place. At election times Hungary mobilises her whole army in order to terrorise the opposition voters, and if these insist upon their legal right of voting they are frequently attacked by armed mobs or shot down by the gendarmes and the military. Every Hungarian election is accompanied by bloodshed. According to *Danzer's Armeezeitung* of June 6, 1910, Hungary mobilised for the election of that year 202 battalions of infantry, 126 squadrons of cavalry, and in addition had Austrian troops sent from Lower Austria, Styria, and Moravia to Hungary. The cost of 'maintaining order' was estimated by the journal named at from 15,000,000 crowns to 20,000,000 crowns.

The Magyars monopolise not only Parliament but the Civil Service, the law, and the schools as well. Although, according to the Law of Nationalities, the State should erect schools of all kinds for the non-Magyar races, it has never erected a single

secondary school where any other language but Magyar is used. Instead of this it has Magyarised the few existing non-Magyar secondary schools, and dissolved the rest. Of the thirty-nine intermediate schools in the Slovak counties, not a single one provides instruction in the language of the people, and in the districts inhabited by Ruthenians the same condition prevails. Of the eighty-nine secondary schools directly controlled by the State none are non-Magyar.

The ruling Magyars most effectively prevent the non-Magyar people from improving their condition by excluding them from the intermediate schools and the universities. As the Magyars form nominally one half, but in reality only one third, of the population, they should furnish at best one half of the scholars and students at the intermediate schools and universities.

In reality the overwhelming majority of those who attend the higher educational establishments are Magyars. According to the Magyar statistics for the year 1911, 49,482 pupils attending the classical intermediate schools were Magyars, and only 11,131 were non-Magyars. For every non-Magyar there were nearly five Magyars. In the non-classical intermediate schools there were 2316 non-Magyars and 8372 Magyars. In the intermediate schools for girls there were only 572 non-Magyars and 5746 Magyars. In the training schools for male teachers there were 1021 non-Magyars and 3856 Magyars. In those for female teachers there were 481 non-Magyars and 4386 Magyars. In the maternity schools there were 56 non-Magyars and 448 Magyars. In the music schools there were 2313 non-Magyars and 7471 Magyars. In the post and telegraph school there were 23 non-Magyars and 255 Magyars. As all those who wish to enter into a professional career or into Government service must have passed through the intermediate schools, the vast preponderance of Magyar pupils at these schools effectively prevents large numbers of non-Magyars from becoming doctors, lawyers, teachers, civil servants, judges, military officers, etc. In 1911 there were at all the Hungarian universities 10,653 Magyar students and only 1273 non-Magyar students. For every non-Magyar student there were eight Magyars. We can, therefore, not wonder that Magyars occupy all the best places in Hungary, especially as in making appointments Magyars are favoured and non-Magyars discouraged.

Franz Deák, one of the greatest Hungarian statesmen, said in a speech delivered on the 23rd of January 1872 :

Every nationality has a right to demand ways and means for the education of its children. If we wish to force the children of the nationalities dwelling in Hungary to study in the Magyar language, although they do not know it, or know it only slightly, we should make it impossible for

them to make progress. Parents would in vain spend their money upon education, and the children would waste their time. If we desire to win over the nationalities, then we must not endeavour to Magyarise them at any price. We can Magyarise them only if we make them satisfied citizens of Hungary who are fond of the life and conditions prevailing in it.

Notwithstanding the warning of Deák and of other founders of the Hungarian State, the ruling Magyars have endeavoured to force the Magyar language upon the non-Magyars by the most tyrannous means. If we look at the educational statistics, we find that the non-Magyar schools are rapidly decreasing in number and the Magyar schools rapidly increasing. In purely non-Magyar districts Magyar schools are planted, and in order to force the children to learn Magyar from the cradle compulsory kindergarten schools are opened in the non-Magyar districts, where children from three to six years old have to attend.

Notwithstanding the most far-reaching guarantees that the character and language of the other nationalities would be respected, Magyar is the official language in Hungary. All public proclamations and notices are issued in Magyar, and the proceedings in the law courts take place in that language, even when neither prosecutor nor defendant understands it. Roumanian peasants, ignorant of Magyar, and living in purely Roumanian districts, have to employ Magyar in their intercourse with the authorities, and if they go to law they have to provide themselves with costly and often inefficient translators and interpreters. Local government, even in practically purely non-Magyar districts, is monopolised by Magyars. The non-Magyars are strangers in their own country.

Numerically the most important non-Magyar race in Hungary are the Roumanians. According to the official statistics, they number 2,949,000. In reality their number is greater, and close to them live 275,000 Roumanians in the Austrian Bukovina.

A glance at the map shows that the Kingdom of Roumania possesses a very awkward shape. It consists of two long and narrow strips of land which are joined together at a right angle. The land lying in the hollow of that angle consists of the Austrian Bukovina and of the Hungarian districts of Transylvania and the Banat. Owing to its awkward shape, the concentrated Roumanian army can defend only the southern strip of the national territory against an invader. The acquisition of the Austrian and Hungarian territories, inhabited nearly exclusively by Roumanians, would fill up the hollow and would convert Roumania into a shapely and easily defensible State.

The Roumanians in the Kingdom of Roumania have during many years observed with sorrow and indignation the pitiful position of their brothers who live under Magyar rule, and their

leaders have frequently and most emphatically warned the Hungarian Government that its anti-Roumanian policy might have very serious consequences to Hungary. When, in November 1868, Count Andrassy intimated to King, then only Prince, Charles of Roumania that Roumania and Hungary should go hand in hand, King Charles replied, according to his Memoirs :

I recognise the advantages of a complete understanding between Hungary and Roumania. However, I must make this reservation—that I can work hand in hand with Hungary only when Hungary has changed her policy towards the Roumanians in Transylvania. I cannot abolish the natural sympathies which exist between the Roumanians on both sides of the political boundary. I am therefore entitled to expect that the Hungarian Government will do everything that is right and fair in dealing with the real interests of its Roumanian subjects. In expressing this wish I do not intend to be guilty of political interference. I lay stress upon this point only because it is the principal condition for bringing about a good understanding between the two countries. Being a constitutional monarch, who owes his position to the election of the people, I am obliged to be guided by public opinion in as far as that opinion is reasonable. An open and sincere policy of kindness and goodwill on the part of the Hungarian Government towards its non-Magyar subjects would most ably support me in a policy which I am prepared to enter upon.

Hungary has disregarded the emphatic and frequent warnings of King Charles and of the leading Roumanian statesmen, and she may before long repent her tyrannous attitude towards the Roumanians. The Roumanian statesmen appear to have no intention of making war upon Austria-Hungary with the object of forcing the Roumanian districts of that country to become part of the Kingdom of Roumania, but they will certainly come to the aid of their brothers if their help is called for. Austria-Hungary was foolish enough to persecute her Italian and Roumanian citizens after the outbreak of the present War, believing that the taking of hostages and the execution of leaders would assure their fidelity. Fidelity cannot be secured by fear. The Roumanian people are becoming more and more impatient of the policy which the Dual Monarchy pursues towards their brethren across the frontier, and before long popular pressure may force the new King to interfere in order to save the 3,500,000 Roumanians in the Dual Monarchy from the tyranny of their persecutors. If, as appears likely, Austria-Hungary should break up, Roumania will certainly see that the Roumanians on her border do not again fall under alien rule.

The subject nationalities in Austria-Hungary are ruled by misrule, and most of them are profoundly dissatisfied. I have shown in these pages that some of the larger nations of the Dual Monarchy are likely to be absorbed by their neighbours. Galicia, with 8,000,000 people, is likely to be divided between Russia and

Poland; the Roumanian districts, with 4,000,000 inhabitants, should fall to Roumania; the Serbian district, with 6,000,000 people, may go to the Serbs; and the Italian district, with nearly 1,000,000 inhabitants, may become Italian. Bohemia may once more become an independent State. The smaller subject nations of Austria-Hungary may be expected to follow the example of the greater. Austria-Hungary seems likely to disintegrate on racial lines. In the South-East of Europe may arise a Poland with 20,000,000 inhabitants, a Serbia with 10,000,000 inhabitants, a Hungary with 10,000,000 inhabitants, and an Austria with 10,000,000.

Many people, fearing the danger of Russia, advocate that Austria-Hungary should be preserved in its present state so as to act as an efficient counterpoise to the Russian colossus. The preservation of the Dual Monarchy is particularly strongly urged by those who fear the Pan-Slavonic danger, who believe that the Slavonic nations in the Balkan Peninsula and in Austria-Hungary will amalgamate with Russia, that Russia will, through Serbia and Bohemia, stretch out its arms as far as the Adriatic and Bavaria. That fear seems scarcely justified. The Slavonic nations outside Russia have looked to Russia as a deliverer when they were oppressed, but these nations have a strongly marked individuality of their own, and they have no desire, after having painfully acquired their freedom, to be merged into Russia and to disappear in that gigantic State. In the spring of 1908 representatives of the Austrian Slavs attended a great Slavonic Congress at Petrograd. Mr. Karel Kramarz, a prominent Czech politician, was at the head of the Austrian delegation, and he made to the Congress the following declaration :

The Slavonic movement and Slavonic policy must be based on the principle that all Slavonic nations are equal, and their aim must consist not in an endeavour to form all Slavs into a single nation, but to develop the individual character of each of the Slavonic peoples. The aim of all Slavs should be in the first instance to increase their own national consciousness and strength, and in the second to secure their mutual co-operation for promoting their common welfare, ensuring their progress in every way and defending themselves against German aggression.

This declaration is characteristic of the Slavs not only in Bohemia but elsewhere. The Bulgarians and Serbians differ greatly, although they are neighbours, and they are not likely to amalgamate. Democratic Serbia will merge itself neither in Bulgaria nor in Russia. The Czechs also have a nationality and individuality of which they are proud. A number of small and medium-sized Slav States are likely to arise in the South-East of Europe. Those who desire to re-build Austria-Hungary after its downfall are insufficiently acquainted with the impossibility

of such an undertaking. Besides, they should remember that diplomacy can correct, but must not outrage, Nature; that a lasting peace cannot be re-established in Europe by perpetuating Austria's tyranny over her unhappy subject nations. After all, Europe's security and peace are more important than a mechanical balance of power. We have no reason to fear Russia's aggression. There is no reason to believe that she intends to swamp her Western neighbours. After the present War, Russia will be exhausted for decades. Her task for the future consists in organising and developing her colossal territories, providing them with roads and railways, and improving the conditions of the people. Besides, if in twenty or thirty years Russia should embark upon a great war of conquest in the West, she would have to fight nations which will be much stronger than they are at present. The destruction of the actual German danger is far more important than the prevention of a highly problematical Slav peril of the future.

Austria-Hungary has outlived her usefulness. She has always been a bad master to the unfortunate nations who have come under her sway. Since 1307, the year when William Tell raised the Swiss in revolution against the Habsburgs, the history of Austria is a long history of the revolts of their subject nations. The dissolution of Austria-Hungary is merely the last incident in its recent evolution. In 1859 Austria-Hungary lost her supremacy over Italy. In 1866 she lost her supremacy over Germany. In 1914 she will probably lose her supremacy over the Slavs. A nation may rule over other nations only if it treats them with justice. Austria has always ruled with barbaric methods. The atrocious acts of which Germany has been guilty in Belgium and France were taught by Austria. In her campaign against Serbia she has, as usual, taken thousands of hostages among her own peoples in order to prevent their rising against the tyranny of Vienna, and she has, as usual, made barbarous war upon the weak and the helpless. Austria-Hungary is an anachronism in a modern world. The Dual Monarchy is, and has always been, only a factor for evil. In Germany's crime Austria-Hungary has been an accomplice and an accessory before the fact. Austria-Hungary has existed during many years, not owing to its own strength, but owing to Europe's toleration. Austria-Hungary is another Turkey. Her hour has struck.

The present War has a twofold object. It is a war waged to destroy the curse of militarism and to free the subject nations from their bondage. Many people have asked by what name the present War should be known to history. It might fittingly be called the War of Liberation. Small nations, whether they are called Belgium and Holland, or Bosnia and Bohemia, are entitled

to life and liberty. We need not deny the small nations which should take the place of Austria-Hungary their inborn right to life and prosperity. It is true that small States, especially if they have no outlet to the sea, are greatly hampered. The future, and especially the economic future, probably belongs to the great nations. Still, the small nations can survive, and if they cannot survive singly they can live and prosper by voluntary co-operation. The small nations which are arising in the Balkan Peninsula and in that part of Europe which is now called Austria-Hungary may be expected to conclude arrangements with their friends and sympathisers for mutual defence. A great State may arise in South-Eastern Europe. Federalism may provide the bond which Habsburg absolutism, Habsburg selfishness, and Habsburg tyranny failed to create. The provision of an efficient counterpoise to Russia may be left to Nature and to natural evolution.

J. ELLIS BARKER.

AIRCRAFT BOMBS AND INTERNATIONAL LAW

THERE is a current lay impression that what is not forbidden by the Hague Conventions is lawful. I do not think this view has been expressed by any Government. Nevertheless there is a dangerous semblance of acts being regarded as permissible because certain restrictions which it was sought at the Hague Conference to enact against them were not carried or ratified. This applies to floating mines, which in a previous article¹ I have shown to be still subject to a humane common law, which one of the present belligerents has chosen to set at defiance because no neutral interest is strong enough during the present war to resist its ruthless and bullying illegality. And yet it was just Germany which at the Hague Conference of 1907 made herself the champion of the neutral right to be unmolested by the exercise of belligerent rights in reference to floating mines.

'We are not of the opinion,' said, moreover, Baron Marschall von Bieberstein, the chief German delegate, 'that what is not expressly forbidden is permitted.' 'Nor,' he added, 'are military operations governed solely by the provisions of international law. There are other factors : conscience, common sense, and the sense of duty imposed by principles of humanity.'

This was not only the view of the chief German delegate. It was embodied as a principle in the preamble to the convention governing the regulations for war on land, as a sort of explanatory note to them.

In the view of the High Contracting Parties [says the Preamble], these provisions, the terms of which have been inspired by the desire to diminish the evils of war so far as military necessities permit, are destined to serve as general rules of conduct for belligerents in their relations with each other and with populations.

It has not, however, been possible to agree forthwith on provisions embracing all the circumstances which occur in practice.

On the other hand, it could not be intended by the High Contracting Parties that the cases not provided for should, for want of a written provision, be left to the arbitrary judgment of the military commanders.

Until a more complete code of the laws of war is issued, the High Contracting Parties think it right to declare that in cases not included

¹ See *Nineteenth Century and After*, October 1914.

in the Regulations adopted by them, populations and belligerents remain under the protection and empire of the principles of international law, as they result from the usages established between civilised nations, from the laws of humanity, and the requirements of the public conscience.

It has been observed that the preamble states that the high contracting parties were inspired in drawing up the regulations by the desire 'to diminish the evils of war so far as military necessities permit.' Another paragraph of the preamble states that they had thought it 'important, with this object, to revise the laws and general customs of war, either with the view of defining them more precisely or of laying down certain limits for the purpose of modifying their severity as far as possible.'

These two paragraphs can only bear the construction that in the view of the delegates the regulations were drawn up with the purpose of fixing certain limits to the extent to which 'military necessity' can be appealed to for justification of acts not corresponding to the humane objects of the contracting States. Otherwise there would have been no reason for limitation at all, and the regulations might have 'embraced' all circumstances which occur in practice, and with pious exhortations have covered the whole ground of the practice of war on land.

That this construction is correct is shown by the fact that the regulations themselves make distinctions between what is forbidden, what is permissible, and what is merely a recommendation to be followed 'as far as possible.'

As regards bombardments, the regulations make a distinction between what is forbidden, and recommendations which are binding morally if circumstances permit of their observance.

Bombarding means throwing bombs for the purpose of destruction; whether the bombs are thrown from land, from ships, or from aircraft makes no difference. The Hague Conference dealt with all three. In the case of aircraft a declaration forbade the dropping of bombs from them altogether. As, however, only Great Britain and Belgium of the present belligerent Powers have ratified it, and it is only binding between those who are parties to it, it has no prohibitive effect during the present war. The dropping of bombs from aircraft, therefore, is limited only by the rules of warfare generally, and in particular by the Hague conventions and regulations relating to bombardment. For war on land the articles of the regulations are as follows :

Article 25.—The attack or bombardment by any means whatever of towns, villages, habitations, or buildings which are not defended is prohibited.

Article 26.—The commander of an attacking force, before commencing a bombardment, except in the case of an assault, should do all he can to warn the authorities.

Article 27.—In sieges and bombardments all necessary steps should be taken to spare as far as possible edifices devoted to religion, art, science and charity, hospitals, and places where the sick and wounded are collected, provided they are not used at the same time for military purposes. The besieged should indicate these buildings or places by some particular and visible signs, which should previously be notified to the assailants.

Even in the case of 'defended' places 'the laws of humanity' and 'the requirements of the public conscience' govern the use and dropping of bombs. The 'laws of humanity and the requirements of the public conscience,' if these terms have any meaning at all, can only amount to an injunction to spare life and property when their destruction is not a 'necessity of war' or does not obviously promote the accomplishment of its objects.

In any case the Hague regulations distinguish between two kinds of places: those which are defended and those which are undefended. As regards the former, the dropping of bombs is permitted; as regards the others, it is not.

What, however, constitutes an 'undefended' place? Wherever there are military forces the enemy is entitled to seek out and attack them. If they are within a town, the enemy may do what is necessary to drive them out of it and employ means appropriate to this purpose. The term 'defended' may be held to cover cases in which there may be no *de facto* armed resistance, provided there is on the spot the means of offering it.

The British manual on land warfare makes the following distinctions:

It is not sufficient reason for bombardment that a town contains supplies of value to the enemy, or railway establishments, telegraphs, or bridges. These must, if it is necessary to do so, be destroyed by other means.

The defended locality need not be fortified, and it may be deemed defended if a military force is in occupation of or marching through it.

A fortress or other fortified place is *prima facie* considered to be defended, and may be bombarded unless there are visible signs of surrender.

Once a fortress or defended locality has surrendered, only such further damage is permitted as is demanded by the exigencies of war: such as the removal of the fortifications, the demolition of military buildings, destruction of stores, and measures for clearing the foreground. It is not permissible to burn public buildings or private houses in such a place simply because it has been defended.

No legal duty exists for the attacking force to limit bombardment to the fortifications or defended border only. On the contrary, destruction of private and public buildings by bombardment has always been, and still is, considered lawful, as it is one of the means to impress upon the local authorities the advisability of surrender.

A town which is defended by detached forts, though they are at a distance from it, is liable to bombardment, for the town and forts form an indivisible whole. The town may, perhaps, contain workshops and

provide supplies which are invaluable to the defence, and may serve to shelter a portion of its garrison when not on duty.²

As regards bombarding in naval war, the rules are a little more precise. These were drafted as an independent convention after the regulations for war on land had been adopted, but were intended to give effect, as the preamble to it states, to the same underlying principles.

The convention is as follows :

Considering that it is of importance to subject bombardments by naval forces to general provisions guaranteeing the rights of the inhabitants and insuring the preservation of the principal buildings, by extending to this operation of war, as far as possible, the principles of the regulations of 1899 with respect to the laws and customs of war on land.

Thus inspired by the desire to serve the interest of humanity and to lessen the rigours and disasters of war.

Article 1.—It is forbidden to bombard by naval forces undefended ports, towns, villages, habitations, or buildings.

A place may not be bombarded for the sole reason that submarine automatic contact mines are moored in front of its port.

Article 2.—Nevertheless, this interdiction does not comprise military works, military or naval establishments, dépôts of arms or war material, workshops or installations suitable to be used for the requirements of the enemy's Army or Fleet, and war vessels in the port. The commander of a naval force may, after summons with a reasonable delay, destroy them by cannon if no other means are possible, and when the local authorities shall not have proceeded to their destruction within the delay fixed.

In this case he incurs no responsibility for involuntary damage which may be occasioned by the bombardment.

If military necessity, requiring immediate action, does not admit of any delay, it remains understood that the prohibition to bombard an undefended town continues as in the case set out in Section I., and that the commander will take all the desired precautions to occasion the least possible inconvenience to the town.

Article 3.—After express notice, bombardment of undefended ports, towns, villages, habitations, or buildings may be proceeded with if the local authorities, having received formal notice, refuse to comply with requisitions for food or supplies required for the immediate wants of the naval force facing the place.

These requisitions must be in proportion to the resources of the place. They shall not be demanded without the authority of the commander of the said naval force, and shall, as far as possible, be paid for in cash; if not, they shall be acknowledged by receipts.

Article 4.—The bombardment of undefended ports, towns, villages, habitations, or buildings for non-payment of money contributions is forbidden.

Article 5.—In a bombardment by naval forces, all necessary steps should be taken by the commander to spare, as far as possible, buildings devoted to worship, art, science, and charity, historic monuments, hospitals, and places for the reception of sick or wounded, provided they are not at the same time used for military purposes.

² P. 34.

It is the duty of the inhabitants to indicate these monuments, buildings, or places by distinctive signs, which shall consist of large rectangular rigid screens, divided at one of the diagonals into two triangles, black above and white below.

Article 6.—Unless military exigencies prevent it, the commander of the attacking naval force should, before commencing the bombardment, do everything in his power to warn the authorities.

Article 7.—It is forbidden to give over a town or locality to pillage, even if taken by assault.

It is seen that considerable latitude is left by the regulations and practice of bombardment. Nevertheless, there are certain points as to which there is no possible difference of opinion. They may be summed up as follows :

1. Bombs may be used for the purpose of destroying the means of communication between enemy forces, railways, rolling stock, bridges, telegraphs, or wireless stations.

2. They may be used to destroy war material, aircraft, military stores.

3. They may, in particular, be used to destroy or disable the enemy forces.

4. Isolated bombs, on the other hand, which have no relation to the object of the hostilities and destroy life among the non-military enemy population or enemy private property, are absolutely forbidden. This follows from the general principles above cited, as well as (in respect of private property) from Article 23 of the Regulations, which provides that 'it is especially prohibited . . . to destroy . . . the enemy's property, unless such destruction . . . be imperatively demanded by the necessities of war.'

Thus the dropping of isolated bombs by German aircraft at Nancy, Rouen, Paris, and many other less important centres of population is absolutely illegal and a violation of the most elementary rules of civilised warfare, unless it falls within the scope of the permitted cases.

The following list of cases in which bombs were dropped from aircraft in Paris has been compiled for me by one whose accuracy is beyond question :

On the 30th of August a German aeroplane flew over Paris about 1 o'clock p.m. and dropped several bombs in the Marais quarter, not far from the Gare de l'Est, killing a concierge. There is railway stock to account for the selection of this densely inhabited quarter.

On the 1st of September a German aeroplane flew over Paris about 6.30 p.m. coming from the North and going towards the Eiffel Tower. Several bombs were dropped—one near Place Clichy and another near the Opéra close to the Printemps store. I don't think any people were killed or injured. The newspapers say there were two German aeroplanes that evening over Paris. The bombs may have been intended to destroy railway stock at the station of Saint Lazare.

On the 2nd of September a German aeroplane flew over Paris about 6.30 p.m., coming from the north, and went towards the Eiffel Tower. A bomb was thrown in the Avenue Bosquet at the corner of the Rue Saint-Dominique, which is quite close to the Eiffel Tower. Some damage was done to the roof of a house in the Avenue Bosquet, and the attics on the sixth floor. There was no one killed or injured.

On the 27th of September a German aeroplane flew over Paris and dropped several bombs, one of which fell in the Avenue du Trocadéro near the Manutention Militaire, and not far from the Eiffel Tower. It was about 11.30 when the bomb fell in the Avenue du Trocadéro. A notary was killed and a little girl injured, who had to have her leg amputated.

On the 11th of October two German aeroplanes flew over Paris about noon, and some twenty bombs were dropped. Four people were killed and fourteen injured—one of the injured has since died. One of the bombs fell on Notre-Dame alongside the Hôpital Hôtel Dieu, and damaged the roof of the cathedral. Another fell in the Rue de la Banque right through the ceiling of a flat on the fourth floor of No. 14; a third fell near the Bibliothèque Nationale. Some of such bombs may have been intended for the Bank of France, but not the one which fell on Notre-Dame.

On the 12th of October a German aeroplane flew over Paris, and some six bombs were thrown, but caused no casualties. One bomb fell through the roof of the Gare du Nord on to one of the tracks, but caused no damage.

I do not think the evidence clear enough to accuse the German military authorities of having intended to destroy the Opera-House or the Hôtel Dieu or Notre-Dame, though the bomb which fell on the latter seems to have been an incendiary one, seeing that it set fire to some of the rafters and melted some of the zinc roof. Nor would I like to say that they deliberately sent airmen to destroy human life or property without any military object, though that was the effect of what they did. This, however, is certain, that they did destroy unresisting civilians and private property not 'imperatively,' indeed not in any sense 'demanded by necessities of war,' and that the method employed is out of all proportion to any probable results useful for the purposes of war; that it, therefore, belongs to the category of acts which are characterised among civilised communities as mere 'wanton destruction.'

It is to be hoped that German public opinion will be wiser and more humane than the German military authorities, and condemn inhuman and brutally useless methods of carrying on warfare which are rousing the whole civilised world against the German people. Those who know Germany well and have enjoyed the intimacy and hospitality of kind German friends can only feel sure that they must feel deeply humiliated that the good name of their Fatherland should be degraded by acts of futile

cruelty and the unredeemed sacrifice of human life outside the scope of legitimate warfare. I do not speak of the growing anger these methods are provoking or of the angry reprisals to which they may excite the enemy, because I hope neither England nor France nor Russia will debase herself by resorting to any imitation of them.

THOMAS BARCLAY.

Paris, October 15, 1914.

1914

THE CURRENCY REVOLUTION

THE issue of new 1*l.* currency notes in a greatly improved form, and the intimation that new 10*s.* notes will be issued later, is a good deal more than a concession to artistic criticism. It is an indication that these additions to our authorised media of exchange have 'come to stay.' The edition hurriedly printed and issued in the early days of August has already done something besides relieving a strained and ugly situation ; it has filled what in the familiar advertising phrase is called 'a long-felt want.' So readily has the public taken to the paper money that one is inclined to wonder why this method of economising the gold coinage was not resorted to before a threatened banking crisis made it absolutely necessary. For nearly a hundred years there have been no small notes in England. Scotland has used them with financial advantage ever since 1704 ; and for a few years at the end of the eighteenth and in the early part of the nineteenth centuries the Bank of England, at a time of crisis, issued notes of the denominations of 1*l.* and 2*l.* Precedent counts for little in such matters, otherwise we might have a repetition by the Bank of its curious experiment of importing Spanish dollars, stamping them with a British die, and decreeing their currency at a value which gave so much profit to speculators that the dollars had to be called in in 1797, when nearly two millions and a half of them were in circulation. Precedent, moreover, exists for the abolition as well as for the authorisation of small bank-notes. In 1826 an Act (7 Geo. IV. c. 6) was passed making it a penal offence in England to make, issue, publish, utter, or negotiate any note under 5*l.* The Government of the day proposed also to abolish small notes in Scotland and Ireland, but this part of their project met with strong opposition in those divisions of the kingdom. Sir Walter Scott wrote a number of vigorous letters criticising the proposal over the signature 'Malachi Malagrowther,' and the result of the agitation was that the Government abandoned the Scotch and Irish part of their intention. The currency of Scotch 1*l.* notes across the Border was, however, prohibited by an Act of Restriction passed in 1828, although much inconvenience was caused locally by this

enactment. Until within the last three months the Act of 1826 was still in force.

From that distant period until August of the present year there has consequently been no legal tender paper currency in England of a smaller denomination than the 5*l.* bank-notes issued by the Bank of England and other banks of issue. This would almost seem to establish the existence of a popular prejudice against small notes. And in reality such was the case. The dirty condition of many of the Scotch 1*l.* notes has often been cited as a reason why such currency was unsuitable for the presumably more fastidious English public. If it occurred to anybody—as it must have done—that our system provided nothing but gold as legal tender for amounts between 2*l.* (up to which debts may be discharged in silver coin) and 5*l.*, the logical inference from that discovery was forced into obscurity by the prominence given to what may be called the ‘sanitary’ objection. It may perhaps be allowed that neither Scotch notes, nor any others that pass through a great number of hands, can be guaranteed always free from the noxious bacilli which thrive in impurity, although the danger is absurdly exaggerated. Paper currency for small amounts has, therefore, been looked upon with pseudo-scientific disfavour, and its potentiality as a disseminator of maleficent germs is one of the ridiculous reasons why metal, though equally liable to infection, has for so long been preferred as a medium of exchange for sums under 5*l.*

We seem to have quickly got over that somewhat fanciful prejudice, more particularly now that the new and not unattractive currency notes promise to be forced into such universal use. Yet, even so, a great many people still look upon them as a temporary expedient—an emergency contrivance that will disappear when the emergency itself has passed away. This is an entirely erroneous view. It is absolutely certain that the currency notes are installed as a permanent feature of our financial system. Called into existence to deal with a sudden difficulty, they will nevertheless remain as abiding guests. Their existence has routed objections and proved that we could not hereafter possibly do without them. Does everybody—do the majority of people—realise what this means? It means that gold will practically go out of circulation. It means that anyone asking for gold at his bank will (unless the circumstances are very exceptional) be unable to get it. In plain words, the banks will refuse to part with gold to their customers. The sovereign and the half-sovereign will be superseded for the everyday transactions of minor finance. Gold hoarding in times of crisis will henceforth be checked by the initial inability to get the gold to hoard. The notes are, it is true, exchangeable for gold at the Bank of England,

but to make such a procedure effective on a large scale they would have to be widely hoarded first, and the hoarding of currency notes would be a well-nigh inconceivable folly, since the destructibility of paper obviously makes it a highly unsuitable material for an operation of the kind. Gold has been hoarded in the past because it is, of all forms of money, the most readily marketed and the most capable of surviving the risks of fire which may threaten the strongest safe. Its weight was the only thing that limited the activities of the hoarders; that is, assuming that they were able to collect the gold in any quantity. Roughly speaking, 5000 sovereigns weigh very nearly a hundred-weight, a much less weight than which is an inconvenient burden for even a strong man to remove from place to place, to say nothing of the temptation it would be to thieves, within or without the household. The reasons which already prevent bank-notes from being hoarded to any extent in private hands apply with much greater force to the Treasury notes. So many of them would be required to fill the stocking. There is no probability, therefore, of the small notes being hoarded, and, that being so, there is no likelihood of any rush to change them into sovereigns. They will be much too widely distributed and passed from hand to hand.

Bullion will still continue to be coined under the statutory provisions that make it obligatory on the Bank of England to give gold coin of an equivalent value in exchange for bullion which satisfies the Mint's standard. A gold coinage will still be a necessary factor in our external obligations, where the balance of trade is against us, and the difference has ultimately to be met either with gold or with bank-notes represented by gold. Great Britain, as the chief creditor nation of the world, is not likely to suffer much on this score, especially as the importance of keeping a strong gold reserve is now fully realised in banking and commercial circles. For all internal purposes notes answer the same purpose as sterling metal. When the Bank buys bullion it pays for it with its own notes. Anyone has a right to take bullion to the Bank and to have it minted into coins free of cost at the fixed statutory price of 3l. 17s. 10½d. an ounce. This process of minting involves delay and consequently loss of interest; sellers of bullion, therefore, generally find it more convenient and profitable to sell outright at a price fractionally less. The gold coins are the only part of our currency that is of the intrinsic value it professes to be. Silver money is virtually only token money; the melting-pot value of the silver in a shilling, for instance, being somewhere about 5d., varying according to the current market price of the white metal. If silver were a legal tender, as the bimetallists would like it to be, for any amount, at a fixed ratio to gold,

instead of being, as it is, tender for only 40s. at Mint values, all the gold would soon be driven out of the country and a debased currency would reign in its stead. Paper, so long as it is represented by gold and is employed to do the work of gold, can never be regarded as debased.

The currency revolution does not affect the silver coinage. Silver remains legal tender up to 40s., but every liability over that amount can be, and to an almost universal extent will have to be, paid in paper money. One medium of exchange, to put it briefly, is substituted for another. We have only to keep in mind the function of money to perceive the simplicity and utility of the arrangement. Money is useful for what it can purchase. Gold, apart from its ornamental purposes, is only a standard of exchange in the terms of which all commodities and services are measured. If a 1l. note will buy the same quantity of food, apparel, or anything else that a sovereign will, it serves the same purpose as a sovereign. It does exactly what a bank-note (reckoning the difference in value) has done in the past and will continue to do in the future. The 1l. note effects this entirely by virtue of its legal tender quality. Cheques cannot be used in the same way, because the tendering of a cheque is no proof that there is anything to meet it, and no one is obliged to accept one in payment. A cheque, in fact, is no more than an undertaking to pay, and the undertaking may not be fulfilled; a currency note, on the other hand, is definite and satisfactory payment. Cheques will, of course, continue to be employed for millions of transactions, but that does not make them legal tender; it is an arrangement which entirely depends for its success on the credit and good faith of the individual drawer. Currency notes are the equivalent of coin to any amount, and their tender cannot be refused except at the refuser's own peril.

The reason why they do equally well all that is required of actual coin is that they have the guarantee of the national Treasury behind them. In this respect they differ from bank-notes. In the unlikely event of the Bank of England being unable to give gold on demand for its own notes, the holders would have no legal claim on the Government, although it is morally certain that nothing short of national bankruptcy would prevent the Government from coming to the rescue with statutory relief of some kind. Currency notes stand on a different and, theoretically, on a stronger footing, because they are a national instead of a quasi-national liability. In practice both classes will have the security of the stock of gold in the Bank's vaults. It will have been noted that for some weeks past gold of the amount of half-a-million sterling per week has been earmarked and put aside as a reserve for the new currency notes, and in the week

ended the 22nd of October a further 3,000,000*l.* was added. Anyone who takes the trouble to examine the recent Bank returns will have seen that the amount of bullion and gold coin in the vaults is practically sufficient to meet the combined totals of the Bank's own notes in circulation and the 30,000,000*l.* odd of outstanding currency notes—and this is independent of the special gold reserve now being built up, which a fortnight ago already amounted to 8,500,000*l.* For the week ended the 22nd of October the total of the Currency Note Redemption Fund was 30,232,528*l.*, of which 7,808,983*l.* was represented by a balance at the Bank of England and 13,923,546*l.* by Government securities, the rest being in gold. It would have been possible to have made the currency notes inconvertible, as is often done in foreign countries under stress of monetary stringency, but that would have deprived them of the very quality which stamps them as the equivalent of sterling.

It does not follow that the stock of gold will always be maintained at its present high and in fact unprecedented figure. A great deal depends on the foreign exchanges. Lately gold has been coming in large amounts to England, and has been purchased by the Bank, but conditions will no doubt arise sooner or later in which gold exports will become unavoidable, and they may even be on a scale of sufficient importance to make an appreciable reduction in the Bank's stock. Such a development would, however, be no ground for distrusting the currency notes. They have not only the Bank's gold at their back, but, what is still more effective, the wealth and honour of the British nation. Nothing short of a successful invasion by an enemy in force could now shake public confidence in them. Such an invasion would undoubtedly deal a smashing blow at all paper money. As Mr. Macleod pointed out in his great work on Banking, paper currency has never been able to resist the effect of a successful invasion, which would certainly involve seizure by the enemy of the Bank's gold (unless previously removed), with the result that paper money would cease, for a time at least, to possess its full legal tender value. It would, in fact, go to a discount—that is, it would no longer buy the same quantity of any given commodity as its nominal equivalent of gold. There is no need, however, for us to worry ourselves about such a remote contingency. If our Navy were wiped out, and if the Germans succeeded in landing here in force, then such academic questions as relative currency values would be submerged in the great wave of national disaster. The 'ifs' here belong to the region of nightmare.

The creation of paper money would be a dangerous expedient if it were allowed to develop into inflation. We have had too many examples abroad of the demoralising use of the printing-

press on the financial position of semi-bankrupt States. The immediate consequence is to put a high premium on gold, and the prices of all necessaries are rapidly enhanced, so that the paper can only purchase a portion of what it could do if it retained its par value. When a workman is paid his wages in paper currency, and discovers that they do not go anything like as far as they did when he was paid in coin, he is experiencing the practical consequences of inflation. Nor is it necessary to go to relatively poor countries to prove the danger of an excessive note issue. A recent return of the Imperial Bank of Germany is instructive reading in this connexion. The notes in circulation amounted to 210,000,000*l.*, and the outstanding Treasury notes to 47,500,000*l.*, making together 257,500,000*l.* Against this huge paper inflation the amount of gold coin and bullion was only 88,500,000*l.* It is evident that any serious disaster to Germany's arms would send thousands of holders of notes flying to the Bank to exchange them for gold, and it is equally evident that there would not be much more than enough to pay 6*s.* 8*d.* in the £. That is a state of affairs which justifies the use of the word 'inflation.' Germany is skating on financial thin ice, and one of these days we shall hear it cracking.

Our own position, as the Bank of England figures show, is in happy contrast with this. For the present, at any rate, there is no anticipation of any new drain upon our gold accumulations. On the contrary, as gold flows back from circulation, these are likely to increase. The total already stands at a figure which, as before mentioned, is absolutely without precedent in this country. As the small notes continue to perform their function and to make gold payments unnecessary, a great number of sovereigns and half-sovereigns will find their way to the banks throughout the country and be there impounded and sent on to the central institution. This was, of course, one object of their introduction. Issued primarily to deal with a critical emergency caused by the public's panicky demand for gold just when it was badly needed for the stability of the State and of national credit, they have achieved the excellent result of building better than their originators knew. The Government has been able to buy gold in the open market and to husband its resources without causing any scarcity of loanable capital for trading purposes. The Bank of Germany has also been adding to its previously large stock of gold, but the total is altogether disproportionate to its egregious note liability. An economic comparison of the financial position of the two countries is much more than favourable to our own. In spite of our great expenditure in connexion with the war, we are accumulating gold as we have never done before, and notwithstanding this, there is an abundance of

money to be had on good trade bills at rates varying from $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., although the Bank's official minimum remains nominally at 5 per cent. The relief afforded by the Treasury note issue has done much to make these results possible.

Another advantage may be mentioned. When gold is in continuous circulation it gets worn and after a number of years loses some of its value. This loss, which falls on the Mint (that is, on the country), will be reduced by the substitution of paper money. We are getting all the benefits of a gold standard without the drawbacks of a gold currency. And this marvellous change has been accomplished swiftly and surely, without a hitch and without a murmur. The first issue was open to criticism on the score of its poor appearance, but it served its purpose none the less. The new issue, improved out of recognition, printed on larger and better quality paper, and made more baffling to the ingenuity of the forger, possesses, as paper money goes, something of the outward semblance of value. And, as we have said, it has come to stay. It will be the chief money of the future. Bank-notes will remain legal tender for their full value, but not for less, silver and bronze will still be the media for most of the smaller transactions, cheques will be used in a vast number of cases, bills will be accepted and discounted as before, but our familiar gold coinage will play a relatively insignificant and retiring part in the monetary dealings of the country.

We shall miss our familiar and highly respected gold coinage. Its disappearance gives one a sentimental shock. It has held itself so worthily that we shall not easily reconcile ourselves to its paper substitutes. Both here and abroad its dignity has always been maintained, and it has been the 'Open, Sesame' to all financial strong-rooms and the solvent of many troubles. Now sovereigns and half-sovereigns will be like angels' visits, few and far between. We do not suggest that numismatists should make haste to collect specimens, or that these are immediately going to be scarce enough to be called curiosities. But the evidence of their existence promises to be subjective rather than objective. Instead of glittering in the bank cashier's scales, or clinking in the physician's pocket, they will be lying 'in the cold vaults' of Threadneedle Street, and though lost to sight will be still 'to memory dear.'

It is only in an oblique way that this great change in our currency system can have any effect upon the demand for investments. Being essentially an expedient with a specific object, the range of its operations is strictly limited and its bearing upon investments scarcely comes within that range. But it is none the less a fact that anything which serves to relieve the monetary situation is indirectly favourable to the stock markets. We have

only to picture what might have happened if the shortage of gold had not been met by the issue of small notes, in order to understand the salutary action of the scheme. Had the sinister conditions not been checked there would have been a still more disastrous fall in stock values; and if the sinister conditions were to be revived there would inevitably be a pressure of forced sales with consequent rapid and ruinous declines. It would be absurd to say that a mere change in the form of currency is of itself going to create a demand for investments. A demand for investments depends upon conditions over which currency has practically no control. With the prospect of a prolonged war and a partial restriction of trade before us, the surplus funds available for permanent investment are bound to be severely limited. But everything which goes to establish credit on a firmer foundation, and to fortify the gold position, at least checks that anxiety to realise securities which is the *bête noire* of the investment market. To this extent, therefore, the currency revolution is a help to that market, not only strengthening the financial position generally, but also encouraging people with spare money to take advantage of the present low range of prices.

It is now realised everywhere that the Allies will go on fighting, even if it be for years, until arrogant Prussian militarism and the ambition of the self-opinionated Kaiser are both crushed. We have made a useful beginning in this vast and costly enterprise by clearing our financial decks. With a simple and liquid currency which dispenses with the transfer of gold from hand to hand, we can confidently look forward to the monetary, so intimately bound up with the political, future. Created for a definite and necessary end, the system, now that this end has been gained, will be perpetuated as a protection against any possible relapse into the old careless complacency which brought us so near to the brink of a great national catastrophe.

H. J. JENNINGS.

'LE DÉMON DE MIDI'

SHALL we turn, for half an hour, from wars and rumours of wars, to literature—yes, and to psychology? From contemplating the hecatombs of corpses, the ruined cities, the desolate homes of which Western Europe is full—horrible tokens of the mad ambition of a mad despot—to the element of man which is no mere chain of sensations depending on ‘the muddy vesture of decay’ wherein it dwells, but a veritable entity, endowed with that hegemonic quality, that sense of command, that control of will, which are facts of our consciousness? Let the reader who is content to do this, glance with me at M. Paul Bourget’s last book—I undertake to say that it will be worth his while.

The story opens in the salon of an old house, in an old street, of an old city, Clermont-Ferrand, with which are associated so many memories of the eleventh century and the First Crusade. There we find two ecclesiastics who play a great part in it. One is the Abbé Lartigue, the curate of Notre Dame-du-Port, perhaps the best specimen of Roman Auvergnat architecture, on which the Abbé is a great authority. He is a man of forty, hale and hearty. His frame and face proclaim him of the same race as the men long dead, who designed and erected the church which he loves so well. He is deep in conversation with the Benedictine monk Dom Bayle, a man verging on sixty, but looking much older, with his parchment-like skin, wrinkled and dry, his blue eyes with their sharp and burning expression, his mouth intelligent, passionate, bitter. Like Brunetière during his last years, this Benedictine seems something ethereal, so cachectic has age rendered his poor frame, naturally feeble. A scion of one of the best families in Valognes, the service of religion has been the work to which he has all his life devoted his ardent genius. One of the fields of his activity has been journalism; another electioneering. He has sought to influence public opinion by the newspaper press, and, low as his appreciation of the French Chamber is, he does not disdain to work for the election of a candidate who seems to him likely to serve the good cause. It is a

matter of that sort which has brought him to Clermont in the month of October 1912. There seems to be a chance of returning a Catholic for the third *circonscription* of that place. The Abbé Lartigue is anxious that the candidate should be Louis Savignan, an Auvergnat man and a friend of his youth, now a widower with a son of twenty. Savignan has attained a considerable literary reputation by *A History of the French Clergy in the Eighteenth Century*, and by a work on *The Church and Education*. He is also a contributor to—and indeed was one of the founders of—the chief Catholic Review *Le Germe*. Dom Bayle asks many questions about Savignan : among others what is his age, and is told that it is forty-three. ‘Ah,’ he says, ‘the age for the Demon of mid-day spoken of in the Psalms,’¹ a phrase which the monk interprets—it is not a new interpretation—of *l’âge critique*, the middle stage of life. It is then, he says, that the spirit of evil, of destruction, often invades a man in full force ; and not only in the spiritual order, as the careers of the First and the Third Napoleon, of Victor Hugo, Lamartine, Lamennais, Lacordaire may serve to show. The good Abbé Lartigue relates what he knows of the life story of his friend, whom he does not think likely to be assailed by the *demonium meridianum* in any shape. Among other things he speaks of a sad love affair of Savignan’s youth—the object of it a lady of great charm whom he never saw, nor does he even know her name. All that he knows is that she jilted his friend and married someone else, thereby throwing Savignan into a frenzy of despair which brought on a dangerous illness. But Savignan did not die, and in the event espoused a very commonplace woman, found for him by his mother, in order to have a home, a family circle (*pour avoir une famille, fonder un foyer*). It was a sort of moral suicide : a deliberate and irrevocable renunciation of the sentimental life ; a well-weighed and an organised resolution to live in future only for duties and ideas. ‘Well, I hope that you are right,’ Dom Bayle replies, ‘and that the being of passion and frenzy will not be reborn in the man of forty whom we are going to take for our standard-bearer.’

The grand elector of the arrondissement of Clermont for which Savignan is to be invited to stand, is a M. Calvières, a rich manufacturer, who has hitherto supported the Radical interest, and now, because of purely personal pique, has determined to cease to do so. He is also, as it chances, that wealthy man who married Savignan’s lost love, Geneviève de Soléac. The young lady belonged to a noble but impoverished family of Auvergne, and the real reason of her marriage—but Savignan does not

¹ The English Prayer Book has it ‘the sickness that destroyeth in the noon-day.’ The Vulgate speaks of a midday demon—*demonium meridianum*.

know it—had been to free her father and her mother and brother from serious financial embarrassment. Her husband has magnificently restored the old Château of Soléac. It is there that they live when they are not in Paris; and it is there that Savignan is invited to go in order to make arrangements for his candidature. Savignan is a convinced Catholic, not indeed much touched by mystical enthusiasm—as is his only son Jacques—but regular in the performance of the duties enjoined by the religion which he has so long and so ably served with his pen; and a scruple about this visit to Soléac presents itself to him. His love for the woman who is now its châtelaine has been the one passion of his life. Has been—nay, should he not say—is? For does not the flame still slumber in his soul, though covered with the treacherous ashes of many years' daily occupations and cares? He asks himself these and similar questions—and he doubts whether he will go to Soléac. An interior voice seems to admonish him that it will not be prudent for him to meet again her whom he had so consumingly loved as a young girl—yes, and who, he knows, returned his love—now that she is no longer free. But did she not jilt him, throw him over for a richer man, without writing a word to him? Is she not dead to him? After twenty years will she not be another being than the girl of that far-off summer? Again, she had talked with her husband about his proposed candidature; so much he knows from Calvières. May not that have been due to coquetry on her part, to a desire to see him once more—and perhaps once more to humiliate him? Well, he will go, and prove that he has no fear of her.

And so he goes with Calvières, in his host's automobile, or rather in one of them, for the rich man has several. As they speed along, Savignan forms his judgment of his companion—coarse, shrewd, self-sufficient both from his financial power and his innate character. Calvières, after expounding his views on the electoral prospect and other matters, dozes; and Savignan, looking at his companion, is a prey to thoughts ever more and more bitter.

Les cruelles imaginations physiques évoquées en lui par le rappel du mariage de Geneviève se précisaien. Il voyait Calvières endormi auprès d'elle, d'un sommeil semblable à celui-ci. Ce souffle rude et fort avait dû remplir leur chambre, se mêler au souffle léger de la jeune femme. Les hommes très chastes comme Savignan ont de violentes répulsions à l'idée des familiarités sexuelles. Il voyait cette chambre maintenant, ce lit, l'intimité quotidienne de leur existence. Ils ont vécu ensemble, songeait-il. Vivre ensemble, la nuit, le jour, le soir, elle si fine, et lui, d'étoffe si grossière!

In the course of the morning they arrive at the château. Madame Calvières has not as yet come down. His host takes

Savignan to a suite of rooms prepared for him where he finds evident traces of her. Among other things there is a large photograph of her brother Guy, a friend of his, killed while on military service in Madagascar. Calvières points it out. ‘ My wife has had it transferred here from the salon.’ Then there are other photographs of Auvergnat scenes which he and Geneviève visited together. On the table are white roses—the flowers which used to be his favourite offering to her. Books, too—his books—which they read together in that old happy far-off time. He is looking at a familiar volume of Sully-Prudhomme when the luncheon bell summons him. ‘ I ought to have foreseen all that,’ he says to himself; ‘ she has wished to see me that she may recapture me; she is still the same frightful coquette that she was; she has not changed; I have—and she shall see that.’

With this valiant determination he descends to the dining-room. As he looks round the magnificent appointments of the château—with its costly restorations—he says to himself ‘ Mademoiselle de Soléac has sold herself well.’ He comes to the threshold and the voice of Geneviève falls on his ear: that voice of which he knows so well the compass with its clear notes, musical in gaiety, grave and profound in emotion. She receives him with her quiet dignity of a well-bred woman. He finds her little changed. Time had touched but not withered her. Her hair is of a deeper auburn. Her smile is the same, but more marked. Her figure has preserved its delicacy. The years that have passed over her head have left small trace except in the fatigue of her eyelids and in the expression of her eyes. She greets Savignan in a few well-chosen words—how pleased her brother would have been, she says, if he had lived, to see again the companion of his youth, now become a celebrated historian. He gives her his arm and takes her in to luncheon. Is it a dream that the woman whose lips he has so often kissed—innocent kisses, the first fruits of virginal love, but passionate kisses too—should be at his side doing to him the honours of her house, the wife of the man opposite, with his loud laugh, his coarse jokes! A horrible irritation seizes his nerves—an irritation which directs itself against Geneviève who, though taking part in the conversation with seeming indifference, is—he who knows her so well can see that—is really terribly upset. Calvières, given to the pleasures of the table, calls his guest’s attention to some Chanturge which he thinks equal to the best Burgundy. ‘ It is of the year 1892,’ he remarks to his wife—‘ the year of our marriage.’ Savignan turns to Geneviève and lifting his glass says ‘ You will let me drink to the remembrance of so happy an event.’ The poor woman can endure no more. She excuses herself, on the ground of a little faintness, and leaves the table.

Calvières also excuses her. ' You remember,' he says, ' that she was delicate before her marriage. She has been more so since her one baby was born dead.'

In the afternoon Calvières takes his guest in a motor car to see some influential electors. At dinner that night Savignan, ashamed of his harshness towards his hostess, is amiable to and considerate for her. She sees the change of mood in his face and, in reply to his inquiry after her, thanks him and tells him—with a look which interprets her words—that she is better. It is the beginning of an understanding. When Savignan retires for the night sleep will not come to him. How can he help thinking of the woman whom he had loved twenty years ago with all the consuming force of his young manhood—and had lost! That woman who is here now, under the same roof, she too not sleeping—he is sure of that—but listening, like him, to the tempest as it roars against the old towers of Soléac, and regretting surely, as he does, the irrevocable separation.

Irrévocable! Ce point d'interrogation se posa soudain, dans sa pensée, et quelque chose frémît en lui, un frisson d'horreur anticipée, à l'idée que sa destinée était mêlée de nouveau à celle de Geneviève. Il ne pouvait pas plus y avoir d'intimité entre eux que coupable, clandestine, et souillée, et déjà il subissait l'attrait de ce premier péché. Le Démon de Midi, du midi de la vie, troubloit cette sensibilité d'homme chaste qui avait pourtant dit, tout à l'heure, avant de se coucher, dans sa prière de soir, *Et ne nos inducas in temptationem*, agenouillé au pied de son lit, comme un enfant. Ces mots préservateurs, il ne les avait pas dit avec un cœur d'enfant.

An expedition has been arranged for the morrow to a sanatorium de la Croix Rouge which Madame Calvières had founded in the hills some dozen miles off. She, Savignan, and Calvières were all three to have made it, but Calvières' workpeople are threatening a strike, and he has to go off to deal with them. So he excuses himself to Savignan and leaves him and Geneviève to pay the visit to the sanatorium together after *déjeuner*. She orders her carriage with a pair of horses, preferring it to the more rapid motor, and during the long drive there is opportunity for a long *tête-à-tête*. The sound of their voices is quite dimmed for the coachman and the footman on the box, by the jingle of bells, the sighing of the wind, the clatter of hoofs. Their talk is naturally of each other. She tells him among other things that she has had nothing to do with his candidature. It was settled by the Abbé Lartigue and her husband, without her knowing anything about it. She goes on to explain why she had broken off her old secret engagement with him. She had sacrificed her love to her duty—her duty to her family—as she esteemed it. She did not write to tell him because she thought it would be

easier for him if she did not. Yes; this is what she thought : 'The worse he thinks of me, the less he will suffer. He will believe that I have played him false ; that I have married for money ; and then he will think badly of me and will not love me any more. It will be the irremediable, and that is what ought to be.' He does not doubt, he cannot doubt, the truth of what she says. As little can he doubt—though she is too proud to say so—that her married life has realised none of the ideals which a woman associates with wedlock. She tells him that it has been painful to her to see him again, but that the adhesion of her husband to the cause which he serves would have sufficed to hinder her making an objection. 'Then you still remain a believing Christian?' Savignan asks. 'No,' she says, 'I love the Church ; your books have taught me that the Church is necessary to France. I love the Church because I am a French-woman. I think it an institution which is vital to us, but I regard it as a *human* institution. Never will anyone make me believe that a good and just God has created a world like this where pain is of the very essence of life. Non, je ne crois pas en Dieu : je n'y crois pas.' 'This declaration of nihilism,' M. Bourget remarks, 'from the lips of a woman who, though not altogether young, was still beautiful, had a sinister character in the midst of the admirable scenery and the bright day—the contrast between the fresh, peaceful beauty of things and the distress of that voice, of those eyes, tokens of a spoilt life, of a psychical solitude of so many years.' Savignan has not the strength to continue the conversation. With a gesture of passionate pity he takes her hand, saying 'How much you must have suffered.' 'Yes,' she replies ; and then, after a time withdrawing her hand, she says 'Please don't let us talk any more about me. Let us talk of you and your literary work.' And with half an hour of such talk they reach the sanatorium.

Then the Reverend Mother urges them to go on to see Lake Pavin—the most picturesque of the lakes of Auvergne. It so happens that in their happy youth Savignan and Geneviève had several times planned a visit there, but it had never come off. And now they make it, going as far as the road permits in the carriage, and then on foot. It is a hazardous expedition, for Savignan has to help his companion across the frozen and broken ground—hazardous too in another sense. Soon the lake lies before them, worthy, for its solitude and its wildness, of the name given it : the emotion which it inspires is fear. It is covered with ice on which the sun shines. The snow of the last few days whitens the tops of the pines and larches. No trace is there of human life but an old boat full of water and anchored against a stone. The stillness of death envelopes the ancient

volcano, broken only by the noise of the dead branches which crackled under their feet. The solemnity of the place and of the season harmonises with that moment of their two existences, the dawn of their life's autumn. But for the forest, for the lake, spring will come again. For them—ah! no. What a monition, before the hastening winter's inevitable arrival, to lose no one of the allotted hours, to embrace, to seize each, to drink greedily all the intoxication they have to offer. Savignan forgets everything but that he and Geneviève are at the parting of the ways. Separation again—or union? Geneviève feels only that during the last three hours she has *lived*: she has enjoyed the dear delight—unknown for so many long years—of unveiling her heart to one who understands it. ‘Ah!’ she thinks, ‘what would my life with *him* have been if I had so determined it?’ She is obsessed with that thought and cannot utter it. They reach a rustic bench. She sits down and looking at the watch in her bracelet says ‘We must be going back.’ ‘Already?’ he replied, and his voice tells her what is in his heart. ‘Do think,’ he continues, ‘that after having lost you for so many years I have found you again, to lose you once more!’ ‘We must go back,’ she repeats. ‘Geneviève,’ he says, and when he calls her by her name, with the same intonation, the same look as of old, her emotion is so great that she trembles all over. ‘I cannot help it, I cannot help it,’ he says; ‘I love you, I have never ceased to love you: never.’ She looks at him with eyes full of tears and of rapture. He draws her towards him and kisses her eyes, her cheek, her mouth. She returns his kiss. ‘I, too,’ she says, ‘I have never ceased to love you.’

They reach the carriage and drive back almost in silence—their hands clasped beneath the fur rug. Calvières is awaiting them when they arrive at the château. He remarks that he has been a little anxious and was thinking of sending an automobile in search of them. His voice thrills the heart of Savignan with an unsuspected suffering. Geneviève explains that they were tempted to go on to Lake Pavin, which has made them late. Savignan betakes himself to his rooms and finds there a long letter from his son, a devout young Catholic, who looks up to him as a master in Israel. The boy writes at great length, chiefly about an old professor of his, an Abbé Fauchon, who has adopted Modernist views and has got into difficulties with the ecclesiastical authorities. The Abbé is about to publish a book which will consummate the breach with the Church. Jacques begs Savignan to try to see him with a view of stopping its publication before an irreparable scandal arises.

Il t'estime, il t'admiré; il ne cesse pas de te relire, de discuter avec toi dans sa pensée, de te sentir supérieur même en te combattant: et

alors ta sympathie de grand Chrétien allant vers lui, spontanément, à l'heure de l'épreuve—il n'y résistera pas.

Savignan, on the verge of adultery, does not feel like the great Christian that his son takes him to be. The living mirror of the letter exhibits to him an image of himself very different from the reality—from the creature of flesh and desire revealed during the last few hours. What is he to do? Even now, at the last moment, cut to the root the criminal passion which has arisen? Flee—there was no safety but in flight—from the *demonium meridianum*? I will go away to-morrow, he resolves. A letter which I have received will serve as a pretext.

He has to sit through a dinner of influential electors given in his honour—some twenty of them, whose loud coarseness disgusts him. Geneviève, who is on his right, sees how ill at ease he is and divines that there is also another and a stronger reason for his melancholy. ‘ You have regret?’ she whispers. ‘ Remorse,’ he answers. ‘ I knew it,’ she says. She bids him meet her in the park the next day at nine. He says Yes, but he means No. When the guests are gone, he sees Calvières, announces that the candidature is impossible, and asks for an automobile very early on the morrow, as he must leave for Paris, whither an important letter recalls him. Calvières promises one, but, like the resolute man that he is, by no means gives up the notion of the candidature. He goes to his wife’s room and asks her if anything which Savignan has said in conversation with her during the day will throw a light upon his change of purpose. She replies No, and suggests that the company he met at dinner may well have disgusted him. Calvières departs. She thinks, ‘ Savignan wants to go without seeing me again.’

‘ Il veut s’en aller sans me voir.’ La cruelle phrase à prononcer pour une femme qui venait, cet après-midi, de se réchauffer, de se brûler le cœur à la flamme du plus soudain, du plus violent incendie de passion! Avoir gardé au fond de soi, vingt années durant, le regret, endormi mais toujours vivant, du roman brisé de sa jeunesse: avoir suivi, d’un intérêt toujours grandissant, à travers la vie, le héros de ce roman, avoir désiré follement le retrouver sans rien prendre pour cela, le retrouver par un de ces hasards qui donnent la sensation, le frisson d’une destinée—et il est assez jeune, elle est assez jeune encore pour qu’ils puissent s’aimer!—Il ne l’a pas plus oubliée qu’elle ne l’a oublié. Et dans une reprise folle des émotions anciennes, un vertige, un tourbillonnement, les fiancés d’autrefois précipités à ces aveux, à ces baisers, ce bonheur-là, extatique, insensé, inespéré. . . . Et puis rien.

The wretched woman, her mind full of these thoughts, lies in her bed sobbing at the prospect of losing for ever her new-found happiness. She must write to him. Yes; and he must get the note before he goes. How? She looks at her watch. It is an hour after midnight. There is only one thing to be done. She

must take her letter to his rooms and put it on a table and he will see it when he rises in the morning. She gropes her way to his door. There is a light shining under it. She opens it softly. He is there seated at the table, his son's letter before him. She gives him what she had written—a simple and timid request that they may be friends at all events, if nothing more. He reads and replies 'No, that is impossible.' He looks at her, in the disarray of her half-made toilette. He had never seen her so beautiful. He draws her towards him. 'You will hate me to-morrow,' she says, 'you will curse me; but I love you too well. Love me; love me; there is nothing else true in the world. Don't you feel it?' 'Yes,' he answers.

Two hours afterwards Geneviève escapes back to her own room; and in another three hours Savignan is in an automobile on the road to Clermont side by side with her husband. A bright light burns in her window by way of farewell to him. She has promised to be in Paris in a week's time. As the automobile rolls along Calvières plies him with arguments against renouncing his candidature. He hardly listens to them, though wearing an air of profound attention. His ears are really full of 'les phrases balbutiées par sa maîtresse entre ses bras.' At last he feigns to be convinced and says 'Very well, then, I will take up the candidature; I give you my word.'

When Savignan reaches Paris his son Jacques is on the platform to meet him. The enthusiastic youth says, as soon as his father alights from the train, 'Ah, you have come to save the Abbé Fauchon. How like you! You will prevent the appearance of his book.' Savignan, whose thoughts had been by no means dwelling on the Abbé Fauchon, replies curtly 'My poor boy, I will hinder nothing; if he wants to leave the Church—well, let him.' To himself he says 'If my boy only knew!' Still he is very keen to deliver his son from the Modernist Abbé. Jacques, he then learns, is much in love with Thérèse Andrault, a charming young girl whose people are greatly under the influence of Fauchon, as indeed she herself is—and ever more and more. He tries to negotiate the marriage. Unsuccessfully. Thérèse says she is affianced to another, secretly, and cannot reveal the matter without his consent. The young man is terribly upset. Savignan, after a few days, suspects that the alleged *fiancé* is Fauchon himself, who, though hitherto a man of ascetic life, has publicly advocated the marriage of priests. He asks Jacques 'Do you think so?' The miserable youth answers affirmatively. 'Then you must allow that he is a great scoundrel,' Savignan says. Jacques puts in a plea for him. 'But if he is obeying his conscience and if he loves her?' 'Loves her!' Savignan exclaims; 'but he knows very well that the wife of an unfrocked

priest is a pariah. And he, with his experience of forty years of life, thus ruins the future of an inexperienced girl of twenty! ' And then comes the news that Thérèse has left her father's house! What has become of her? The apostate priest's book *Hakeldama* appears; and Savignan, yielding to the pressure of Catholic friends, and desirous to open his son's eyes, promises to write a confutation of it in the *Germe*. But he asks himself, Can he, being what he now is, do this work? Why not? He will say nothing which he does not think. His article shall be perfectly true, perfectly sincere. Hypocrite? No; one is a hypocrite only when one writes what one does not believe. But his readers—the hundreds, the thousands, who will read his words in the *Germe*; people who know him either personally or by his writings, and who suppose him to practise what he proclaims—will he not be deceiving them? And then the verse of the Psalm comes to his mind—' Why dost thou preach my laws and takest my covenant in thy mouth, whereas thou hatest to be reformed and hast cast my words behind thee?' The impression produced upon him is so great that he pushes aside the copy of *Hakeldama*, and does not begin the proposed article. And his thoughts turn to Geneviève. There is before him a letter from her telling him that she will be with him on the morrow. In twenty-four hours she will be with him in the little apartment, in a quiet street, which he has taken and furnished for their meetings. The hours drag leadenly along. At last! She is there. Entirely devoted to him, she enters into all his thoughts, his feelings—his anxieties about Jacques for example; even his fear—religious nihilist as she is—of the malign influence of the Abbé Fauchon over the young man. She gives him prudent counsel. She understands that, being as he is now, he has scruples about certain conversations. 'Do not entertain them,' she says. 'Do not seem to dread the arguments of your opponents. And as for your son, leave him to himself to get rid of his illusions. It is not possible that he should, in the long run, fail to judge Fauchon rightly. This Modernism is a kind of Protestantism.' And so the times goes on. Calvières is called out of Paris by business for a week, the lovers see one another daily, and the hours pass quickly away, burning and full. Savignan's article against *Hakeldama* still remains unwritten. Meanwhile Jacques maintains, unshaken, his faith in Fauchon. Why does not his father write the promised refutation of the Abbé's book? Why? He is tempted to think it is because the book is unanswerable. In conversation with Savignan he hints as much. Savignan replies, 'That is how you interpret my silence! You interpret it wrongly. It is quite true that it will cost me much to write the article, but not for the reason you suppose. However, I will

do it.' And so he sets to work and writes it at white heat, employing all the treasures of his learning, all the force of his dialectic. He works at it through the night, not remembering his scruples, impelled by the one thought that he is writing to save his son's soul. He gives the sheets to Jacques to read. The youth's difficulties disappear. He is convinced. He says to his father 'Tu m'as délivré. Quel article ! Comme j'y vois clair à présent !'

And now several things have occurred to arouse Calvières' suspicions. Geneviève comes to see Savignan, and tells him various details of a disquieting kind. She adds this above all, that she has just missed from her bracelet a little gold safety key which she always carried there. It unlocks a small box in which she keeps Savignan's letters—a supreme imprudence she knows it was to keep them, but 'Ces lettres, c'était toi. Je n'ai pas pu.' She is much perturbed; and so is he. She learns in the course of twelve hours that her maid, paid by Calvières, has stolen the key and that he is in possession of the letters. There is a scene between him and her—a very powerful scene on which I must not linger—and Geneviève quits her husband's house and betakes herself to an hotel in the Rue de Rivoli. He goes in search of his advocate—but reflects that the man is not very trustworthy, and also that he wants a vengeance more immediate and more complete than that which the law will give him. Then he hears the voice of a newspaper boy crying '*Les Droits Nouveaux*. Premier Article du célèbre Abbé Fauchon.' The thought strikes him. 'The Abbé Fauchon! that's my man.' Only the day before he had chanced to see Savignan's annihilating review of *Hakeldama*. He reads the Abbé's article '*L'Excommunication Libératrice*' in the paper which he has just bought. He doesn't know much about the subject with which it deals, but he recognises and appreciates its venom. 'Yes,' he says, 'that's my man: ill-conditioned, needy, the poison of asps under his lips, his heart full of gall; and then there is that article in the *Germe* between them. Yes, that's my man; that's he; he will flay Savignan alive for me; and he will do it at once.' He jumps into a taxi, learns at the office of the *Droits Nouveaux* Fauchon's address, drives rapidly to it, and finds the Abbé there. Calvières ascends the miserable dilapidated staircase of the wretched house which is the home of the apostate priest and his bride—he has now married Thérèse—murmuring 'What a place for a honeymoon! But no doubt he has got hold of some servant girl.' Fauchon himself opens the door of the *appartement*. The few days of wedlock have not improved his appearance. Animality, mingled with a touch of shame, is written on his face. 'I have come to you to speak

about M. Savignan,' says Calvières. 'I don't want to receive anyone from M. Savignan,' the ex-Abbé replies; 'he has written an infamous article about me.' 'I don't come to you on behalf of M. Savignan,' Calvières rejoins. 'I come to give you the means of doing for him. I come to you because I have read his article in the *Germe* and yours in the *Droits Nouveaux*.' 'Ah, you propose revenge to me?' 'No, justice. This militant Catholic who has written against you in the *Germe* is the lover of a married woman. Look at the letters.' 'How did you get them?' Fauchon demands. 'They are addressed to my wife,' is the reply, 'and I was going to pay the expenses of his candidature!' Now do you understand what a dirty scoundrel he is? Haven't I the right to ruin him? Look at the letters.' Fauchon takes up one of them, and then another, and another. He finds uncomplimentary phrases about himself: 'a charlatan,' 'an abominable intriguer.' Why, it is Savignan who is a charlatan, an abominable intriguer; yes, a debauchee, an impostor; he writes against the marriage of priests—he a libertine, an adulterer! Such hypocrisy deserves to be publicly exposed. Fauchon agrees to write; he will have the letters type-copied. Calvières takes his departure; the ex-Abbé promising him to give back the originals if he will come again at five o'clock.

Fauchon calls Thérèse, who is in the next room. She comes, pale and anxious. 'Here are Savignan's love-letters,' he says. She is stupefied. 'Yes, his love-letters to a married woman: the pen which wrote those pages about clerical celibacy in the *Germe* wrote these turpitutes'—and he reads some extracts. 'He deserves the pillory. He shall have it.' Thérèse is shocked at her husband's project. He is obdurate. She exclaims 'And Jacques Savignan?' 'Well,' he says, 'Jacques shall know what manner of man his father really is. The father shall be stabbed through the son.' She sees that it is useless to argue with the fanatic, who, by way of silencing her, quotes the text 'Oh the depth of the wisdom and knowledge of God: how unsearchable are His judgments and His ways past finding out!'

Fauchon sallies forth to arrange for the publication of the proposed articles about Savignan's love-letters: he will make a series of them in the *Droits Nouveaux*; and Thérèse meditates how she can stop him from perpetrating this infamy. What can she do? The only thing she can think of is to go to Jacques and to get him to come. Fauchon used to be very fond of him—and may, perhaps, even now listen to him. So she goes off to Savignan's house and finds Jacques there. She is obliged to tell him all she knows. The young man is overwhelmed. 'These were two men that I believed in! Well, I will come—I will follow you in a short time.' She returns to her home.

Presently Fauchon comes back. His proposed articles have been accepted. He sets Thérèse to type the letters, so that the originals may be returned to Calvières, as had been agreed. She proceeds to do so. Then Jacques arrives. A stormy scene ensues, in the course of which Thérèse thrusts the letters into a large envelope and hands them to Jacques, who puts them in an inside pocket of his coat, which he buttons up. Fauchon tries to take them from him. There is a struggle between the two men, in the course of which Fauchon seizes a revolver. Thérèse tries to take it from him. Jacques endeavours to separate them. The revolver goes off. It wounds Jacques. The hurt is mortal. In a few hours he dies.

Such is the catastrophe in which the story culminates. I leave readers desirous of knowing the sequel to seek it in M. Bourget's own pages. I trust that in my brief *résumé* I have given, at all events, some indication of the living force with which the author writes. He is in all his works a psychologist, but nowhere has his power of analysis and introspection been more signally manifested than in these volumes. Of course he does not write *virginibus puerisque*. He uses great plainness of speech in dealing with matters of a sexual character upon which an English novelist would barely enter. But in this work he does not give us any of those 'audacities of description,' to use his own phrase, which we find in some of his earlier fictions, and which, as I venture to think, disfigure them.

W. S. LILLY.

*FROM EARLY VICTORIAN SCHOOLROOM
TO UNIVERSITY:*

SOME PERSONAL EXPERIENCES

THE fact that a College education is now possible has made a radical difference in the lives of English women. No change in our circumstances can be so important to us as a change in ourselves, and, even though but one girl in a hundred has any sort of University career, the other ninety-nine are unconsciously affected by it, and their standard of life and its work altered. Not freedom only has been given, but some things more positive than freedom—energy, and an outlook on some of the tasks to which energy can be most wisely devoted. We have only to read Jane Austen's books, or even such comparatively modern presentations of English life as those given us by Miss Yonge, to realise how great is the space we have traversed; while the less spirited and less known tales, such as *Private Life*, *Anna*, and *Shades of Character*, tales altogether sunk below the horizon of this generation, seem as though they were written from another world than ours. So cramped, so artificially restrained, was the scope of women in the Early Victorian period; the few rose, and rose high, but the many were sunk in stagnation.

The latter half of the nineteenth century accomplished many revolutions, from the capture of our radiant servant, electricity, and other triumphs of science, to the wide-spread results of the Education Acts of 1870, the majority of those results being for good, but some few of the forces let loose being still in need of discipline. Among these revolutions, one of the most important and least obtrusive was the offer to English women of a sound education. Never was a deep and genuine transformation of thousands of human destinies accomplished with less noise, never was fire with less smoke. Now and then there was a momentary ebullition about some fantastic change in dress, about the use of the latch-key or the disuse of the chaperon, but these soon subsided and progress went on unhindered.

The figure of the Old Maid is gone from the stage of life: that figure so often rendered ludicrous, but to the initiated so full of pathos, the embodiment of powers thwarted, crushed, and flung

prone before the victorious career of others. In her place stands the Unmarried Woman, to whose special care some of the great tasks of the world are committed. The place of women in the general order of things is determined by elemental facts, easily recognisable in savage and half-civilised nations. One half of the human race are to be fighters, rulers, explorers, discoverers, and builders, and the other half are to make—body, mind, and soul—those of the coming generation who are to fight, rule, explore, discover, and build. There is a fundamental truth in this division of labour that cannot be overlooked, but not only does the idea of motherhood need immense expansion if it is to be true and noble, but the mere fact that in our country alone there are said to be three quarters of a million more women than men—and those, I believe, mainly in the professional classes—proves to us that we have much to consider before accepting any easy solution of the problem of women's work. Especially in the ranks of the unmarried we may find a mass of fine material of which good use can be made; a mine of treasure that is thus far not thoroughly explored. The cloister is no longer possible, but a devotion equal to that of the cloister lies buried in these lives. Magnificent are the tasks assigned to women, whether married or unmarried: the total care of children under ten, and nearly the total care of old age; the tendance of the world of the sick, suffering, and disabled falls in great measure to their share, and also a large proportion of the help given to the vast multitude of those in need or distress. The adornment and beauty of the world has always confessedly been in their hands, and now that the deeper notes are added, they may command the whole scale and be the producers as well as the subjects of art. They are needed, needed, and at times the murmur of the need becomes conscious want, and rises to a shout as the clamour for their service is heard by the ear that is open to the needs and desolations around. The task of education claims them by the ten thousand, and the hospital claims them by the thousand; the vast empty lands of our Colonies cry aloud for them, and social reform at home urgently demands them; the paths of literature, art, and music, always nominally open, can now be entered with new appreciation, and the region of systematised domestic economy they have entirely to themselves. The long dammed-up waters have been let loose into a score of new channels, and wonderfully little damage has been done to the plantations on the way. Here and there a girl, breaking through the old barriers of feminine diffidence and dependence, with its blushes and smiles and tears, has failed to find for herself a new barrier in the right place, and so has brought discredit on a good cause; but, taken as a whole, no revolution has ever been marked by more moderation, and this quietness and self-

discipline remains for ever as a proof of the fresh strength, the robust home-loving goodness of our English girls. The green-house was broken through, but the unsheltered plants have quickly acclimatised themselves to the natural course of the seasons. ' 'Tis in grain, sir, 'twill endure wind and weather ! '

Personal experience, if faithfully recorded, is eventually of more value than many generalisations, and I have been exceptionally well placed for sharing in the great transition. Let me say at the outset, that I am a thorough Conservative at heart. This word, in my present use of it, has not a shade of political or even social intention, but means that I love the old-fashioned virtues and amenities, and that in spite of all changes I recognise some of the highest types of beauty in cramped and modest lives, and in narrow views of religion. In matters of Faith, the light-hearted speculative iconoclasm of the young is to me a great pain. Yet there are definite excuses for their rashness, for forty years ago the formulas and phrases by which religion was conveyed to our souls were too sharply cut. The natural reaction has come in the flooding of old boundary lines, and the justifiable running out of speculative thought into illimitable space has been lightly followed by the host of the ignorant and the easy-going, to their great hurt. This is not the place to dwell on the revolution of Religious Thought, a revolution more widely operative than that we are now considering, but the influence is felt in far-away regions, and it is inevitable. To stand full in front of the Zeitgeist and oppose it is to repeat the story of Canute and the waves. There is many a pang for us elders in seeing the ancient landmarks ignored and treated as of no significance, but there are two things we can do : the first is to hold unshaken our own creed, a little shortened perhaps since it passed from the hands of authority to those of reason, but in its vital centre divine, conclusively proved to be so by the best of all authorities, our daily experience ; and the second is to look with eyes of sympathy on the position, so different from our own, in which the women of the next generation find themselves. The new antecedents must necessarily produce new consequences, but Truth amid all fluctuations stands fast, and will be discovered by the sincere and the humble. ' Crux stat, Orbis volvitur.' Not only the earth but the heavens have been shaken in the course of my lifetime, and the things that cannot be shaken do appear all the more clearly. The tide retreats to gather its forces in a new direction, and the old landmarks of the spiritual life emerge again, standing where they have stood for centuries past. If we believe that the world is governed by the God of our worship, and neither by Satan nor by a blind Fate, there must be some advance in goodness, some virtue and help in every veering blast of the Zeitgeist. Possibly

it may be the virtue of courage in the face of opposition that is to be called out, but this should seldom or never be undiluted with sympathy. I think that some of the martyrs felt sympathy for those who lighted the faggots. Certainly there is good in the present *Zeitgeist*, with its energy of social reform, its desire for the Women's Vote, and its impatience of every authority that is not reasonable; and by contributing ourselves to the tendencies we can commend we may weaken those that we cannot, and point out the highest and best road. We are put into the world to 'serve our generation,' and this implies discernment of its needs, and we are not put into the world to complain of our generation with the iterated and mournful cry 'It was not so when I was young.'

Among the precious things of the world one of the few most precious is the heart of a true woman. It is a jewel that belongs to the very crown of things, and with us who have some power of education in our hands lies the responsibility of keeping the treasure unblemished, and of bringing it up to its best and most beautiful. I have, I confess, looked with critical eyes on every change, whether of inner faith or of outer custom, fearing that some influence may draw near that will detract from its priceless beauty, but I am not disheartened. With this outlook of hope I address myself to the more 'conservative' spirits, and think that it may perhaps be of use as well as of interest if I relate something of my personal experiences of the revolution in the education of English women, and state the benefits that appear to me to be most solid in the gift of a College career. Curiously enough, my life seems to have covered the whole range of the transition, as far as it has yet gone, from schoolroom tuition of a typical Early Victorian character, onward to holding the position of Principal in one of our University Colleges for over thirty years.

Think of a bright, pleasant schoolroom in a country house 'five miles from everywhere,' a room containing many things, but witnessing to no real teaching. A few maps were on the walls, but no blackboard was there, no charts, no models, no explanation of the lessons the children were to learn, and which were to be 'heard' next day. The governess might change from time to time, but the system never. So many pages of 'Mrs. Markham' to read aloud, a French verb to repeat (and the accent taught was excellent), ten examples from 'Colenso' to be worked, six questions of 'Mangnall' to answer, and two pages of 'Child's Guide' to prepare. This latter book was easy and also varied; it told you what tapioca was, and why the thunder did not precede the lightning. I do not think I remember a spark of real interest being elicited, except when one governess (otherwise unsatis-

factory) taught us to collect, press, and name the beautiful ferns of our neighbourhood ; neither do I recollect any sort of explanation—no, not even to correct the spelling of the word Mediterranean, which had been rendered with two t's and one r. Well do I remember the anxious look down the page to find the little pencil mark where the exertions of the day might find an end. The strain was laid on memory and perseverance only, and neither reason nor imagination was called to co-operate. Of all the arithmetic I learned, and there was a little every day for several years, I can call to mind only one single rule, and it ran thus : ‘ Turn the fraction upside down, and proceed as before.’ It was no wonder that children were not interested, and it is not much wonder that a little boy, economical of effort in learning his share of Mangnall, miscalculated his turn, and when asked ‘ What was the character of Henry the Eighth ? ’ cried out enthusiastically ‘ Round, and flattened at the poles ! ’

Our real education lay outside the schoolroom. The hour struck, we made some ‘ putting-away ’ evolutions with the velocity of a hurricane, and then, on the days when a formal walk was not a necessity, looked at one another with a triumphant ‘ Now, what shall we do ? ’ To run out into the garden with the dogs was very seldom our choice, for indoor pursuits were many and enticing. This was our mother’s doing. She was brought up without any governess, after the fashion of a still earlier period ; she had read Plutarch’s *Lives* and Rollin’s *Ancient History*, she had taught herself Greek, and knew an outline of classical philosophy. I do not suppose she knew much in quantity, for the sole method of tuition had been to read aloud while her mother sewed ; but what she did know was like pure gold for quality. Moreover, she was able to instil a love of knowledge for its own sake, and she encouraged us to glean in every field that was open. One of the first things was to teach us to copy printing characters clearly and neatly ; then we learned some heraldry, and drew and painted many fine escutcheons ; after this we began to learn German ; next we picked up (or bought) shells, and learned to name them every one with the help of the now long-disused science of conchology ; then we learned (or rather my sisters did) how to sing glees and the alto of little songs, and we had great joy in attempting the elements of perspective, in finding the horizon line and the point of sight, and in seeing how completely these two things controlled the whole picture. It is not possible to enumerate all the subjects touched on. It was not ‘ lessons,’ for no learning was demanded of us, and we might leave off when we wished ; it was exceedingly fragmentary knowledge, and yet no one could call it a ‘ smattering,’ because it was fired with the most ardent interest. It made us good listeners and gave us an

eager desire to learn more. Intellectual curiosity once awakened led us into regions where our mother did not follow, such as the naming of constellations or of wild-flowers, both of which were accomplished under some difficulties. Every new subject thought of was left more or less unfinished, and yet the effort of mastering the rudiments of each was so intelligent that it held within it something of the excitement of the explorer. Most of such knowledge is now systematised in the lessons of our kindergartens and high schools, and when I see the careless way in which some children regard their nature-study, their brush-work, their growing seeds and the rest of their apparatus, it gives me a pang as though some rare and sacred domain were being treated as common ground. It is right, it is a thousand times right, that the beautiful things of nature should be brought to the attention of every one of these little 'heirs of all the ages in the foremost files of time,' and yet there is something lost. Popularisation, alas! has in it too often an element of vulgarisation, and when wonder and reverence are set aside true education dies.

When I was fifteen the schoolroom, as such, was given up, and we were left to our own devices. Our tastes led us to art and science rather than to literature, but there was nothing like adequate guidance, and a good deal of time was lost.

I remember that we decided that for at least six hours each day we ought to be at work on something tangible, and though the exigencies of hospitality would of course encroach on this, we faithfully entered on paper what we had been able to accomplish. This was by no means all solid reading, for drawing claimed a large share, and for one of us at least there was the turning-lathe and other employments of the hands. This aim continuously carried out produced some results. We were able to read the Gospels in Greek, and we learned German poetry, and knew how to manage both a microscope and a telescope so as to give pleasure to others. Novels, except Sir Walter Scott's, were debarred, but the field of poetry was open. It was a closely restrained life, and, though a happy one in its way, we longed to try our wings on some harder flight, and a vague unrest underlay the apparent harmony, as though in the far distance something was calling to us to which we were not allowed to respond.

After some years of this life I went to stay with my cousin, Professor Campbell, of St. Andrews University, and there first heard of the possibilities of a College career. My ambition was fired, leave was given, and in October 1872 I plunged into Girton, at that date just three years old. A written examination was a thing unknown, and many of my papers must have been an amusement to the examiners, but they were lenient and wise in conforming the standard of requirement to what they were likely

to find, and I remember that they gave me full marks for Scripture and for the essay, and the satisfactory result was my admission.

The impact of a new world on an old is a strange thing, and not easy to experience with an even spirit. There were only eleven students when I entered Girton, and scarcely over twenty when I left; but they all felt the responsibility of the new effort, and were discreet and very quiet in public. But amongst ourselves the ferment worked vigorously. Everyone had come to College by her own strong desire, everyone had come in the face of a little laughter, that could hardly be dignified with the name of opposition, and the atmosphere was charged with electricity. Coming, as I did, from a home such as I have described, there seemed to be around me an uproar of interests, and principles that had been considered as fixed in solid form for ever were thrown into the melting-pot. There appeared before me a passage ever lengthening; as we walked, curtain after curtain was dashed aside, and who could tell what new world awaited us at the end? It was not light, for the old lights were dimmed, but the way stretched on through the gloom. The safe fireside and the closed room had in some mysterious fashion opened out into long echoing galleries, and there was no possible turning back. The first perception of great thoughts, the surrendering of the mind for the first time to universal questions, the glimpse of something immense, doubtful, probably malignant—for let it be remembered that Darwin's *Descent of Man* was not published till 1871—these are experiences that cannot be repeated, and I found them awe-inspiring. Whither would they lead? The unknown was vast and fearful. No second Stanley can walk across Africa not knowing whither he goes, no second Livingstone can stand by mighty flowing waters and wonder whether he has found the source of the Nile or the Congo, for the map is now in everyone's hands.

Let me leave the immediate personal recollections, and try to point out what seem to me to be the essential gains, intellectual and ethical, that have been brought to Englishwomen by a College education.

The intellectual advance, since the days of my schoolroom, is easy to see and praise. The first two 'High Schools,' at Manchester and at Notting Hill, were opened in January 1873, and were rapidly followed by others, covering England with a network of ever-improving instruction. Still earlier were founded the Cheltenham College for Ladies under Miss Beale, and the North London Collegiate School under Miss Buss, both true pioneers. In two or three years this type of school sent up to the Colleges students better prepared in those elementary subjects which we of the first years had found so desperately difficult, and the

Colleges in turn reacted on the schools in sending them a new and better type of teacher. In slowly but steadily widening circles the fresh impetus spread outward, as books of a more solid kind were demanded from libraries, as magazines for women adopted a more public and disinterested tone, as aesthetic taste was cultivated (this chiefly by Ruskin, who stands wholly independent of Women's Colleges), and as Browning Societies, Shakespeare readings and debates began to be organised here and there among girls and the younger married women. When we think of the petty interests these things superseded, the gain is obvious.

But the most important thing is the ethical aspect of the movement, the change wrought, not in the stores amassed, but in the collector and keeper of those stores. Let us try to sum up the gains.

Before we can judge of the value of a cure, we must note the features of the disease or weakness from which it is the happy release, and already the conditions of the past are only too rapidly fading from our memories. It was not a good life for the many, the Early Victorian. For the favoured few it was beautiful. Read *The Gurneys of Earlham*, *The Taylors of Ongar*, *Two Noble Lives*, *Sara Coleridge*, *Mrs. Schimmelpenninck*, or a dozen other biographies, and see the splendour of that mysterious thing, a good education, and how it can surround and draw out to the very best a young and growing mind. There were no classes, no herding girls together, but the best was effected for each one singly. Even outside the ranks of highest cultivation there might be found a few 'schöne Seelen,' delicate of taste, submissive of will, ignorant of the main evils of life, and perfectly silent about the little they did know, exhaling a fragrance of old-world sweetness which it is hard to find now. The flower grown under glass has an unblemished charm all its own, but, when we are considering human beings, the charm seems an unnatural one.

Turn and look at the lives of the many. Thousands of girls were growing up in our pleasant country homes without enough to do. Even out of doors the interests were not many. The few rode or hunted, but the many went a walk 'there and back.' Tennis came in (in the form of Badminton) just as I entered Girton, and croquet was some dozen years earlier. The indoor pursuits were more varied, but they were not worthy the efforts of young life, and the evenings were long and sleepy. The girls who lived in provincial towns had the advantage of occasional concerts or lectures, but they suffered grievously from want of breathing space, and some of them were never for a moment alone. There are virtues in solitude, for which no other gift can

compensate. To both town and country girls the clash of life was denied, the exertion of the judgment was of no use as opinions were offered them by Society ready made, strong enthusiasms were considered a little unseemly, and (if the parents could contrive it) the daughters were saved from even touching the hard corners of the world or thinking of its cruel realities. In the Middle Ages the lady of the castle sang to her lute, worked tapestry, and knelt in her chapel, while her lord's captives rotted in the dungeon immediately below her feet. It was the same again on a wider scale. Before a woman's eyes, evil was not to be conquered or remedied, but simply to be thrust out of sight.

Solitude and experience seem to be two of the chief fashioners of human life, and too often both were denied.

Es bildet ein Talent sich in der Stille,
Sich ein Charakter in dem Strom der Welt.

The few have the talent. Mrs. Browning, amid surroundings uncongenial except for an encircling wall of solitude, attained her end and blossomed in beauty. The many possess the possibility of character, but these were denied the pelting stream of life and the rolling waves of hardship that alone can mould it. Denied; entirely out of protective kindness, but denied. I know what I am speaking of, for I have not only seen it but felt it. Now, human nature will find directions in which to expand, and the tracks left open were but poor ones. Prejudices grew up and waxed mighty; strong feelings were spent in youth on very small issues, and then as age drew on there came a kind of withering of the whole nature. Often have acute observers of our life, such as our best novelists, commented on the shrinking and drying up of the nature as much more common in women than in men—e.g. Maggie Tulliver's aunts. Now, the reason is not far to seek. Never a maiden but the pink and white blossom of April adorns her life with the latent promise for the future, but, the visiting bees and the winds of heaven being excluded, there is no fruit. Age, loftily judged, is meant to be the best of times, but the season for setting the fruit has passed, and the life is empty. The charm of the timid blossom is soon over, and the long stretch of forty years that should prove the ultimate and lasting beauty has little indeed to show. As far as one can judge, it is the absence of responsibility and the power of choice, the absence of the assertion of personality and the endurance of the consequences of action, whether good or evil, that produces this blank. The corresponding young man, the brother of the girl we are considering, is turned out to work in some form of active life, and his faculties of choice and will are developed. There is certainly much risk, for we see a percentage of these

fine young lives run to waste; dissipation takes the place of pleasure, idle self-will runs into vice, and one soul more treads the path to ruin. Prodigal sons are alas! many, and prodigal daughters are very few, for scarce one in ten thousand would break through the bonds and fly to destruction. Women have stronger instincts than men toward the actual beauty of goodness, and they see no charms at all in freedom purchased at such a price. So the women of whom we speak stayed on in their orderly and often pleasant life, and withered away on the stalk. Fears of various small kinds took possession: fears of mice and of cows, fears of being alone, and fears of many other sorts where no fear is. The cheerful talk became empty gossip, endless curiosity about trifles in the lives of their neighbours, perhaps made more interesting by a hint of detraction and disgrace. Divergence of opinion, which is one of the best preparations for arriving at the truth, degenerated into spiteful hints or an open 'snarling match.' Everything touched on, even things of a kindly intent, became paltry, and the life closed as the very picture of insignificance.

Is this too severe a sketch? The maiden, to start with, is generally sweet, and often strong, and it is the fault of her circumstances rather than herself if this miserable end is reached. One redeeming light, the sunshine of Christianity, has shone steadily through this poverty of twilight, and those who have given themselves to distress and suffering for Christ's sake have shown like stars amid the dimness. Even if I pass over the splendid band of women of older days and confine myself to those who have breathed the same air with me (nearly every one of them I have seen, and some of them I have known), the sight is a beautiful one. The pioneers of nursing—Florence Nightingale, sweet Agnes Jones, and grave Sister Dora; the true hero, Josephine Butler; the single woman theologian of the nineteenth century, Dora Greenwell; the helpers of the utterly degraded, Mrs. Ranyard and Mrs. Bayley; the persuaders to righteousness, Miss Marsh, Mrs. Pennefather, and Mrs. Catherine Booth; the sailors' friend, Miss Weston, and those who have raised the lives of our soldiers at home or abroad; and for each leader (and many more might be mentioned, even among those who have crossed my path) there were perhaps a thousand of the more obscure whose names are known and honoured only in Heaven. Here was a crusade offered in which life might be worthily laid down, here was an outlet beyond the fireside, scope for the exertion of heroic forces, a path of limitless patience. This is the Cloister in its permanent and ideal form, this is devotion permeating all life.

But the Cloister can never be the vocation of the majority,

and we return to the ordinary girl of leisure in the pleasant home. Where there are children there is always work, happy and varied work, and the stagnation can never be complete. But it is impossible to use the whole being in this home life, and unused powers first rebel and then become atrophied. One young heart after another looked out of the windows of home on to the stir and colour in the street below, and then felt herself drawn back, gently, by the bonds of affection, but irresistibly. She must find her interest in the room, but not outside it. Much real affection, more convention, and a sarcastic word thrown in now and then to quench aspiration, and success is attained : a very complete success, for not only does the girl herself wish to be no more than her surroundings require, but she hastens to shut the window for her younger sisters. Then the withering process sets in. The power unused becomes unusable, and the judgment that is allowed no exercise is not respected because it is not worthy of respect. In this way is made the timid and garrulous old maid, or the mother incapable of following her children beyond infancy ; excellent so long as the body is supreme, but content to lose hold on her flock one by one just when the character and tastes are forming. This is no true motherhood.

But we may now leave the description of the past, and consider what College has done for us. School life naturally ends at eighteen, and all education that comes after that age may be classed as 'College.' Beside the University Colleges we find medical and hospital training, the teachers' and kindergarten courses, political economy, secretarial and commercial instruction, hygiene, agriculture, art, music, physical training, domestic science, and a swarm of other employments, every one involving good hard work and tending to develop independence of character. Learned men in every department have been exceedingly kind in lending a helping hand to the aspiring, and have often been proud of their eager, ignorant pupils, while to us the scope has given new life.

And what are the ethical elements in a College education to which we owe so much ? People say that a community of women does not thrive, but becomes petty and full of friction and small bickerings. For idle women this is abundantly true, but for College students engaged in their work it is emphatically not so. In idleness of spade and rake plenty of weeds spring up, but industry is a wonderful helper toward all that is good. The presence of a great object that demands interest and controls effort is protection enough against the evils to be feared. Moreover, I would say that in a resident College the community should not be so large that the influence of the Principal and staff cannot be deeply felt by each individual student. Men may possibly

thrive in large numbers, but women do not. By no means must the deferences and restraints of a refined social life be lost, but when College life is rightly ruled the courtesies grow and flourish.

I write of the ideal College, and would like to place before my readers the 'ought to be' and the 'might be' rather than the 'what is.' And yet there is not a single feature in the sketch which I shall present that is not taken from life, not one detail that has not been abundantly realised.

Perhaps the first and foremost thing learned is public spirit. Even to the best of women this often presents difficulty, because there is hardly any scope for it in the home, where every interest is of an individual nature. The good girl will do almost anything for love, and the 'Thanks awfully' of the brother, and 'That's a real help' from the parent, is reward enough. But there is no equivalent in College life. 'As ungrateful as a Republic,' say the French. No immediate thanks are given, and effort and patience go unrecognised; the demand of virtue is only for life.

Give her the glory of going on, and not to die.

In the new surroundings we have emphasis laid on persistence and self-restraint, on effort robbed of vanity, and of all but the purest good. Respect for the helper and leader is, of course, built up as time goes on, and at last brings in a full reward. This is not the kind of effort natural to a woman; for the sake of the individual she can be wholly selfless, but she needs practice to become disinterested for the sake of the many. Such a training adds the width and magnanimity she often lacks.

Another important point gained is that of a sheltered period for slow and firm growth. Too often the girl of the country house steps from the shades of the schoolroom into the blaze of a few weeks of excitement and pleasure during the 'season,' and, unless the mother's guidance is very wise indeed, the soft little character covered with sweet buds of promise is soon blighted and turned in upon itself in vanity and selfishness, and the leaves and blossoms never expand to their best. The finest trees are always of slow growth, and the years from eighteen to twenty-three are the formative years of life. For my part I love to see a girl still a child at eighteen, guided by the decisions of her parents, and referring to them for a judgment; but at twenty-three she should have opinions of her own, for no generation can take shelter behind another. Affection and loyalty may make one hide every sign of divergence till long after this age, and indeed for the whole of life, but never again can there be real dependence. For the parents to demand it is an insult to the next generation. They have had their turn of the opportunity to mould taste and principle, and now friend must talk with less-experienced friend.

For the child this transition 'from the glad safe rear to the dreadful van' is of supreme importance, and time must be allowed for expansion of the sympathies and strengthening of the judgment. The respected solitude of the little study, the pleasant companionship in the dining-hall or during the long walk, the discussion of serious subjects in the debates, and above all the gentle continuous pressure of real scholarly work, hour by hour and day by day, these form the best environment which we know for the growth and maturing of the young soul.

Again, we learn toleration. A girl is a fastidious and conservative being, who early absorbs systematic prejudices, as to what is 'the right thing to do.' Members of different grades of society, of different Churches, perhaps of different nations, are all on a level at College, and the true nobility of the spirit has the opportunity to show itself without adventitious support. At first some of us, from the delicate isolation of our homes, look on with wonder, and perhaps with dislike. Then comes toleration, and then more than toleration—appreciation. For ourselves we begin to see what was due to our circumstances and what to our own endeavours, and the sight is humbling; for others, we learn to divide between the fixed and the variable, between the inner soul and the fortunate or unfortunate surroundings of development. To a mind of any discernment the lessons given by a College year are immeasurable and indelible.

Also we learn courage. At home principles slide along accustomed grooves and under full approbation, but at College they are set free and tested amid cross-currents. To learn to listen, to speak clearly, and then to listen again, does not sound as though it were a hard task, but often it is so for a woman. The bud of conviction opened and nursed in shelter must be tested by adverse winds and pelting rain. The process is not always without suffering, but so long as the loneliness is not felt to be too acute every term brings in some fresh good.

There are other gains, too, but these are the most obvious. To concentrate intellectual effort for three years on one definite end, to stand together in free comradeship, to lay the basis here and there of a life-long friendship, to learn scarcely conscious lessons of sympathy with others who differ—and differ widely, and yet to hold the more firmly and openly to the central constructive principles of faith and duty, such is the ideal of College life. This is scarcely the place to speak of the labours of the Principal and staff, labours all-permeating and invaluable, without which the College is robbed of its power to train and guide; nor is it the place to speak of the Students' Christian Union, that wondrous 'growing point' of the spiritual life of the world that brings forth new shoots year after year. In fact, the more I write

the more I am conscious of the depths that cannot be written about. Leaves and blossoms are discussed and classified by botany, but the central core of life from which the whole plant grows is a thing apart, and is hidden. Every scheme or institution which deals with the human character must have behind it devotion and sacrifice or nothing permanently good is attained. Evil attends every wide-spread movement, and there is need of constant vigilance, but in the transition from the old world to the new, of which I have here attempted an outline, the good preponderates in large measure. We may take courage. The foundations are well and firmly laid, and we may safely go on to greater things.

I have not spent my heart in vain

A woman's soul, most soft yet strong.

CONSTANCE L. MAYNARD.

THE MUSIC OF INDIA: A CLASSIC ART

UNDERSTANDING between persons or peoples can never be won without a certain measure of surrender—a willingness to set on one side the conclusions of special experience, individual or national. In order to arrive at a just estimate of another country's achievement in any given art the inquirer must be able to divest his mind of the trained tastes and distastes associated with the practice of that art among his own surroundings.

The futility of mere analysis, applying the tests of its own familiar canons and conventions to alien customs, is recognised in dealing with dead and gone civilisations, and the method of modern research is to retrace one's steps as far back as possible towards a common starting-point. By examining different cultures in their relation to one another, with as little educated bias as possible, the student can construct a psychological background against which contrasting customs are shown up in their true perspective. It is to be regretted that the 'comparative method' has been, in general, so little used in treating questions of Indian culture, whose motives date back as far as those of Greece, or the past empires of the Nearer East. For this reason the verdicts of the old-fashioned critic, who instinctively held that his own country's traditions were founded upon natural and universal laws, and judged the practice of other nations by the measure of their conformity with those laws, still hold the ground on many points regarding the cultivation of the arts in India. The merits of Indian drama and epos were indeed recognised by a small circle in the West as long ago as the end of the eighteenth century, when first translated into English; for literature is conformed to more universal laws than the other arts, and makes a wider appeal. Indian painting and sculpture have only begun to engage our attention seriously within the last decade. The music of India still waits to be interpreted to our understanding, though signs of an awakening interest have begun to appear.

Viewed from the European standpoint, our traditional estimate of Indian music is not illogical. It cannot be denied that Indian music, however well performed, rarely makes a spontaneous

appeal to our musical sense, and affects it not always pleasurable. The difficulty of hearing typical music in India, except in a few favoured localities, is considerable; the dearth of Indian writings on the subject is so great as to discourage research; the Indian system of musical notation is crude and defective¹; and, finally, in popular drama native melodies are so much contaminated with inferior Western popular airs as to be subordinate altogether. From such facts as these have arisen, naturally enough, the beliefs that Indian music lagged behind the other arts and was never developed beyond the most elementary stages, and that it has little vitality at the present day, and is already on the path of decay. These are the conclusions to which sober analysis has led us on evidence which seems sufficiently convincing. Yet I think that an honest attempt to discover the true scope of Indian music and its meaning and value to the peoples of Indian culture will show this evidence to be mostly irrelevant.

In his preface to Mr. E. C. Clement's *Introduction to the Study of Indian Music*—a valuable discussion of Indian musical theory—Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy writes :

Its golden age must lie far back from the present: it not improbably coincided with the moment of greatest achievement in drama, *Kalidasa*, and for the theory, *Bharata*. Long anterior to this, however, music was a highly cultivated, *perhaps the most highly cultivated of the Indian arts, and to the present day it has remained the most continuously vital and the most universally appreciated art of India*.² Taking together what has been lost and what remains, music is the most complete expression of the soul or genius of the Indians—a mirror faithfully reflecting their inner life.

This statement, emphatic and authoritative, gives the lie direct to our popular theories. Can we discover for ourselves to what extent it is upheld by the facts of Indian life and experience?

To begin with, legend gives to music a place high above all other artistic influences, and attributes to it powers quite beyond those of mere human attainment. We are told, for example, that Mien Tansen, a musician of the court of Akbar, sang one of the night Rāgs³ at midday, and that by the powers of his music darkness fell over the palace as far as his voice could be heard. A Bengali girl-singer of old time was said to have drawn down rain-showers upon the parched crops in time of famine by singing the

¹ It is scarcely possible for the musical notes of any but the simplest airs to be recorded completely, and it is a rare thing for them to be even partially written down.

² My italics.

³ The Rāgs and Rāginis, with their families of Putrus, or Bharjyas, were the presiding deities of the different musical modes (or 'themes'—we have no word which gives the exact meaning, for Western music has not its equivalent in practice), to which they gave their names. Each season of the year and hour of the day has its special mode which is appropriated to it.

rain-Rāg Megh-Malar. The impious Rāvana, an Indian Tityos, chanted the hymns of the *Sāma-Veda* with such effect that the great god Shiwa was moved to pardon him. Even the instrument itself seemed to be endowed with magic properties. In the *Arabian Nights* there is a description of an Indian lute, which, when its strings were touched, sang of its birth, its nurture, and its fashioning ; of its wanderings and of its adventures. A verse of the Bengali poet Rām Prasād tells how

The music has entered the instrument, and of that mode I have learnt a song.

Ah ! that music is playing ever before me, for concentration is the teacher thereof.

The value of these naïve popular beliefs, the very mirror of popular fancy, is in showing us what seemed to the common mind a perfectly credible and natural happening. It is just because music could affect the feelings and moods of the people so deeply that they looked with such awe upon its powers. From being itself impelled, beyond reason and wish, to do this or that at the behest of a musical strain, it is only a step further for a simple mind to conclude that the sovereign power of music could control the workings of nature too. I have myself no doubt that the reluctance shown by Indian musicians of to-day towards singing a Rāg at any but its seasonable time is dictated by a latent fear of disturbing the divinely appointed order.⁴

Apart from legend, however, history, from the very earliest times, is quite definite in according to music the foremost place among the arts, whether in courtly or in popular life. It formed an essential part of religious observance and dramatic representations. The strongest ethical influence was attributed to it, and its place in education was carefully guarded.

The spell of lethargy that fell on the cultivation of music, as of the other arts, in India during the nineteenth century was due to no internal weakness or decrepitude. Predominance of Western influence, slavishly imitated but never assimilated, the invasion of India by the restless commercial spirit of the West, the rise of industries, transferring production from the workshop to the factory, are among many causes that kept the creative spirit in check for so long a period. But the active Renaissance spirit that is making itself so widely felt in India of to-day is full of promise for the arts along their own lines of development. Music above all is too closely bound up with Indian life as a whole to be diverted permanently from its essential traditions. In character the true national music—and it is this alone that we need to

⁴ The reason alleged is that the presiding deity has only time to listen to the melody at the appointed hour.

consider, not the hybrid musical declamation which foreigners generally hear and accept as the type of Indian music—has never changed or lost its prerogative. It may be difficult for us to understand how an art can conceal itself from foreign observation for so long, allowing nothing to be heard of it or written of it, unprotected by the zealous guardianship of societies or bodies which discuss its methods and preach its laws, and at the end emerge intact with an unbroken tradition. Yet this is fully possible in the East. The custom of oral transmission by which our own Greek epics were handed down for centuries was superseded in the West by the art of writing. In India it has continued side by side with the written language fulfilling its own, a separate, function, and the greater works of literature have been, by preference,⁵ handed down in this manner. The greater freedom which the oral tradition gives to the interpretative art was considered even more essential to music than to literature, and the musician would have nothing to do with a system of slavish memorising which depended on a written score. The true followers of the national art, at the present day even, uphold the custom of oral transmission and regard the threatened introduction of a fixed and more elaborate system of notation as an innovation destructive to the very nature of Indian music.

In continuation of the passage quoted above, Dr. Coomaraswamy writes 'that Western Orientalists and educators have so long ignored this music is the measure of their misunderstanding of India.'

Here is a charge too serious to be ignored. If this statement contain a literal fact, then, by implication, a bigger claim is made for the importance of music in India than we could truthfully make for that of our own art. Highly as we prize our music of the West, we look for a real appreciation of its value amongst the initiate alone. There are countless others for whom it has only a limited meaning, whose lives are not sensibly affected by its influence. Are we then to assume that music has a greater hold upon the peoples of Indian culture than it has upon ourselves? In the main this is so. As an art it may be less systematically cultivated by them; as a factor in daily life it plays a vastly more important rôle. To the European music is a thing that stands outside his life, is wholly external to his normal routine; it gives him pleasure and interest in a greater or less degree according

⁵ These two great works together (*i.e.* the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*) form the outstanding educational agencies of Indian life. All over the country, in every province, especially during the winter season, audiences of Hindus and Mohammedans gather round the Brahmin story-teller at night-fall, and listen to his rendering of the ancient tales. The Mohammedans of Bengal have their own version of the *Mahabharata*.—Sister Nivedita (*Cradle-Tales of Hinduism*).

to his taste or understanding, but it is not expected to mould his character or to determine his conduct. Music is an essential, perhaps the most essential, part of our culture, but we do not regard culture as an essential part of our daily life; and by tacit consent educated people are content to regard music as a branch of knowledge for the select. Even the word 'musician' is used to mean not a person with taste or liking, or even talent, for music, but a person with some professional training therein. To the Indian, on the other hand, whose life is ordered on a religious basis throughout, music—the chief handmaid of religion—is a pious duty not less than a recreation. In its beginnings the offspring of one of the four sacred *Vedas*, music was early appropriated to the service of religion, and to the present day every religious act is performed, every festival with its innumerable sacred offices celebrated, even many of the ordered duties of the day discharged in chant or in rhythmical movement. An interesting little handbook, almost the only one of its kind, giving the impressions of an English observer on Indian music, contains the following description⁶:

The people of India are essentially a musical race—every important event in their life has its appropriate song. To such an extent is music an accompaniment of existence that every hour of the day and season of the year has its own melody. Mirasis (*i.e.* bards) wander about the Punjab like the minstrels of the Middle Ages. They are amongst the retinues of the great. . . At marriages, fairs, and religious festivals they are in great request, and in everyday life they figure largely in the foreground. Mirasi women are called in on various occasions, as, for instance, to invoke the aid of the goddess Sitala if a child is sick, to sing a friend away when she leaves the village, or to welcome her with a song on her return.

Music in the West is a highly specialised art. We tend to think of it less as a creative activity, obeying certain artistic rules, than as a thesaurus of masterpieces to which individual men of genius have made their several contributions. We are not so much interested to ask 'What kind of a musical idea?' as 'Whose work of music?' The composer builds a structure of his own imaginative creation upon a foundation of certain types and conventions, expresses himself in phrase or harmony derived from this or that school of orthodoxy, employs technicalities in vogue in some particular style. The result is, inevitably, that the appreciation of the hearer can never be complete unless assisted by trained knowledge of musical science. This may be less true of the works of those artists, such as Grieg, for example, or Chopin, whose motives and ideas have been suggested by national life, but all our composers, even a Mozart, one of the most

⁶ A Short Account of Indian Courtly Music (Annie B. Macleod.)

spontaneous and innately musical, appeal fully as much to the aesthetic instinct as to the whole human personality.

In Indian music the spirit of the nation is nearly always the direct inspiration, and personal genius must subserve the end of expressing this. The elaborate airs of professional singers are something of a class apart, a fraction only, and the least significant element of the whole.⁷ The purpose of Indian music is its service to the people from the highest to the lowest without regard. Never was there a more democratic art than music as practised in the land of aristocracy, India.

The musical compositions of modern Europe, if we except the old folk-songs,⁸ many of which have come down to us in a variety of settings, are creations, finished and complete. Every detail of form is unalterably fixed by its author, and the genius of the interpreter lies in getting so near to him in spirit as to be his faithful mouthpiece.

In Indian music even its classical compositions, the Rāgs, a part of sacred tradition, can clothe themselves continually in fresh forms and assume different guises. To interpret means no

⁷ Musical activity in India has never taken the form of the cult of organised concerts, and the public performances, upon which the European hearer bases his impressions of Indian music, are scarcely representative of its true purposes or standards. Since, moreover, the professional performance has become grievously obscured in character and denationalised during the nineteenth century—the ‘dark age’ of the Indian arts—it becomes clear that such a truly national music cannot fairly be judged by the quality of the performance which the casual stranger is permitted to hear.

⁸ This argument purposely takes no count of folk-music, which has never been officially recognised by musicians and which plays little part in the history of Western music. Besides which it dates back to a time when our musical art was in its infancy, and its typical forms had not been evolved. The ancient ‘singing-men’ of England, once a highly privileged order, with princes and nobles as their patrons, steadily lost caste during the fourteenth century until, by Elizabeth’s time, they had the name of rogues and adventurers. In the words of Dr. Bull’s couplet (a reference to a proclamation of Edward the Second) :

Beggars they are by one consent,
And rogues by Act of Parliament.

The minstrels of France and the Minnesingers and Meistersingers of Germany are not much heard of after the end of the fourteenth century, and the fifteenth century in Spain saw the end of the order of Troubadors.

It is only of recent years that enthusiasts have traced the pedigree of this old art of the ballad, as best they could, with the few records at their disposal, collected its scattered relics, and attempted to show its importance. Referring to the old folk-music, Margaret Glyn (*The Rhythmic Conception of Music*) writes : ‘The fact that the Church system, the Gregorian, which held the field completely from the fourth century to the close of the sixteenth, has descended to posterity by means of its intonation, and the popular system of folk-song . . . has come down to us through oral tradition only, completely accounts for the overlooking of the latter and the enormous bulking of the former in musical history.’ This music, persisting in an oral tradition in every country of Europe, is truly national wherever it is found, and largely religious (not ecclesiastical) in tone, by virtue of its descent, quite apart from its association with the miracle-play. The famous old air of ‘Come over the burn, Bessy,’ referred to

faithful reproduction of an individual work, but a free rendering in terms of those ancient forms and phrases in which, in Vedic times, the meaning of life found its permanent musical expression. Such interpreting is in itself a creative art, for each rendering of a work is a living contribution of the artist. The singer deals with the Rāg as his feeling or mood dictates, improvising with unfettered freedom of choice within the limits of its own laws and principles. For this reason repetition is almost unknown, because musical sounds and sequences (not reduced to a final form in a musical score) are organised and controlled by no other law than the taste of the singer.⁹

Clearly, then, since the whole purpose and nature of Indian music is so much unlike our own methods, all attempts to judge it by Western canons must be futile. For all that, is it not strange that the voice of Indian music should not have transcended the barriers of convention at least so far as to convey some intelligible message to our ears, since music, of all the arts,

by Shakespeare in *King Lear*, is an illustration of a manner which was fairly common at the time. One of its versions is as follows :

Come over the burne, Besse,
My little, pretty Besse,
Come over the burne to me.
The burne is this world blind,
And Besse is mankind,
So proper I can none find as she.
She dances and she leaps,
And Christ stands and clepes,
Come over the burne, Besse, to me.

The South of Germany is especially rich in old folk-songs telling in quaintly simple, often domestic, language of incidents in the life of our Lord or the Virgin, or of the joys of the Blessed in Heaven. Such are, for example, the *Schlesisches Wiegenlied*, beginning :

Auf dem Berge da geht der Wind,
Da wieget Maria ihr Kind.

Or the Odenwalder Volkslied, ' Die arme Seele vor der Himmelstür ' :

Im Himmel sind der Freuden so viel
Da tanzen zwei Englein und haben ihr Spiel, u.s.w.

Very similar, too, are the old Catholic folk-songs—legends of the Holy Family or of the Apostles, etc.—of Normandy and Brittany, which Yvette Guilbert has made familiar to us.

Apart from its distinctive charm, this folk-music is most valuable as showing the *natural* laws of the development of music. But the folk-songs have ceased by this time to be a part even of rustic popular life.

⁹ This fine conception of the interpreter's art is only possible where oral tradition obtains. Wagner gives us the same idea of creator and interpreter in one in the guild-tradition of the Meistersingers :

Der Dichter, der aus eignem Fleisse,
Zu Wort und Reimen, die er erfand,
Aus Tönen auch fügt eine neue Weise
Der wird als Meistersinger erkannt.

lies closest to the instinctive feelings of mankind? Can no reason, other than difference of convention and manner, be found to account for our deafness to its meaning? I think there can—one which will explain without detriment either to Indian musical genius or to Western understanding.

There is nothing to equal, of its kind, the musical art which has grown up in modern Europe, with its wonderfully complex science and its marvellous refinements—an art which so much of the highest genius of the West has helped to build. Recognising our music as unique in its own excellence, we have taken it as the type, the norm, by which to measure the musical arts of other lands. Starting from this false premise, we have blundered into a *cul-de-sac* off the road of scientific inquiry, and can only extricate ourselves by retracing our steps historically. For the music of modern Europe is of the nature of a 'sport' in artistic development: it owes its very excellence, as well as its limitations, to an accident of history which diverted its course from the natural path of musical growth.

The parent of all Western music was the ancient Greek art $\eta\ \muονσικη$. The modern musician is not, as a rule, disposed to admit that our music owes much to the music of Greece, notwithstanding the direct influence of this upon the rise of opera or 'music-drama.' Be that as it may, *historically* at least our music was, in its beginnings, derived from the Greek art from which it took its name. But $\eta\ \muονσικη$ was in general so vastly different from anything that we understand by the word music that it is at the present day almost entirely incomprehensible to us. Scholars and musicians alike have tried to explain this fact by denying that there existed any Greek art of music worthy of the name—although this denial, as in the case of Indian music, went clean contrary to the evidence of history¹⁰ and the Greeks' own estimate of their art. Of late years fresh facts on the subject have come to light, and scholars have done something to vindicate its claims and explain its meaning. But very few have been interested in these explanations, and the subject has remained at best one of intellectual curiosity only. There has never, to

¹⁰ 'What, then, shall be our education? Or is it hard to invent a better than has been discovered by the wisdom of ages—I mean the education of gymnastic for the body, and music for the soul?' Plato, *Rep.* 376 E.

Music always held the first place in the education of the child and the youth in Greek life. In Homer music is cultivated by every class and is associated with nearly every action. Achilles was taught music by Cheiron, Hercules by Linos. Music was not only a recreation, but, to borrow Reinach's words, a 'véritable instrument de moralité.' It was a part of *noble* education. In Ionia, Lesbos, and Crete there was a special cult of music organised almost on the lines of a university training.

my knowledge,¹¹ been any attempt to establish Greek music as a *Classic* art, along with sculpture, literature, and the other arts—an art whose canons were chosen by the highest artistic taste and laid down for posterity to adhere to in some considerable degree. For all that, I am persuaded that the Greeks did discover the *natural* purposes of music, and cultivated this art with the same genius that belongs to all their artistic achievements, along its proper lines of development. If we can find out what were these lines of development we shall be nearer to an understanding of Greek music than any laboured reconstruction of Greek melodies and attempt to appreciate them by our musical sense will bring us. And, however circuitous the path, this, and no other, will lead us to a better comprehension of the Indian music of to-day : for the Classics of the West and the Classics of the East, the arts of ancient Greece and the arts of old Hindostan, were evolved upon very similar broad principles and stood in a simple comprehensible relation to one another. In the East their traditions are no dead letter ; they inspire the daily life of the people of to-day. Among us the ancient Classics are diligently preserved and handed on by cultured taste, but (*pace* our ' Classical education ') the 'dead languages' have ceased to speak living words to us, and the old art of ' music,' in particular, has even lost its ancient prestige.

The term *ἡ μουσική* was the most comprehensive art-word in antiquity. Strictly speaking, it consisted of *μέλος* and *ρυθμός*, the equivalents of which—melody and rhythm—we moderns use in a specialised sense. In ancient times, however, *μέλος* stood for that part of music which had to do, not only with melody, but with intervals, species of the octave, with all the variety of modes and transpositions, with modulation, with vocalisation, and with orchestration. *Ρυθμός*,¹² too, consisted not only of the audible rhythm which forms the basis of all music and gives the art of phrasing, but of all the ordered complexities of bodily movement which we group under the name of dance. Thus *ἡ μουσική* contained, at least potentially, every branch of art that has anything to do with sound or systematised movement. In Greek civilisation ' music ' became more highly developed in some directions than in others. In melody proper, in variety of scales

¹¹ A paper on Greek music read by Mr. J. Curtis before the Hellenic Society in the early part of last year makes out a good case for Greek delicacy of ear and perception of tone-difference, but I have nowhere found the subject treated by classical scholars otherwise than as a deviation, strange, if interesting, from the normal conception of musical practice.

¹² *Rhythmos* was the dominant factor in music in early times, and *melos* more or less subordinate; the freer development of *melos* came later. The ancients considered *rhythmos* to be the male and *melos* the female element in the partnership.

and intervals, and in every branch of rhythm, Greek music was cultivated to a degree unknown in Europe to-day. On the other hand, polyphony, that branch upon which our music is mainly built up, did not develop beyond the simplest harmonic¹³ effects.

Such, broadly speaking, was the range of the musical art in Classical times, as nearly as may be co-extensive with the range of Indian music, laying down, as I hold, the natural lines of musical development, and determining, as I shall try to show, the inherent relation of the different branches to one another. That our modern art of music has diverged from these lines and conforms to other laws, which it has evolved for itself, was due to a definite break in its history. The rise of Christianity affected the musical art much more profoundly than the other 'pagan' arts. These lay more or less dormant during the centuries of ecclesiastical domination, but, with their liberation in Renaissance times, emerged with a full-grown tradition of Hellenic learning and Hellenic skill behind them. The severity of the early Fathers might have put the same taboo upon the Greek art of music but for the fact that some measure of intonation was found to be helpful to the Church services. As it was, they discarded¹⁴ most of the elements of music, in particular the rhythmical measure that encouraged the spontaneous movement of the dance, and introduced in its place a stress- or accent-beat which forbade all such freedom of expression. It is thus owing to the stern asceticism of the priests that our modern music is founded on an *artificial bar-measure*. In this fact lies the essential difference between ancient and modern music, between the music of the East and that of the West. In ancient Greece, as in India, the unit of musical composition is the *phrase*; a figure or motive is the shortest *complete* element—an element which can, and normally does, suggest an entire cognate idea, in movement, melody, and words. In Western music the unit is a *bar*, a fraction without any intelligible meaning in itself. With the intro-

¹³ That is, simultaneous harmony was always confined to two notes, although the natural chordal sequences would probably suggest themselves to performer and hearers.

¹⁴ Music has had its detractors at other times than in the early centuries of the Christian era, though with less far-reaching effects. Thus the ascetic instincts of the Emperor Aurungzeb gave a distinct set-back, for a time, to the practice of music as of the other arts, under the Mughul dynasty. The Greek Philodemus of Gadara wrote a treatise on music, (there may have been other such,) disparaging it as an article of luxury having no useful object, and consisting merely of a sensuous combination of sounds. In England, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, many of the more puritan-minded viewed it with suspicion. 'Old Humphrey's' verdict on music (*Old Humphrey's Walks in London*) is very typical of his time. He writes: 'So long as Music is content to be the handmaid of devotion she is well worthy of regard; but when she sets up herself to be worshipped, down with her, down with her, to the ground.'

duction in the West of a fixed or metric, to take the place of the periodic or rhythmic unit, the natural association of movement and words with the melody, in which they are inherent, was broken up. Henceforth, in the new music which grew up on this basis, the union of words with music was voluntary and arbitrary, dictated by the composer's choice, not implicit in the scheme; and dance,¹⁵ as a musical element, was entirely crushed out and detached.

¹⁵ The folk-dance did indeed persist in popular custom, with all its old traditions, though banished from the musical art. Its antiquity and its religious associations protected it even in the face of clerical disapproval. History has outlawed it altogether, but it can be traced from time to time, here and there, as accident has caused it to be recorded. Its significance is often religious, and it is as closely allied to the folk-song as the Greek sacred dance was to the Greek hymn of worship. The 'White Paternoster' is one of our best-remembered folk-hymns with dance accompaniment. Most interesting of all is the unique old carol 'To-morrow will be my Dancing-Day,' still sung by peasants in Cornwall, (though nothing is known of its tradition or origin,) when recorded by William Sandys some eighty years ago. (For the carol in full, and discussion, see the article by Mr. Mead in the October number of *The Quest* 1910.)

I.

To-morrow will be my dancing day.
 I would my true love did so chance
 To see the legend of my play,
 To call my true love to my dance.
 Sing Oh! my love, Oh! my love, my love, my love, my love,
 This have I done for my true love.

II.

Then was I born of Virgin pure,
 Of her I took fleshly substance,
 Then was I knit to man's nature
 To call my true love to my dance.
 Sing Oh! etc.

III.

In a manger laid and wrapped I was.
 So very poor, this was my chance
 'Twixt an ox and a silly poor ass
 To call my true love to my dance.
 Sing Oh! etc.

The story proceeds, through eleven verses, in simple and devotional language, to tell the life history of our Lord down to His death, burial, and resurrection, ending :

Then up to Heaven I did ascend,
 Where now I dwell in sure substance
 On the right hand of God,—that men
 May come unto the general dance.
 Sing Oh! my love, etc.

The old drama of the *Totentanz*, the Dance of Death, (*Danse Macabre* in France, where it has a slightly later history,) has the same pre-Christian pedigree, though used in the service of Christian legend.

A single example of the sacred dance actually adopted into public worship survives to this day in Seville, where boys dance round the high altar of the cathedral at the festival of Corpus Christi.

'The struggle was a long one, and in the end the Church never quite succeeded in expelling the dance from her doors.' 'The struggle' of the dance for its place is less discreetly passed over by tradition than by history. A

By these means the music of Europe has become a specialised and unrelated art which cannot justly be compared with any system of music whose history has not been interrupted and revolutionised by external conditions. To understand it fully requires a sense educated for the purpose, through which it speaks to the intellect and emotions, but this educated musical sense is of no help to us in interpreting the musical arts of other races.

Now, having found the Classical traditions for the art of music in Europe, let us examine them more in detail to see how close a parallel they offer to the Classic music of the East.

'*H μουσική*', as we have seen, covered a much wider range than does our music of to-day; was highly cultivated, but never became specialised. Its elements were not separable from one another, and the whole art was developed, as in India, in its relation to daily life.¹⁶ Like Indian music, too, its origin and chief purpose humorous old folk-song from Schlesien, 'Der Kappelmönch,' tells the tale of a monk whom a certain man would fain tempt to dance. A sheep, a goat, various offers were made to him, but the monk continued to deny that he knew anything about so vain a practice. At last a bribe was found which the monk could not resist.

O Münnich willst ok tanza, ich ga dir glei ane Maad?

The monk admits that he can dance, and has always danced (in private, one supposes).

Mir Kappelmönneche tanze schu, eich tanz ok wünderschien.

The achievement of the Church was, in fact, not the destruction of the dance, but the secularisation of the dance. On one occasion only, too pleasing to be forgotten, the dance actually won the day in open combat. The *fandango*, condemned by the clergy, came up before the Sacred College for its final prohibition, but the charm of it so captivated its judges that they gave it a free pardon!

¹⁶ I have not attempted in this article any discussion of the ancient Greek and Hindu musical *systems*, which is too large a subject to be dismissed briefly. The resemblances between the two sciences are so striking as to have suggested to various writers, Indian and European, that they were derived from a common origin. Most significant of these resemblances are the following:

- (1) The great variety of scales in common use;
- (2) The possible division of the tone into quarter-tones, or, by re-tuning of the instrument, into thirds of tones, three-eighths of tones, and other minute intervals;
- (3) The cultivation of the rhythmic and melodic sides of music, with little regard to harmonic effects;

(4) The 'mode' (theme, or style). The variation in meaning of the words *άρμονία*, *τόνος*, and *τρόπος* as employed by different writers—sometimes even interchangeably by the same writer—has given rise to different theories of pitch, key, or scale, and to many a controversy. Out of a mass of vague and conflicting evidence emerges, however, the sure fact that the Greeks composed in certain definite and orthodox *sequences*, or styles, and that each style was susceptible of different interpretation by the musician who improvised the melody. In this custom we have the undoubtedly equivalent of the Rāg.

Many apparent minor points of similarity are interesting as a matter of speculation, but their history is much complicated by the doctrines of musical theory, which was cultivated, in India as in Greece, as a branch of mathematical study with little relation to the practice of the art.

were religious. Greek music consisted of three things—melody, words, and dance. This was the art in its full expression. When, for any reason, words or bodily movement were omitted from the performance, the association still remained to such an extent indispensable that the other element would be supplied in the mind of the listening spectator. I hold this to be the most fundamental fact in Greek music, and necessary to its true understanding, although treatises on ancient music lay little stress on the point. Reinach (*Dict. des Antiquités*), while admitting the association, appears to mistake its cause.

Si la théorie et le langage vulgaire les considèrent (i.e. mouvement corporal, chant, poème) comme relevant d'un même art, c'est d'abord que, en fait, le même artiste créait dans la plupart des cas, les paroles, la mélodie, les figures de danse.

Music was a complete experience,¹⁷ not a branch of knowledge or an accomplishment. So we find, in direct contrast to modern custom, that while music, *as an art*, was introduced into Greek life comparatively late, and after a hard struggle, *as an education* it was always accounted of highest importance.

In Indian music we find exactly the same musical triad. The ancient Hindu writers agree in describing *Sangita* (music) as consisting of three elements—*Gita* (vocal music, or song), *Vadya* (instrumental music, or accompaniment), and *Nritya* (percussion, or dancing)—and this natural association is preserved to the present day. However often one element may be omitted in practice, it is always implicitly there. So a modern writer (Ranchohdas N. Jivrajani, *An Essay on Music*) says ‘To be able to realise the full effects of a musical air one must hear it in combination with instrumental music and dancing.’ A fable of South India (to be found in the collection of folk-tales made by the late Pandit S. M. Natesa Sastri) tells us of ten merchants who fell into the hands of robbers. They were stripped of their arms, clothes, and possessions, and ordered to dance. One of them, a man of cunning, ‘took the lead in the dance, and as a song is always

¹⁷ I have indicated, in notes to pp. 1079 and 1084, that folk-music in post-Classical times took up the tradition which history let drop, even to the extent of preserving the threefold alliance. The word ‘ballad,’ by which we understand an air with words, is derived from the Italian *ballare*, to dance, and conversely many of the old death-dances have come down to us in the form of a song. One of the most beautiful still surviving is the *Schwäbischer Totentanz* with the refrain

Alles, alles, alles muss vergeh'n;
Einer, Einer Gott nur kann besteh'n.

This shows us the scheme complete : melody, words, and dance united in religious worship. Most interesting for the theory which I hold is this passage from *The Governor* by Sir Thomas Elyot : ‘And as for the special names (of the dances) they were taken . . . of the first words of the ditty which the song comprehendeth, whereof the dance was made.’

sung by the leader on such occasions, to which the rest keep time by hands and feet, he thus began to sing. . . .

The song contained a message in secret trade language which enabled the captives, in the approved fashion of the fable, to outdo force by wile. In this tale—and there are many such—we have a very simple illustration of the accepted custom. Song and words must accompany the dance as a matter of course.

Reinach further states :

C'est ensuite que la poésie grecque, même récitée, présente des caractères musicaux de même nature que le chant proprement dit : la durée inégale des syllabes d'où résulte la mélodie naturelle de langage.

The first to recognise fully this musical character of Greek poetry was Wagner.

They (*i.e.* the prosodists and metricists) [he writes] had only our rapid speech accent in their ear when they invented the measure by which two shorts invariably equal one long. The explanation of Greek metres would easily have occurred to them if they had had in their ear for the so-called long the sustained note of musical measure, by which the length of words can be varied in melody.¹⁸

Indeed, Wagner's most radical service (in part foreshadowed by Gluck, like him an ardent Greek student) to the music which he so revolutionised, was that he restored, in some measure, and in one department, the natural alliance between poetry and melody. His 'verse-melody'¹⁹ is a melody arising out of the form and content of the words, for the creation of which ideally a poet-composer is required, so that words and melody come into being together. Such a melody is subordinate to the words, and is bound, sometimes, to do sad violence to our accepted principles of musical form. This revival has been admitted by us in the one branch of opera—though the artistic necessity for such a style is probably felt by few—but has not made much headway in vocal music otherwise. In Greek poetry the natural combination was perhaps the strongest in lyric, and is expounded with great sympathetic insight by the late Dr. W. Headlam (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xxii.). He holds that Greek metre, when elaborated, had a whole language of its own apart from the words. Taking an ode of Pindar, he shows the dramatic significance of the employment of certain metres, changes of metre,

¹⁸ 'Oper und Drama,' *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. iv. p. 124.

¹⁹ It does not seem probable that the tune of the 'verse-melody' of Classical times was nearly so elaborate as that used by Wagner himself; or, in other words, the elaboration was worked out in the metre, not in the air, for, in Greek usage, the poetry, not the melody, gave the rhythmical scheme. The melody itself probably came much nearer to a kind of musical diction, and, if so, would offer a close parallel to the 'verse-melody' which the Indian employs in reciting a song-poem. There were, of course, many varieties of *μέλος* much more complex and elaborate than this.

combinations of metre, or overlapping of metres, to suggest certain personages, situations, or abstract ideas—the effect being as subtle and unmistakable as the motive in the hands of Wagner. Only one modern composer—Hugo Wolf—has attempted to identify the words in lyric poetry with the music, or rather to regard the words as dictating the music, so that the melodic line of the voice never conflicts with the proper emphasis of the verbal structure. In spite of the success of this device in his own beautiful compositions it is not altogether surprising that Wolf's method has not so far been adopted by other composers (systematically, that is; single examples can be found in the songs of Strauss, and perhaps elsewhere), for it is difficult to express the form that underlies and is common to both arts while holding to our own fixed canons of musical form, founded on the bar-measure. The modern ear—that is, the ear of the average concert-goer—is scarcely yet sensitive enough to rhythmic subtleties to appreciate such departures from conventional rhythmopoeia as we sometimes find in Brahms' variation of periodic measure, still less that of Debussy, with his frequent interchange of rhythm by *metabole*, or rhythmic modulation. It does not seem impossible that the future may find means of reconciling the ancient concept with modern usage if musicians come to regard the bar (like the 'foot' of Greek poetical composition) more and more as a mere formal element in a rhythmical figure.

This musical quality of Greek poetry, foreign to our understanding, would be recognised without difficulty in the East. From the time of the *Sama-Veda*—composed to be chanted or sung—to the present, Indian practice has never quite dissociated music from words, and, for this reason, employs verse not merely as a more beautiful, but as a more natural method of expression than prose. Literature is something not made to be read, but to be declaimed with a musical diction, just as music is not to be played merely, but to be sung. Writing of the poet Rām Prasād, Sister Nivedita (*Kali the Mother*) tells how,

Drifting down the Ganges one summer day, his little boat encountered the royal barge of Surajah Dowlah, and he was ordered to come on board and sing. The poet²⁰ tuned his Vina, and racked his brains for songs in the good old Classic style.

Thus many Indian writers of the present day unconsciously introduce modulation into their prose; their language has a tendency to become balanced, and sometimes falls into a rhythm that one can almost scan. The Indian unquestioningly regards music as inherent in lyric, and would find himself hampered in having to recite such verse without some measure of intonation, much as

²⁰ So, in Classical times, the word *ποιητής*, poet, was often used in its twofold character of poet and musician.

a Greek scholar is nonplussed at having to write Greek words when he may not use the Greek characters.

As for the dance, no evidence is needed to establish its association with music in ancient Greece. It was not possible for scholars to lose sight of its position as scholars for nearly eighteen centuries lost sight of the importance of the melodic element in Greek poetry.²¹ Its prominence in every form of drama—a ritual dance itself in origin—the very name *orchestra*, a circular dancing-place where the chorus danced, let alone the mass of direct literary evidence, would have told us of its importance—if not of its significance. But since the partnership between dance and melody was dissolved so long ago, the idea of dance entirely dropping out of our musical art, it was easy to forget that the association was founded on something stronger than convention. Here again came Wagner to the rescue. He writes :

We see, then, that when the hearing has to be excited to greater sympathy, the performer will involuntarily appeal also to the eye: ear and eye must work together to make appeal to the feelings with full conviction. . . . Orchestral melody is related to the movements of the dance in much the same way as song-melody is related to the words of poetry. . . . Both dance-gesture and orchestral-music make themselves felt through rhythm. . . . Orchestra-melody, therefore, completely supplies the place of gesture.

The services of the mimetic dance are indeed valiantly championed in Wagner's opera by the rhythmical figure of the orchestral Leit-motiv. Yet, for all that, it is much to concede that orchestral melody 'completely supplies the place of gesture.' An influence of far greater importance for the reconciling of movement and sound in the realm of *rhythmus* is that of the new 'Rhythmic gymnastic' (Eurhythmics) of Jaques-Dalcroze—an art as yet barely ten years old, but already known in every country of Europe. Here eye and ear are again brought into close partnership, and, as in Greek times, bodily movement is trained to express the ethos as well as the *rhythmos* of the musical sound. No one, who has not, in person, been subjected to the training and discipline of rhythmic gymnastic, can form an idea of the extent to which every faculty of body and mind shares in this musical experience. But it requires time for the larger public to realise that we have here anything further than a new method of physical culture with a musical accompaniment.²²

²¹ Lucian's essay on dancing is one of the most interesting of all ancient discussions of the subject. Allowing for a certain playful exaggeration and mock gravity, which are his invariable manner, we cannot doubt that he is giving expression to a genuine Greek belief. He places dancing in the forefront of the fine arts, and holds that it is 'not inferior to tragedy itself in power of expression. . . . Moreover, it harmonises the soul of the spectator and trains the moral sympathies. . . .'

²² The educational value of a rhythmic musical training, for which purpose the Jaques-Dalcroze College in Hellerau was instituted, is better appreciated

In India dancing was, in Vedic times, looked upon as co-ordinated with poetry and music, and held a prominent place in social ceremonies as in religious observance. The early Hindus believed that their Sutras sprang from the dancing of Shiwa, and held this element of *Sangita* in high esteem. In later times dancing tended to separate itself and to become a more specialised art cultivated by a class of dancers—nearly always women.²³ There is a certain custom of social dancing which is practised even in the strictest circles and in the seclusion of the 'Zanana,' but this is more of a pastime than an art. Artistic dancing is now mainly to be found in the Nātch, and, because of its associations, has inevitably lost prestige. Yet even the dance of the Nātch retains its original strict relation to musical sound, interpreting and expressing it, not, as with us, using music merely as an accessory to accompany conventionalised movements. Bhavanrao A. Pingle's little treatise (*A Discussion on Indian Music*) explains in interesting detail how 'the whole body of the dancer' must respond to the beat in realisation of the different time-values, and that play of features, attitudes, gestures, and movements of the hands and arms must express the different emotions which the music suggests. Moreover, though the organised dance no longer holds its ancient place, the rhythm of bodily movement still accompanies the rhythm of sound. Not only does the player mark his time by tapping a rhythmic accompaniment to notes, rests, and pauses, but the listening audience clap their hands and sway their body to the measure, sometimes giving themselves up to the music almost as an enthusiastic conductor of an orchestra will express his time-sense with an abandon of gesture quite beyond the needs of keeping his performers together. With us, of course, such beating on the part of performers or audience would be out of place, for the reason that the structure of our music is artificial and artistic propriety demands that it shall be kept in the background; but the natural rhythmic measure of Eastern music stimulates the body to respond and so to realise the sound in movement. So strong is the sense of rhythm and its association with time in the Indian temperament that the worker engaged in any labour requiring bodily movement with a recurrent action instinctively becomes vocal. Words and melody discover

in the growing Continental literature dealing with the subject than here in England. Professor Winthner's recent book, with a preface by Professor Forel, *Körperbildung als Kunst und Pflicht*, should do much to enlighten a public understanding which has become dulled with our too academic traditions of music and dance. So, too, it is largely as an educational factor that Dr. Coomaraswamy champions Indian music and its claims.

²³ An exception to this is the custom of the religious festival-dance, Hindu and Mohammedan, of which the names of Holi and Mohurram are the most widely known. Here the dancers are invariably male.

and respond to the rhythm in his task. When two or more are engaged in the same piece of work the singing generally becomes antiphonal. The carpenter sawing wood, the boatman propelling his barge, the labourer toiling in the fields, the 'cooly' lifting sacks or hoisting stones upon a crane, each sings the rhythmic air which the movements suggest to him.²⁴ The loudness, rapidity and degree of abandon of the singing are an exact index of the amount of vigour put into the work. Amongst the most artistic and pleasing of these 'motives' are the improvised 'verse-melodies' of the palanquin-bearers. The tunes have great variety in detail as well as general resemblance. It is the business of the leaders to set the melody and change it at will, while the hind-men respond, sometimes modifying the measure. A surprising amount of metric freedom can be found in a single rhythmic scheme—illuminating to those who have puzzled long over the perplexing vagaries of the Greek choral ode! The words are simple and natural and appropriate to the task. It is noticeable with what difficulty the palanquin-bearers restrain themselves from song when the occupant orders quiet. Their pace lags, and the easy swinging movement becomes a short and jerky jog-trot, until one or other at length forgets and strikes up his motiv again, to which the others respond, and the chant proceeds as before.

We recognise that association of ideas can exist between the different arts, but we are accustomed to limit the association to the external impression. The Greek felt that different modes of artistic expression proceed from a common impulse, and so the thought of comparing the different arts with one another came quite naturally to him. For instance, the Classical writers hint at a close analogy between dancing and sculpture, which was expressed later by Athenaeus in the phrase ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων δημιουργῶν ἀγάλματα τῆς παλαιᾶς ὥρχήσεως λείψανα.

²⁴ This practice has become extinct in the West with the death of folk-music. The life of the countryman and his activity in the fields inspired many an old gesture-song, for we find mowing-songs and reaping-songs, etc., in the folklore of every country. The song of 'Bean-setting' (recorded in *Old Morris-Dances* by Sharp and Macilwaine), which was accompanied by 'thumping and clashing of staves'; such nursery ditties as 'Here we go gathering nuts in May,' or 'Savez-vous planter les choux . . . ?', as also the numerous 'Schnitterliede' of the Schwarzwald, e.g. 'Gold'ne Aehre du musst fallen, Aehre reif vom Halm,' are all examples of the old mimetic country song, now nothing more than a relic. Even the time-honoured 'Chanty,' the improvised sea-lay with which the sailor lightened his labours, seems to have gone the way of the folk-song. Miss Gilchrist, in a recent lecture before the Folk-lore Society, said: 'As to chanties the Navy knows nothing about them: the bluejacket does his work in silence. The palmiest time of the chanty was from the forties to the sixties of last century. . . . It has been replaced by hiss and clank of steam-winches.'

The late Dr. Butcher, in his preface to the *Poetics* of Aristotle, says :

The correspondence lies in the common element of rhythmic form. This was the soul of Greek music, and Greek dancing would not, on Aristotle's general principles, lose all its expressive power when transferred to the material of the plastic arts, modified though it may be in the transference.

Of the 'general principles' thus referred to one of the chief is that a work of art is an image or 'phantasy picture' made by an independent reality on the mind of the artist, the reality thus reflected being the facts of human life and human nature. Aristotle found that the rhythmic and ordered movements of music have a special affinity with the nature of the soul, and reproduce the moral life which is itself a movement : *καὶ τις ἔοικε συγγένεια ταῖς ἀρμονίαις καὶ τοῖς ρυθμοῖς εἶναι.* From this follows his theory that the regular succession of musical sounds, governed by laws of melody and rhythm, are allied to the *πράξεις* or outward activities which are the expression of a mental state.

This view of the Greeks prepares us for what has been a stumbling-block to many an English Orientalist—the quaint and beautiful alliance of music with painting in the Indian mind. The 'Rāg-Malas' or 'Garlands of Musical Modes,' a series of exquisite paintings which depict the different Rāgs or Rāginis, have often been explained as a piece of elaborate pictorial symbolism, but it is difficult not to believe that some subtler, closer alliance between the two arts is meant.²⁵ There have always been individuals to whom music conjures up some vision of colour or design, and the modern development of colour music shows that this is by no means an abnormal experience. In any case, it is surprising that the association should have seemed incomprehensible to an authority such as Vincent Smith, who writes :

It is not easy for the European mind to discover any real bond of union between a given picture and the sounds which it is supposed to symbolise. I do not know anyone who could explain why a particular design was appropriated to certain music.

Whether we understand it or not, we cannot doubt that the association in the Eastern mind is essential and natural. The more conservative of our musicians may regard such interchange of artistic sense-impressions as an effect of undue refinement, but India shows it to us as a normal experience which is taken into practical account in domestic and workshop production. Sister Nivedita (*Studies from an Eastern Home*), describing the making of the Kashmir shawl, writes :

The weaver actually possesses no copy of the design except in this notation. The manuscript of a melody lies in front of him, and from

²⁵ A beautiful modern picture of Rāgini-Godri (by S. Fyzee-Rahamin, exhibited at the Goupil Gallery) gives the very spirit of the melody,—the 'breath of coolness,' in its direct effect upon the spectator.

this he weaves the pattern that we see. A Kashmiri loom is really a little orchestra, and each shawl a symphony of colours, the men as they work chanting the stitches in monotonous plain-song. The connection between colour and sound is fundamental in Indian art-fabrics—though the point has never been investigated so far as we know—and furnishes the key to that power of combining and harmonising in which they are supreme.

The method I have followed, comparing, in its broad general principles, the Indian art of music with that of ancient Greece, makes no pretence at giving a complete picture, or even outline sketch, of its extent or scope. It claims to do no more than emphasise certain of the salient purposes and characteristics of the art which we are endeavouring to understand. Yet the light of even a few sincere truths should serve to dispel the mists of ignorant or educated misconceptions with which the subject has been too long obscured for us.

I have tried to make clear certain facts which are necessary to the understanding of Indian music—such facts as the Indian musician might very well neglect to explain, because he has always accepted them unconsciously and without question. The path of argument which I have followed has inevitably led us away from an appreciation of our own art of music; has shown us points of view from which it does not appear to its proper advantage. It has been no part of my intention to disparage the music of the West, or to score a single point against it. As a loyal inheritor of Western culture, I hold our music to be one of the most beautiful of our heritages, to be protected against every innovation which does not take account of its own continuous and consistent evolution. It is true that the rise of Christianity suppressed many elements in the Greek art of *μουσική* which would otherwise have come down to us and been incorporated into our music, but this loss brought with it also a compensating gain.

The attenuated fragment of Greek music represented by its diatonic scale had such vitality that it formed the root from which was destined to grow, in course of time, the art of polyphony; and out of polyphony was to come yet another kind of music capable of still greater expansion and power. To what height harmony, the latest phase of *melos*, is destined to advance the present generation can never know. It is quite possible that if we had retained the *genera* we should not have arrived at polyphony or harmonic effects. . . . The limitation of music to one *genus*, or scale, seems to have made possible the foundation of the modern art. . . . We have then to thank the Church for the process of elimination which made possible the building up of the art of polyphony.²⁶

There are many new influences at work in the music of to-day, called variously the Futurist, Impressionist, or Orientalising

²⁶ *The Aristoxenian Theory of Musical Rhythm*, by C. F. Abdy Williams. Introd. pp. xii-xiii. CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

movements. Without wishing necessarily to defend every new exponent of a modern system or every new departure in method, I would wish to point out that the whole tendency of these fresh influences is in the direction of *Hellenising* : of restoring the old, not introducing the new. The recovery of the melody inherent in verse, to which Wagner pointed the way, and the alliance of rhythmic movement with rhythmic sound are assured in the music of the future. The alliance of different artistic sense-impressions is older than Aristotle, but we find it masquerading as a new discovery in 'colour-music' : so, too, the association of Strauss' *Zarathustra* tone-poem with philosophy, Scriabine's *Prometheus* with theosophy, is quite in accord with the Classic view that different modes of artistic expression can take their rise in the same affection, *κίνησις*, of the soul. The art of musical therapy, which is interesting certain schools of medicine at the present day, was fully known to the ancients, who found that music had a 'curative effect upon the affections and passions.' The modern Russian school of musical composition—Strabinsky is a famous example—is very definitely inspired by the Classic conception of music as a trinity of words, movement, and musical setting. Orchestral and instrumental works are closely in touch with the folk-song, and are composed with a view to dance representation. Even in such an orthodox composition as the *Symphonie Pathétique* of Tschaikowsky the famous five-time movement is founded on a folk-dance measure. Most significant of recent changes is the growing tendency to discard the 'temperate' scale and explore the possibilities of new *series* of the octave. Fully half the best of present-day musical compositions are founded on some scale other than the orthodox major and minor—the 'duo-decouple' scale favoured by Schönberg, Strauss, Rebekoff, Ravel, and others, is perhaps the most radical innovation—and the possibilities of future development along these lines are too vast even for conjecture. Yet this is but the first step towards the recovery of our lost Greek *genera*! Probably much, perhaps even most, of our present-day compositions will be rejected by the verdict of time as a mere experiment, but out of the remainder will doubtless be formed principles which will bring us into line with Classic tradition, and will show us the way to a much more intimate appreciation of the music of the East.

E. AGNES R. HAIGH.

1914

THE SUGAR QUESTION

(I)

A WORD FOR COLONIAL CANE SUGAR

THE interesting article on one of 'The Opportunities of the War,' contributed by Mr. J. W. Robertson-Scott to the October number of this Review, recommends the immediate sowing of large areas with beetroot, to enable the United Kingdom to supply within its own borders the shortage of sugar supplies that must result from the cessation of the beet sugar imports from Germany and Austria-Hungary.

The beet sugar imported in 1913 amounted to 1,570,053 tons, and I hope that I do not misinterpret Mr. Robertson-Scott's views in holding that he bases his urgent recommendation for immediate action upon the assumption that the large percentage (1,297,907 tons) for which we have been indebted to Germany and Austria-Hungary cannot be counted upon in the future.

I cannot accept this view of the results of the War. However war may blast the works of man, it cannot affect the forces of nature. When it has ceased its ravages the soil will respond with undisturbed fertility to the industry of the husbandman, and crops that have by experience proved to be economically profitable will doubtless be grown in the future as in the past. Nor will their distribution be materially affected by feelings of international antagonism, however bitter that may remain as a heritage when the War has ended. If one country requires a commodity that another can supply, the trade will not be affected even by violent feelings of mutual aversion; therefore, taking it at its worst, I assume that in due course, after the War is ended, we shall purchase a large proportion of the sugar that we need from the countries that hitherto produced it. If, however, it can be shown that it is to our benefit to grow the beet and manufacture ourselves, then it would palpably be prudent to insure the continuity of its production within our own borders rather than continue to face the risks of a dangerous cutting off of our supplies from foreign sources.

Mr. Robertson-Scott proposes that, in order to secure the greatest probability of success, the Government should build State

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factories and encourage farmers to grow a sufficient quantity of beetroot to keep the factories at work through the full period of the 'campaign,' as it is technically called; that is, for sixty, seventy, or eighty days. And there are conceivable circumstances under which the Government would be amply justified in doing so. Given a suitable climate, suitable soil, and a good supply of reliable labour, a factory ought to pay the manufacturer and the farmer; but if the labour and land taxation are on a higher scale than those items in the Continental cost of production, we could only compete by adopting countervailing duties equal to those two items plus any direct or indirect bounty given to the foreign-grown sugar.

The instances given in the article are not very hopeful. In connexion with the Anglo-Dutch company the factory at Cantley, in Norfolk, was started. The prospectus estimated the building at 158,000*l.* It cost 168,000*l.*—not an unusual excess. Coming to the actual working,

The expenditure on the 1912-13 sugar campaign was given as 83,000*l.*, the receipts as 31,900*l.*, and the stocks as (at sale value) 6000*l.* This showed a loss of 45,000*l.* But to this loss was to be added the interest on debentures, directors' fees and depreciation.

I am quoting from the article. It proceeds :

The company had all sorts of difficulties, not only of its own household but in respect of the crops grown for it. They were short, of course, but they were also grown by comparative novices, though Dutch instructors and harvesters and Dutch machinery had been imported by the company. The weather had also been unpropitious.

However, if the Government can be induced to build and equip a factory, and can persuade farmers to supply an annual minimum of 20,000 tons of beetroot, the question can be answered if the proposal to substitute beet cultivation for some other crop now grown is economically sound. If it be so, then it might be possible to start a sugar industry on a co-operative basis, where the joint accounts of farm and factory might show a working profit. There is, however, a factor that must be taken into consideration in any proposal for investment in land or agricultural operations—that is, local rates and taxes. The rates, which in 1896 amounted to about 2*s.* 3*d.* in the pound, have now been increased to about 3*s.* 6*d.*, and it is widely believed that if the present party remains in power further burdens will be laid upon the land. Therefore it is improbable that the large sums necessary for the building and equipment of sugar factories are likely to be found until it has been demonstrated that beetroot sugar propositions will pay well. The statistics relating to agricultural production in White Paper No. 218, published a short

time ago, show that the area under crops in the United Kingdom had decreased between 1893 and 1913 by 1,190,000 acres, the agricultural population either emigrating, or migrating to the towns, which offered higher wages and a more exciting life; but the world's statistics show that in the near future we shall have to face a keener competition in the markets of the world than that of past years, and the sources of our overseas food supply will probably be narrowed by increase of population in countries from which we have drawn our supplies up to the present. When that time comes it will be realised that a country's stability is proportioned to her capacity for feeding herself, and agriculture will resume its proper place as the principal factor in the prosperity of the nation.

At present home-grown beet sugar enjoys an advantage of 1l. 16s. 8d. per ton in competition with foreign sugar. If the 1,570,053 tons imported in 1913 could have been produced at home this would mean a practical bonus of 2,878,455l. And, assuming that the production of sugar per acre would equal that of Germany and Austria-Hungary—1.78 tons and 1.46 tons respectively—829,723 acres of beetroot would be required.

I have suggested that the production of sugar crops may be sound even if the crop displaces some other product now grown, but it is possible that the industry might absorb the area required from the 1,190,000 acres that have been thrown out of cultivation during the past twenty years, and give employment on the land to a population of agriculturists the number of whom I have no means at hand to enable me to estimate. But while it is well seriously to consider how far we can become less dependent upon a supply of foreign beetroot sugar, nothing is being done to encourage an increase in the cultivation of the sugar cane, especially in the West Indies and British Guiana. On the 20th of August a Royal Commission on sugar was issued to

inquire into the supply of sugar in the United Kingdom, to purchase, sell and control the delivery of sugar on behalf of His Majesty's Government, and generally to take such steps as may seem desirable for maintaining the supply.

No Royal Commission has ever been given a greater scope for action, and in one respect it has done well and done it quickly, in purchasing many thousands of tons of raw sugar and making arrangements for its treatment in British refineries. This was a prudent and businesslike step to ensure that, at least during the War, the many industries that are dependent upon sugar shall not be closed down. But the far-reaching reference to the Royal Commission enables it to look for our supply and encourage the increased production of sugar wherever such encouragement offers

good grounds for the expectation of beneficial results. Such encouragement must not stop at pious aspirations or barren recommendations. It means an organisation as complete and as thoroughly equipped as we find in Java and in Ceylon. And it means money, that cannot be found at present by estates impoverished by the action of the Imperial Government.

Twenty years ago Java produced about two tons to the acre; to-day it averages nearly four-and-a-half tons per acre, while the West Indian production does not average more than about one and a half tons per acre.

The reasons for this difference in production are various.

(1) In the case of our West Indian production there is no direct assistance from the Government, as in Hawaii and Porto Rico.

(2) There is not sufficient labour.

(3) There is not sufficient scientifically trained examination into the selection and improvement of canes in central nurseries. It is known that the best varieties deteriorate, and that the more careful the cultivation and the greater weight of canes produced the greater necessity exists for the war against various cane pests.

(4) Want of capital to erect central factories of the best economic type.

In all those matters Java has led the way, with the result that I have quoted.

In days gone by the West Indies sent to England almost her sole supply of sugar. The cost of production was very high, as it always must have been with slave labour, and while the negro is an excellent workman, negro labour in the West Indies cannot be counted upon, except probably in Barbados, where the negro population have not as a rule grounds of their own. Elsewhere the negroes have acquired properties, generally small in extent, but large enough to require their labour just when it is imperatively necessary for the sugar planter. Hence it is that with a large negro population on the spot coolie immigration is necessary for successful sugar-cane growing.

There is also, in addition to the heavy duty on rum, a special charge of 4d. per gallon on West Indian rum that is totally unjustifiable, and against which West Indian planters have protested in vain.

If the Imperial Government will but give the proper encouragement and assistance to the West Indies they would indeed, in the words of the Royal Commission, 'take such steps as may be (are !) desirable for maintaining the supply.' Land, climate and canes are there, and Sir Daniel Morris has done much towards the scientific investigation of planting methods; but more trained men are wanted, and having trained them money should be obtainable on easy terms to enable the West Indies once more

to take its place as a leading group of sugar colonies within the Empire.

Mr. Robertson-Scott devoted a page of his article to showing that there is no difference between cane sugar and beet. As he puts it, 'Sugar is sugar ($C_{12}H_{22}O_{11}$) whether it is cane or beet, looks the same, and tastes the same, if fully refined.' So one might say milk is milk whether it comes from the cow or the goat, and after certain processes might look the same. But the residuum would be different, and so it is with sugar; the refined product may look the same and taste the same, but it is not the same. Taste the syrup that comes from the cane muscovado, and try the residue of beetroot sugar, and the wide difference is at once apparent. The one is sweet, the other unpleasant. Before Sir Ernest Shackleton left for the Antarctic he told me that none but cane sugar would be used by the expedition. He said that when marching they stopped for a short rest every two hours, and each man ate two lumps of sugar; and he said that within ten minutes after eating it they all felt a glow of heat.

I take the following extracts from the West India Committee circular. They are from an important article by Dr. Arthur Goulson on the treatment of certain forms of heart disease with West Indian cane sugar. The article first appeared in the *British Medical Journal*. The description of the heart complaint is highly technical, but the following speaks for itself :

For certain reasons I had to write this article in a great hurry, otherwise I should have mentioned the fact that I had been using cane sugar for these irregular, failing hearts with considerable success for the previous eight or nine years. In consequence of this little article two striking cases have been published in the *British Medical Journal*. . . . In my thesis for the degree of M.D. at Cambridge, read the 9th of May 1912, I established the fact that the ingestion of cane sugar has a beneficial effect on the myocardium in certain forms of heart disease. Now, in my hands and in the hands of my correspondents this mode of treatment has been eminently successful, and in a large number of cases the improvement in the state of the heart of the patient has been permanent. . . . The idea that there might be another factor in the process was aroused in my mind by the following case: Lady, seventy-nine years of age, one of my early successful cases. She had given up taking sugar except in her tea. From my point of view, this means giving up the treatment. In October 1910 I was called in to see her, and I found her heart irregular again and feeble and she was feeling ill. I advised her to return to her cane-sugar treatment for a time. I saw her again in a week's time, but there was no improvement. At the end of the next week, as there was still no improvement, I thought I would make a few inquiries. I discovered that she was taking beet sugar, and not the sugar made from the sugar cane—that is, West Indian sugar. I then took means to ensure that she took the particular cane sugar which I know to be absolutely pure. At the end of another week the heart was much better, and in a fortnight it was quite regular and the patient had recovered her old feeling of well-being.

After mentioning another successful case, and giving it as his opinion that there may be a factor in cane sugar (West Indian) which is not present in beet sugar, he thus concludes :

Before closing this part of my paper I should like to mention a curious fact in connexion with the feeding of bees which is interesting in this connexion. Practical bee-keepers tell me that it is well known that the syrup used for feeding bees in winter must be made with West Indian sugar, for if it is made of beet sugar the bees deteriorate, and many contract disease and die.

I hope that the Royal Commission will leave nothing undone that may encourage the growing and manufacture of beet sugar at home; but to my mind it is equally their duty to assist in the regeneration of the West Indies by giving practical encouragement to the increase in the production of cane sugar for the benefit of our home manufactures.

HENRY A. BLAKE.

THE SUGAR QUESTION

(II)

SHALL WE BE PUNISHED FOR MAKING SUGAR?

AT this time of stress no person of right feeling would wish to press the Government about any matter not of the first importance.

When, however, there is reason to believe that, through an imperfect study of a particular question and a fear of bogeys which do not appear to have any real existence, there is a danger of a great national opportunity being missed, it becomes a duty to set out the facts in the plainest possible way.

Briefly, the situation is this¹:

1. We imported last year nearly two million tons of sugar. (All we make ourselves is the product of a single factory in Norfolk, equal to supplying, say, the Isle of Man.)

2. Of these two million tons, less than half a million tons—about 20 per cent. only—was cane sugar.

3. Of the other million and a half tons—which was, of course, beet sugar—as much as a million and a quarter tons came from Germany and Austria-Hungary.

4. The remaining quarter of a million tons was made up by 190,000 tons from Holland, 52,000 tons from Belgium and 26,000 tons from France, the beet districts of which are now war-wasted, and by 2940 tons from Russia, which, except through Sweden and Norway, can export only by a German-held Baltic, a Turkey-Germany-held Dardanelles, a frost-held Archangel, or a costly Siberian railway route.

5. To meet this situation the Government has appointed a Royal Commission on Sugar Supply, which is believed to have bought in possibly 1,000,000 tons of present and future crop cane sugar.

6. The Government has also prohibited the further importation of sugar altogether.

¹ It is described very briefly in an article of mine in the September issue of this Review, and at length in my article, 'An Urgent Plea for State Sugar Factories,' in the number for October.

Now, the purchase of, let us say, 20,000,000*l.* of sugar, the power and influence of the Government and the co-operation of the sugar trade enabled the Commission to keep down the price of sugar to a reasonable figure. But very little consideration will show that, vast though this experiment in State Socialism may be, and admirable though it may be, it is, after all, only a temporary expedient. For three reasons :

1. The good will of Mincing Lane cannot be counted on indefinitely for Governmental rigging of the sugar market.

2. A Liberal Government has been incurring obligations to the sugar colonies which, in view of its fiscal principles, it must soon realise it will have some difficulty in discharging.

3. When the most has been said for what has been done, we have merely got hold of somebody else's supplies of sugar. The available stock has not been increased. When, a century ago, our admirals barred out cane sugar from the Continent, Napoleon promptly started to make sugar out of beet. He put thousands of acres under the new crop—though only half the sugar could be got out of it which is obtainable now—and set up large numbers of sugar factories. Now, in another struggle to the death with overwhelming ambition, sugar is barred out from Great Britain itself. Surely the obvious thing to do, if such a thing be still practicable, is to make in England some of the sugar which England needs.

There is a strongly held belief, however, that the requirements of this country can be met by attracting, by the power of the purse, poorer people's supplies.

Let us ask, and see if we cannot answer, in turn three questions :

1. What is the best opinion as to the impending shortage of sugar?

2. Is sugar beet growing and sugar making a practicable proposition at this time of day?

3. Is there anything to prevent State action on a scale commensurate with the grave situation with which we are apparently faced in regard to our most valuable food import after grain and meat? ²

WHAT IS THE BEST OPINION AS TO THE IMPENDING SHORTAGE OF SUGAR?

Obviously, the War on the Continent, from which alone we get beet sugar, is the opportunity of the cane industry.

It will do its best to increase its cropping areas. But it is always said by those who know something of the tropical sugar

² See Board of Trade Returns.

industry that the further areas available for the profitable culture—that is culture within practicable distances of the ports of shipment—are much more limited than the novice is disposed to imagine.³ In Java, I have been assured, the area available for extension is not more than 5 per cent. In any case, new cane fields cannot be planted in a hurry. It certainly seems reasonable to suppose that we can develop sugar beet growing and beet sugar manufacture more quickly in England. Here our agricultural and industrial conditions are known and fixed, and the market is at our doors. In the tropics sugar production can only be pushed forward in climatic and labour conditions which can never be accurately forecasted, and the work of development must proceed far away from the best markets, if not always from the best science, and without the assistance of labourers working in a bracing climate.

So much for the tropical sugar of the future, to be produced from cane fields which are still bush.

As to present cane sugar supplies, no doubt the power of the purse will attract to us very much bigger supplies than have ever reached us before.⁴ It is an indication of the extent to which war conditions alter the commercial situation that, as Mincing Lane reports, ‘the present high level of values has attracted sugar from Spain.’ But when the most reasonable estimates are made as to the extent of the cane sugar supplies which are within our reach, what is the highest level to which we can expect the percentage of our cane sugar imports to rise? In 1913 they were only 20 per cent., against 80 per cent. of beet. It would be interesting, indeed, to know what proportion of the 2,000,000 tons of sugar we require the Royal Commission really expects to see met by cane sugar in 1915 and 1916, and what exactly is the evidence upon which the expectation is based. Averaging the imports of 1911 and 1913 we had a cane import of only 17½ per cent. In 1912, following a bad Continental beet year, the import did not rise beyond 37 per cent.

We may now turn to the prospects of the beet sugar producing countries. The source of our chief supplies—amounting to a million and a quarter tons out of two millions—Germany and Austria-Hungary, is doubly closed to us. Germany and Austria-Hungary have prohibited the exportation of their sugar, and we

³ This impression is left on the mind of the reader of Dr. Prinsen Geerligs' *World's Cane Sugar Industry* (1912).

⁴ It is computed (wrote Messrs. Hancock, of Mincing Lane, in the *International Sugar Journal*) that whilst Indian imports of Java and Mauritius sugars last ‘campaign’ reached a total of some 750,000 tons, their combined running contracts for these descriptions over the current season (after allowing for resales and exports to Europe) do not exceed 250,000 tons—a remarkable illustration of the effect of very high prices upon Eastern consumption.

have put a padlock on the door by prohibiting the importation of sugar from anywhere lest we should get German and Austro-Hungarian instead of neutral sugar.⁵ Although the war must diminish the production of sugar in Germany and Austria-Hungary, it has been suggested that it will be necessary to store, or try to store, these 2,000,000 tons,⁶ the surplus over home consumption. Whatever may be the store of sugar in Germany and Austria-Hungary, however, we cannot touch it until we go there for it, though, conceivably, a small amount may leak out to us through Scandinavia, Italy, Roumania and the United States.

Holland, our next largest sugar purveyor in Europe, we have of our own act prevented from supplying us to any amount.

As to France, instead of being able to export sugar to us, she has been a rival buyer of ours in the Java and American cane sugar markets.

Belgium, another former purveyor to us, will be another rival buyer of cane, if she is free of the Germans. If she is not free of the Germans, she will no doubt eat out of those supposititious 2,000,000 tons in Germany and Austria-Hungary.

As to Russia, the invasion of Poland must affect the sugar industry in that province, but the probability is that there will be sugar elsewhere in the Empire to export to us—if it can be exported. By way of the Siberian railway, assuming it clear from military requirements, the expense must surely be prohibitive. ‘It does not therefore seem,’ says the *International Sugar Journal*, forgetting Sweden and Norway, ‘that Russian sugar will be available much before the termination of the War.’

‘Before the termination of the War.’ But, according to our most conspicuous military writer,

this War, for us, has hardly begun. We have sent the point of our advanced guard into France to skirmish with the enemy. In the spring the rest of the advanced guard will follow, and somewhere towards the close of 1915 the main body will begin to come within view. A year or two hence, when our Allies will expect a rest, we shall be in a position to make good war on our own account. Let us take the thing at its worst, and imagine the penultimate Cossack on the Urals and the last French doorkeeper evicted from Bordeaux. Then we begin a maritime war against Germany, and are no worse off than when we began it against Napoleon, and when he had nearly all Europe under his heel.⁷

‘A year or two hence.’ In taking stock of the sugar which can reach us from the Continent, we have to do more than think of the sugar which such of its factories as are not now roofless

⁵ Holland always refines more raw sugar than she manufactures.

⁶ It is no easy matter to store unbagged raw sugar, and, owing to Army requisitions, there is evidently a shortage of bags.

⁷ The military correspondent of *The Times*.

are making out of the beets grown this year. We have to think of the way in which the War will affect the sowing, the thinning, the hoeing, and the harvesting of beets next year and the year after; and the proportion of the factories which will be in order and have the labour, the coal, and the lime with which to manufacture the sugar out of such beets as may be produced and the military situation may permit of reaching factories. Well, that is a matter on which it is not necessary to be a sugar expert in order to be able to form an opinion. If the Continent is this year war-wasted and short of labour and crippled by lack of transport, and in some places already talking of giving beets to cattle owing to shortage of feeding stuffs, what is its condition not likely to be in 1915 and 1916? Can we doubt that, for one thing, more nations will be fighting, including, in all probability, Italy, which talked of sparing us 50,000 tons of sugar this year?⁸

There is not only the prospect of a shortage of sugar for several seasons, due to the peoples of the sugar-making countries making war instead of making sugar, there is the shortage due to the annual increase in sugar consumption throughout the world.

ARE SUGAR BEET GROWING AND BEET SUGAR MAKING A PRACTICAL PROPOSITION AT THIS TIME OF DAY?

This question has been dealt with at some length in the October issue of this Review. It remains only to answer some objections.

1. *Is the crop an exhausting one?*—As the crop is less in weight per acre⁹ than the net crops which some farmers believe they get of mangolds—there are some illusions on this point—it cannot be more exhausting than ordinary root crops. The plea of some lawyer land agents that the crop is exhausting is evidently based on the queer notion that the taking away of beets which have soil attached to them is a slow removal of the freehold! The answer is that beets are not ordinarily grown in adhesive soil, and that there is no incentive to send away dirty beets, for as only washed weights are paid for, the cost of the extra carriage falls on the farmer. That the crop is not exhausting in the ordinary sense is proved by the fine crops of wheat obtained after beet. And think of the weight of tops and leaves—about two thirds of the weight of the root—left in the field. The beet pulp is also returned to the farmer, so practically only the sugar—sunshine and water—is really removed. The farmer has also the

⁸ Dr. Geerligs, whose authoritative forecast in the *International Sugar Journal* for October should be read, explains that though Italy has produced less than her consumption this year, she has a surplus from her last 'campaign.'

⁹ A 2 lb. root is specially desired.

waste lime from the factory. Potash, phosphorus, etc., are returned in the pulp or the lime.

2. *Is there room for beets in our farming?*—No doubt our agriculture has taken a somewhat different development from the agriculture of the Continent, in which sugar beet occupies usually the chief place in the root crop. (It is only necessary to cross to Holland or to France to see acres of mangolds (or forage beets) and beets on the same farms.) The place for beets in England has been given by the National Sugar Beet Association as the place of

- (a) mangolds in dairying districts,¹⁰
- (b) swedes and turnips in root and barley districts,
- (c) barley and other straw crops and ordinary roots in Fen districts, or where barley gets laid or is of poor quality.

When beet was first experimented with on Essex farms a few years ago it was grown in many cases on heavy land quite unsuitable for it. No sane advocate of beet suggests that it should be grown except in suitable areas, and there are undoubtedly plenty of these. One of the greatest of our agricultural authorities says that the true opening for beet is, to a large extent, on land in East Anglia and elsewhere which is now down to an inferior grass. Like other competent judges, he believes that we need to increase our cultivated area, and that beets would help us to do this.

To say that there is no room for beets in our farming takes small account of a crying need. In spite of the many good points of British agriculture—more numerous than some lay critics imagine—there are, as everybody knows, many districts where the cultivation is not sufficiently thorough. For the parsnip-like beet—its roots often go down $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and have been found at $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet—there must be deep ploughing, and there must be land which is clean to begin with and is well hoed afterwards. The figures which have been published on the Continent, showing the rise in the value of land on which beet is grown, are well known, but our ordinary root crops have already brought us some of the benefits which would be secured by sugar beet.

The suggestion that there is no room for beets in our farming is also strange in view of the fact that they offer the farmer a root crop for which he gets cash down, plus pulp food for his stock, instead of the uncertain return when he only receives the value of his mangolds in the price paid for his stock. Cash down for beets enables a farmer to turn over his money quickly, and it may make all the difference between rushing corn to market

¹⁰ Mr. Dowling visited two farms, on one of which 200 dairy cows and on the other 600 bullocks were being fed with beet pulp. He gives 1 lb. of dried pulp as equal to 8 lb. of mangolds.

or keeping it a bit. The following are Mr. Dowling's comparative figures, published some years ago :

ESTIMATED COSTS AND RETURNS PER ACRE.

<i>Sugar-beets.</i>	<i>Mangolds.</i>	<i>Swedes and Turnips.</i>
£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
13 tons washed, topped, and de- livered at £1 ... 13 0 0	28 tons topped, tailed, cleaned, and sliced, at 7s. 6d. per ton ... 10 10 0	15 tons at 5s., if fed in yards ... 3 15 0 or, say, 250 sheep for one week at 30s. per 100 = 75s.
Leaves and tops ... 0 15 0		
Value of portion of beet-pulp re- turned free—say, 15s. ... 0 15 0	Cost of producing crops, including topping, tailing, and slicing ... 10 10 0	Manurial value after sheep, and value of treading land, say ... 1 0 0
Free seed, say, 20 lb., at, say ... 0 7 0		
Value of portion of lime returned free ... 0 3 0		
		4 15 0
	15 0 0	
Total cost of pro- ducing crop and delivering to fac- tory. (This could often be less) ... 12 0 0		Cost, say, £6 10s.... 6 10 0
Net cash profit as soon as roots have been de- livered, say in October or No- vember ... £3 0 0	Profit ... Nil.	Loss ... £1 15 0

But the Cantley factory has paid, not 1*l.* a ton, but 1*l.* 5*s.* a ton for its beets this year, and for some time hence is likely to be able to go on doing so. Suppose, however, that the profit to the farmer is only 2*l.* an acre-rent and taxes are not allowed for in Mr. Dowling's figures—then the farmer has this sum as the value of a clean fallow.

3. *Can the beet be got?*—I do not believe that there will be any difficulty in getting the beet areas if farmers in the right districts are approached in the right way. Anyone acquainted with the history of sugar beet in East Anglia, north and south, knows that hitherto the farmers have not always been handled in the right way, either before or after they have grown beet. If farmers are to be handled in the right way, they will be approached by meetings and by letter on behalf of Government, by local agricultural authorities, in whom they have confidence, and by the President of the Board of Agriculture. They will be told that the Government is going to start building a factory at their doors at once, and that, first, as a sound business proposition—and 25*s.* a ton is undoubtedly a sound business proposition—and, in the second place, to meet the needs of the nation, at a time when farmers are doing very well, they are requested to give all the area they can to sugar beet, for the growing, cleaning and harvesting of which they can rely on the best instruction and all necessary additional labour being provided. I have little

doubt that the beets can be grown properly, and would be grown in steadily increasing areas, if the farmers are approached with the intelligence, enterprise, and absence of officialism which are demanded by the national emergency.

IS THERE ANYTHING TO PREVENT STATE ACTION ON A SCALE COM-
MENSURATE WITH THE GRAVE SITUATION WITH WHICH WE ARE
APPARENTLY FACED IN REGARD TO OUR MOST VALUABLE FOOD
IMPORT AFTER GRAIN AND MEAT?

1. *Why should the Government go into the sugar business?*—

As we have seen, the Government is in the sugar business already. Apart from this, even if, in war time, capital were likely to be forthcoming for prospective joint-stock factories, they could not make the appeal on behalf of the nation which could be advanced by State factories. ‘It is perfectly obvious,’ writes one of the leading authorities on the sugar question, ‘that only the Government can find the necessary capital and give the necessary confidence.’ The agricultural world has had a sickening of proposals for sugar factories which never came to anything; and the original finance of the Cantley undertaking was subjected to criticism. The appeal on behalf of State factories would be made with the absolute certainty of these structures going up next year. In a national emergency in regard to an important item in our food supply it is a case for national, not individual, effort.

The idea that is evidently entertained in some quarters that Mincing Lane or the confectionery firms, or both, will start sugar factories has been exploded long ago. Mincing Lane and the sugar products trades have quite enough on their hands in running their own businesses.

We may safely conclude that nothing will be done unless the Government does it. Needless to say, there are plenty of people willing to start companies if they can get big Government subsidies. Three different company promoters have written to me during the past month expressing their perfect readiness to make money, if not sugar. But if the Government is going to put the nation’s money down, it is much the better plan that the factories should be run by the nation.

Any academic notion of interference with private trading is not worth discussion at a time when the Government is in actual control of the sugar trade. Besides, as I clearly stated last month, the plan of State factories has the advantage that, after the War, they can be handed over to private enterprise—that is, co-operative organisations of farmers and landowners.

At a time when the Government is not only in control of the sugar trade, but the Board of Trade is spending a considerable

amount of energy and money in proposals for laying hold of enemy country industries, we have the chance of transplanting the greatest foreign industry for which there is now an opening in England. Beside it the toy and cheap razor trades are trumpery. All that is wanted to secure the greatest foreign industry for which there is now an opening in England is such statesmanlike imagination as gave Great Britain the Suez Canal shares and the United States the Panama Canal.

2. *Objections based on the Brussels Convention.*—When every other argument has been disposed of a great deal is made of ‘our position under the Brussels Convention.’ Those who have seen the last report of the Development Commission will have noted the extraordinary pains taken by the Commissioners, when they granted 18,000l. to the Sugar Beet Growers’ Society, to keep clear of any infraction of obligations surviving from the Convention. They desired to act ‘strictly in accordance with the declaration of policy of the Government, made in May 1913, by the British delegate at Brussels.’

We withdrew from the Brussels Convention as from the 1st of September 1913. But on the occasion of our withdrawing the British Government intimated that it was ‘their intention not to depart from the fundamental principle of the Convention by granting either bounties on the exportation of sugar, or a preference to Colonial sugar, or, again, by subjecting to a different rate beet sugar and cane sugar.’ The Permanent Commission at Brussels, ‘in the name of the States which will continue to be parties to the Sugar Union,’ declared that ‘these latter will not modify in an unfavourable manner the system applied by them to English sugars and sugared products so long as the British Government do not, on their part, introduce into their existing fiscal system with regard to sugar any modification prejudicial to their interest.’ The British Government, the Commission noted, ‘engage not to bring about, in the future, such a modification without giving six months’ previous notice to the States of the Sugar Union through the intermediary of the Belgian Government.’

The suggestion made by the fearful is that, if we established State factories, we should be, in effect, imposing a bounty, and we should be punished by ‘the States which continue to be parties to the Sugar Union.’ They would, it is said, impose heavy tariffs on our sugar products (biscuits, jam, confectionery, etc.). So we should lose more in this way than we should gain from the establishment of a sugar industry.

After looking into the subject somewhat closely, I find myself unable to agree in the least with these views.

Our total exports of sugar products last year were : To foreign

countries, 2,474,780l. ; to British Dominions oversea, 3,296,701l. Two things are observable about this trade : (1) that the most of it is with our own Dominions ; (2) that this trade with our own Dominions is slowly decreasing. Sugar products comprise biscuits and cakes, refined and candied sugar, molasses, glucose, saccharin, blacking, caramel, chutney, jam, preserved fruits, confectionery, chocolate, condensed milk, and milk powder. Let us take the exports to foreign countries. The biggest item is biscuits and cakes.

Let us see where the biscuits and cakes go. They are exported as follows :

	£		£
*France	211,009	Portugal	15,285
*Holland, etc.	127,241	*Germany	13,773
United States	55,042	Cuba	13,041
Turkey	40,634	Siam	12,522
*Belgium	34,958	*Russia	9,722
Egypt.	30,581	Norway	9,514
Argentine	23,308	Colombia	7,237
Denmark	17,882	Brazil	4,973
Italy	17,278	Canaries	4,627
China	15,829	Other countries	149,544

I have starred 'the States which continue to be parties to the Sugar Union'—Italy withdrew from the Convention when England did. Five others—Austria-Hungary, Sweden, Switzerland, Luxemburg, and Peru—may be included in 'other countries.' As their imports are small, they are no great matter. One of them, in any case, is an enemy country. So is Germany, in the starred list. War abolishes treaty obligations. There remain :

	£		£
France	211,009	Belgium	34,958
Holland	127,241	Russia	9,722

Here we find three of the importers are our Allies, and one of them the biggest importer of all. Surely among Allies it is possible to make an arrangement in an emergency due to the War? There remains Holland, who, if she abandons her neutrality, will certainly be an Ally also.

The War seems to have given us not only (a) such an opportunity as we could never have dreamt of to establish a sugar industry,¹¹ and (b) immensely strong reasons for establishing it as a State industry, but (c) every advantage in explaining our position to 'the States which continue to be parties to the Sugar Union.'

What we should say to these States, in effect, is that, owing

¹¹ The contributors of a million and a quarter tons of sugar at war with us, and Belgian refugees here from the beet districts to help us in field and factory.

to the exceptional, uncontemplated, and grave situation brought about by the War, it has become necessary for us to start making some of our own sugar; that we do not propose to start sugar making by means of bounties to sugar making companies,¹² or, in the phraseology of the Permanent Commission at Brussels, 'by introducing into our fiscal system any modification prejudicial to the interests' of our neighbours; that we have no 'intention to depart from the fundamental principle of the Convention'; that we propose to proceed by the unobjectionable method of establishing State factories, which will not be State-aided but State-owned—that is to say, they will be run as commercial concerns, the profits going to the national exchequer (just as a town may provide electric light or trams); that a lump sum of 1,000,000*l.* will be set aside for this purpose; and that we hereby give notice that, say, six months from New Year's Day, a sum of about 500,000*l.* will become payable under this arrangement.

It seems difficult to believe that, if the matter is managed adroitly, our sugar products will be penalised by the raising of anybody's tariffs. Holland, which, as the chief critic of our proceedings at Brussels, might be disposed to take action, is practically a Free Trade country and has recently rejected a Tariff Bill.

If, however, there were a certain penalisation, can it be shown that it would be likely to inflict on us any damage compared with the risks we run in making no adequate preparations for our future supply of sugar?

As to the 3,000,000*l.* of sugar products exported to our Colonies, I rule out the contingency of any of them taking action against the Mother Country in the exceptional conditions in which she is placed by the War. As a matter of fact, South Africa is the only Colony which seems to penalise bounty-fed sugar. I do not admit, however, that our contemplated action can be regarded as a bounty. In the event of South Africa having another opinion, we may bear in mind that the value of our export of refined sugar there is less than 17,000*l.* But South Africans will no doubt remember that we have just made a grant of 5,000,000*l.* to the Union Government.

If the view which has been taken of the situation, after consulting some of the best authorities, is wrong, we may fairly expect a reasoned statement from the Royal Commission on Sugar Supply on the subject.

Failing the demonstration of a Governmental *non possumus*, I venture to suggest that, on the facts available as to the conditions affecting the supply of the only leading article of food which has risen in price as a result of the War, the State is justified

¹² The German factories under the bounty system were State-aided.

in incurring the expenditure of 1,000,000*l.* in an experiment which is in every way promising ; and that the proposal to entrust the erection and management of the State factories to the existing Royal Commission,¹³ with the addition of four or five members who have made a special study of the sugar beet and beet sugar questions and of large farming, has everything to recommend it.

Although a month has been lost, it is still possible, if the Government and the Royal Commission act with the ordinary enterprise of business men, which is demanded by a national emergency, to get large areas of beets planted in the spring in reasonably well-prepared soil, and there will be plenty of time to build factories next year in readiness for the October 'campaign.'

The Government, with the fullest approval of all parties in the State, is now spending millions a week, from which no monetary return is to be expected. Is it unreasonable to ask that a single million shall be reserved for constructive work on behalf of the nation's food supply, and on behalf of agriculture and rural life, to which after the War the nation must be more than ever indebted ?

J. W. ROBERTSON SCOTT ('*Home Counties*').

¹³ Its terms of reference are : 'To inquire into the sale and supply of sugar in the United Kingdom, to purchase, sell, and control the delivery of sugar on behalf of His Majesty's Government, and generally to take such steps as may seem desirable for maintaining the supply.' The present members of the Commission are Mr. McKenna, Home Secretary; Lord Lucas, President of the Board of Agriculture; Mr. Runciman, President of the Board of Trade; Sir Henry William Primrose; Mr. E. S. Montagu, Financial Secretary to the Treasury; Mr. G. S. Barnes, Second Secretary to the Board of Trade; Mr. Robert Park Lyle, and Mr. William Capel Slaughter.

WAR SERVICE AT HOME

THE emergency consisted not only in an unprecedented dearth, but in an unprecedented abundance.

We heard of the wide-reaching evil of unemployment among women, and we were told that a Cabinet Minister had said in public : ‘Generally, unemployment is more prevalent among women than among men.’

The cause behind this state of things was too vividly present to every mind to call for explanation. But it did call—and loudly—for action.

The most incorrigible optimist must, we think, have been surprised at the way the call was answered. We do not pretend that it was always answered by the expected people, nor to the expected extent, considering their resources ; considering, too, that no life is left untouched by a public calamity on the colossal scale of the present War. If there cannot be many in the kingdom but have had occasion during these last weeks to feel the sting of sore anxiety, neither can there be many but have felt a healing wonder at the resourceful spirit of service exhibited, not solely by this class, or that, but by all sorts and conditions.

Since some concrete instance often best illustrates a force seeking many forms of expression, I have chosen the Women’s Emergency Corps as a type and sign of this new extension of the spirit of service.

The Corps¹ was founded in the first instance to organise and to prevent the overlapping of volunteer aid. It was the first constituted body to protest publicly against flooding the market with amateur, unpaid workers.

Subsequent events proved the need of striking this note, so clearly sounded in one of the earliest Corps leaflets (issued from the first Headquarters at the Little Theatre) :

Faced by the upheaval in the labour market and the prospect of widespread destitution through lack of work, the Emergency Corps believes that what is wanted by the women of the middle and working classes is not relief, but wages.

¹ Hon. Secretaries, the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, Miss Lena Ashwell; Hon. Treasurer, the Duchess of Marlborough.

The timely recognition of this too-little apprehended truth was probably due to the representative character of the committee and the departmental heads. For one of the first acts of the godmothers of the organisation was to choose out of the army of volunteers precisely those helpers whose exceptional knowledge of social and industrial work gave them a practical understanding of the dangers of undisciplined generosity.

Moreover, when looked into by those experts the public need was found to be not of one kind, nor of a dozen. The peculiar merit of the Corps is to have found, and to have applied, help as various as the need.

Many of us, when in urgent want of something, have been haunted by the conviction : that thing is in the world somewhere, if only I could put my hand on it. *Somewhere*, it is waiting for a chance to do just this which I so need to have done.

The Emergency Corps seems also to have cherished this conviction. The difference is that the Corps has gone far towards turning it into triumphant practice by means of an Intelligence Bureau.

Weeks ago the Committee had already received and registered 3000 offers of service ; 1500 of these offers were classified and graded as a result of personal interviews. The Corps works in co-operation with the organisers of the Prince of Wales's Fund, Queen Mary's Committee, the Mayors' Distress Committees, the L.C.C. Care Committees, the Red Cross Society, Refugee Assistance Committees, maternity centres, health societies, and all other organisations (to the number of thirty-one) which have been created to deal with the national crisis.

Hundreds of posts have been found for teachers, for accountants, and for the army of out-of-work clerks and secretaries. Twenty-five are employed by the Corps itself, and many new openings have been created by the number of organisations called into being by the War.

The Corps has put crèche work and service to mothers in the way of a number of girls and women, while the range of proffered service on its registers extends from the matronship of a girls' school (two such posts having been found) to any branch of domestic service, as well as outdoor work, from driving a motor-car to taking charge of a remount camp.

Apart from those who follow unusual or specially interesting avocations, let us consider the commonest sufferer from the decrease in shopping and the reduction of clothing-makers' output. Take the unemployed needlewoman : what has this organisation done for her ?

It has opened fifteen branches in houses lent to the Corps, where work is supplied to needlewomen of every sort, from skilled

hands doing fine embroideries and other works of beauty and art, to the makers of those twenty-four dozen towels and 100 shirts for Dr. Flora Murray's Military Hospital in Paris, and the 168 sheets made by the Kilburn Branch for the Charing Cross Hospital; all the shirts and hospital bed-jackets and apparel of every kind down to the set of baby clothes sent to the wife of a Belgian officer.

As to other sorts of relief work, I collected a sheaf of special cases dealt with, but I shall find space only for a few which reveal the wider range of the spirit of the Corps.

The headquarters of this organisation seems to have been a seed-ground of extraordinary vitality. We first heard of it as offering a field to a glorified housekeeper—the woman who first brought home to many minds the waste of food supplies—waste not merely through carelessness, but waste deliberate, to keep up the prices of perishable commodities.

Weeks ago we heard how the first organisation formed solely to deal with War refugees telephoned to the Emergency Corps (then in its infancy) to say: 'We are offered shelter for 100 Belgians arriving to-morrow. Can you feed any of them?' The Emergency Corps housekeeper answered 'Ring me up at such an hour and I will tell you.' Then she went out to market. We are not told whether she had more than her omnibus fare in her purse, but we should remember (for this is an essential part of the story) the Emergency Corps neither had, nor has, any great public fund at its back. Its capital in money was very small. But its capital in brains and resource was considerable. So when the housekeeper was rung up at the hour named and asked again: 'Well, how many of the 100 can you feed?' the answer was 'A hundred of them.' This probably emboldened the applicant at the other end of the line, for the voice said 'Oh! but instead of sending 100 they now say they are sending 300. Could you feed any more?' 'Yes,' was the answer, 'the Emergency Corps will feed 300 till further notice.' And this was done—with food which Covent Garden and the great provision dealers supplied for nothing. In large part it was food which in the usual course would have been thrown away or turned into manure.

The organised use of waste perishable food, originating with the Emergency Corps, proved such a breath-taking success that that form of activity has been taken over by the Government. The Government has borrowed the idea, and the Government has borrowed the Emergency Corps housekeeper to manage it.

One of the staunchest helpers of the Corps has well said 'It is every bit as important that there should be no waste of energy as it is important there should be no waste of food.'² The

² Miss Beatrice Harraden.

Emergency Corps has turned the axiom into practice. One of its ways of doing so has again been paid the compliment of adoption by the Government.

In the days before the Alexandra Palace arrangement, hundreds of even the better-off Belgian and other refugees would have fared very ill but for the inspired service of the Guides and Interpreters' Department of the Corps. This branch of work consisted at first in utilising educated women to receive strangers arriving by Continental trains. Among these interpreters were women who were at home in French, those who were at home in Flemish, in Russian, in Greek, and in four other languages. They were also most particularly 'at home' in London. They came to the various stations armed with lists (compiled with a labour and intelligence beyond praise) containing the addresses of hotels, boarding-houses, and lodgings, from the very plainest to the best equipped, all guaranteed and tabulated, giving the amount and kind of accommodation and the scale of reduced prices.

Out of a pile of the reports from this department take at random these :

Case——. I met four Belgian ladies, mother and three daughters of eighteen to twenty-one years old, who had to flee without even having had time to collect their mother's pension (the mother was an officer's widow). I interpreted for them and took them to Mills' Hotel, where the landlady was most obliging and took all possible care of them, and on most reasonable terms, for the night, and I cannot report highly enough of their good treatment at that hotel. The next day I took them and had them duly registered at the home of Refugees' Committee, and they are now comfortably installed in Tavistock Square, University Buildings.

Case——. I was told by one of the committee that about seventeen men and women were on the platform with no knowledge of English. I found they were Greeks. I was at once able to conduct them to a small hotel, where they were comfortable for the night, and the next morning they were met by people who knew and could minister to their wants.

Case——. While at Victoria I was called out by someone to a family of fourteen Belgian persons, who had gone out of the station alone and had wandered to a neighbouring hotel, where the hotel people had demanded 6s. 6d. for each person for the night, and when they had tried to explain their inability to pay this, were surrounded by a crowd and they could not clearly explain themselves. I at once got into touch with them, and relieved their anxiety by directing them to an hotel under the auspices of the Emergency Corps Committee; but the rude conduct of the hotel people they were leaving was appalling, and really I was fortunate in having the help of a gentleman and lady of the committee passing at the time to stem their insults.

I am allowed by the writer to quote from a private letter addressed to the head of the Guides and Interpreters' Department :

NATIONAL VIGILANCE ASSOCIATION AND INTERNATIONAL BUREAU FOR THE
SUPPRESSION OF THE WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC.

Head Office : 2 Grosvenor Mansions, 76 Victoria Street, London, S.W.

International Guild of Service for Women.

September 17, 1914.

DEAR MISS ——,—I have received a letter from the Local Government Board, expressing appreciation of our efforts and asking us to continue to work with the War Refugees' Committee.

As the appreciation of the Local Government Board is as much due to your Corps as to our Association, I hasten to transfer it to you.

I cannot allow the occasion of this letter to pass without thanking you most sincerely, and through you those ladies who have done such excellent work at the stations in receiving the refugees. As you know, I have been present on most occasions on the arrival of the train, and can speak from experience. I want to express my admiration for the services they rendered, and the cheerful and kindly way in which they discharged the difficult and sometimes delicate duties involved in the work at the stations. Their alertness and readiness to do anything, even though the service rendered called for the exercise of self-sacrifice and unpleasant duties, was to me an object-lesson in the power of women quickly to grasp a situation, to overcome difficulties, and to meet emergencies, without for one moment thinking of their own personal comfort or convenience. Most of the ladies were personally unknown to me, but their splendid and useful service to the Belgian refugees has made me proud of being associated with them.

I could not help feeling that such women, whose numbers could be multiplied to any extent, would, if well organised, become a great social, moral, and religious factor in the regeneration of our beloved country.

With very kind regards to yourself, and remembrances to those associated with you, I am, yours sincerely,

W.M. ALEX. COOTE.

Miss ——, Women's Emergency Corps, Old Bedford College, Baker Street, W.

That letter enables us the better to understand one sent home last month by a Belgian gentleman to one of his own newspapers. He speaks of the astonishment of himself and his fellow-refugees to find awaiting them here, ' malgré l'heure avancée de la nuit, ces braves dames ' who helped the mothers with their babies and the men to carry their packages, and conducted them to motor-cars which were miraculously in waiting at that unconscionable hour.

The writer of the letter evidently did not know that the Corps was using thirty cars for this branch of their work before the Government took it over; neither did the gentleman know it was no chance that found the indefatigable ladies of the Emergency Corps ready to give the help which so surprised and touched the Belgians. Trains in those days of disorganised sea and land service arrived at all sorts of hours. If too late to take the refugees to hotels or lodgings, there were addresses, on those

wonderful lists, of private houses in London where emergency hospitality was available. The ladies of the Corps had cause to know there was not an hour on the clock-face that would be called an inconvenient one for opening certain doors to those unhappy travellers—many with nerves horribly shaken by days of bombardment; others quite stupefied with grief. One train brought a woman who had given birth to a dead child on the way. Another woman died on the journey. One man had slept four nights in the trenches among the dead.

The letter to the Belgian paper already mentioned, after speaking of the incredible amount of trouble taken, and the touching solicitude with which the English ladies attended to the wants of the refugees, recommends to his countrypeople that in particular all the young girls sent over should look out on arrival for representatives of the Emergency Corps.

One of the new ideas is to create a social centre for Refugees—a place where they can at all events count on hearing their own tongue spoken.

Another of the activities of that department is supplying ladies to teach the English soldiers elementary French and German. Many men of the rank and file came to realise what a difference may be made to their efficiency—to their very chances of survival—by even a few words of the language of the country they have to fight in. As a consequence, several weeks ago, the military organiser of this instruction sent post haste to the Women's Emergency Corps a request that twenty teachers might be at the barracks in Buckingham Palace Road the following day at four o'clock. Elementary language lessons are now given also to soldiers at Chelsea Barracks; and the same system is being adopted, we are told, at other centres.

In even a rapid and inadequate survey of the field of activity covered by the Women's Emergency Corps, one should not, perhaps, deal only with that side of the work which, being so admirably positive, speaks loudest for itself. At the end of my own visit to headquarters I was conscious of the blessed lack there of, what I may call, machine-made service. I found in every cell of that humming hive an air of serenity quite extraordinary considering the variety and pace of the activities going on. Innumerable as were the duties of each departmental head (notably those involved in the colossal work of organising the industrial section) these myriad duties seemed to be carried easily, with minds free enough, in spite of all the burdens they bore, to move triumphantly round each subject; able to regard each applicant not as one of a row, or a case going into pigeon-hole A or B, but as an individual needing special aid, or bringing special aid for someone else.

To illustrate the sympathetic divination at work : there was an applicant very difficult, I imagine, to 'place,' whether by reason of weak health, or age, or lack of faculty—an officer's widow, at all events, and destitute. In these later days she would, I suppose, be referred to Lady Lansdowne's Committee, but her need could not wait on committees yet to be formed.

Now, among the not easily classifiable offers of help had been one from the widow of a naval officer. To some genius at the Corps' headquarters occurred the idea of invoking the Navy in support of the Army. Result : Naval widow invites Army widow to come and stay with her. Each one of the Services delighted with the other. They strike up a friendship. The exigency, at all events, is met ; and who knows but two lives are enriched ? The most jealous critic will hardly say *that* kind of voluntary service is unsettling to the market. There is no danger of a glut of inspired kindness.

Another shining instance was the case of an English girl from Paris. If I remember, this was an orphan whose father had been a Civil Servant. One can imagine her diversifying the usual life of a girl of her class possessing no outstanding talents by doing a little fancy work—the well-known sort intended only for indulgent eyes, and therefore exclusively for private consumption. Still, she owned some little skill, could do 'French knots,' and must have loved children, or some child, as seems to appear in the sequel.

This girl arrived in her native country with a few shillings, and tried to find work. Day after day found her still trying, still failing. She walked into the Emergency Corps' offices one afternoon, white and footsore, and said she did not know why she had come, for she had no talents, and had not, she now realised, been taught to do anything that anybody wanted.

She was talked to as people are at the Emergency Corps, and presently something was said about girls being taught toy-making. Upon that the young refugee plucked up courage to say she could make a toy. She could make a practically indestructible gollywog ; out of stockinet ; with hair warranted not to come off, because it was crocheted stoutly into his head ; eyes not to be plucked out because they were made of French knots.

Personally, I am no friend to gollywogs. I cannot think it fair, in a world so full of beauty, to invite a child to fix its young affections upon a thing of nightmare. I make an exception of the Emergency Corps' gollywog, and not out of love for the Emergency Corps. One reason for thinking the toy made by the English girl in Paris was devised for love of some particular child is that he is so cheerful an apparition ; pleasantly humorous, clearly a most good-humoured monster, come to make you merry.

The Emergency Corps saw, moreover, that he was so ingeniously and honestly put together that he would hold his own against the most remorseless tug-of-war. So they set the girl to making gollywogs, and to instructing others how to do the same. That was some weeks ago. She has now been promoted to be a teacher of learning more polite. Her gollywog is a registered patent; and fifty other hard-up girls are making a livelihood while they make gollywogs for the Emergency Corps' toy department. So far from taking the bread out of other mouths, that friendless, despairing English girl is keeping half a hundred other girls by the use of her idea.

Now, in this toy idea the Emergency Corps seems once more, in the words of the gold miners, 'to have struck it rich.' The public has been told of the extent to which the British market depends on foreign toy-makers. This country does not even make skipping-rope handles, or did not when the War broke out. Christmas on the way, and a woeful shortage of toys! In England, you are told, the proper kind of porcelain or whatnot for dolls' heads cannot be made. The unnumbered thousands played with by British babies have been imported.

Some would have us think that, having neither the hair which the deer in the German forests rub off in spring on the bark of trees, nor the peasant children to gather it, there is nothing throughout the length and breadth of England to stuff dolls' bodies with. Tell that to the Marines of the Emergency Corps!

They are making toys hand over fist at Old Bedford College. Sixty girls in bright, airy rooms are cutting and fitting, sawing and hammering, painting and enamelling, after designs supplied by well-known artists. They carry on this work under competent instruction, which I believe is given to the Corps—and a very handsome present if so. While the sixty toy-makers, unemployed a little while ago, are being taught this new English industry, we hear they are paid trade-union wages.

Some of the toy soldiers are done in character. There is Tipperary Tommy, the Khaki Boy, Jack Tar, and there is an imposing cock-hatted Kitchener.

The moment toy-making was in full swing, out went the organiser of the industrial section to secure orders from the great firms. They, in their turn, offer to instruct the organiser as to the kind of toy she would get the larger orders for. They show her a specimen—a nondescript wooden animal—which she is to take as her guide. A thing of sharp toes and a fearsome pointed nose. One hastily hands over to professors of zoology classification of the beast, but I think the organiser's word may be taken, it was a thing of peril, as little to be trusted in the society of the precious baby as a live lion or two pairs of scissors. The organiser remon-

strated with the salesman : 'This kind of sharp-nosed toy is made,' she said, 'for men to buy, not for children to play with. Children like a cuddly toy.'

The cuddly toys are being made at Old Bedford College. New delights are fashioned there along with those of perennial joy. Noah's Arks may be seen in all stages up to gay completion ; ships, convoys, go-carts, motors, and many other toys calculated to tempt the Christmas shopper.

If the public supports this work, many other fields will be opened. The girls now being taught the new industry will be available later as instructors in rural districts, so that in this country, as elsewhere, toy-making may (if desirable) become a cottage industry. In any case, once given a good start, never again need so much of this world-wide trade be in foreign hands. Her Majesty the Queen has inspected these toys and has ordered a consignment to be sent to Buckingham Palace. Queen Alexandra has sent a subscription to the general work of the Corps.

I have left myself no time to deal with the scheme which, *qua* scheme, interests some of us more than any other—the Land Scheme. It has for its object the training of middle-class women in market gardening, dairy work, and poultry keeping. They would thus, as the circular sets forth, not only have a new means of livelihood open to them, but also materially serve the State by increasing the home produce of the country. In turning their attention to these pursuits, Englishwomen would only be doing what the women of Denmark and Germany have been doing so long and so well that England has learned to look to foreign lands for commodities that should be produced at home.

Apart from this aspect of the question, some people see in the Land Scheme not merely the capturing of new trades for this country. They see a far greater gain, fundamental to the race—a gain which will have much to say to the credit and power of the Empire in days to come. The theme is too great, too many-sided for me to do more than say 'There it is!' . . . and to hope that many will find out more about it at headquarters.³ Already help is offered to the Corps on a large scale; ninety-two acres of land near Bournemouth, for instance, and in Hertfordshire an extensive poultry farm, where women may be trained and yet be self-supporting at once.

Beyond a doubt there are first-rate recruits for the Land Corps beyond the handful, here and there, already trained or in process of training. I myself have seen the least likely material indoors turn up trumps in the open.

³ Old Bedford College, 8 York Place, W.

The great majority of young women applying for work will continue to ask for sewing, or, like the rosy-cheeked applicant of the other day, will say, in common with hundreds and thousands : 'I could take care of babies.'

My point is, recruits will be found for other departments often where least looked for. Perhaps the day on which the country-bred girl in question applied for a baby to take care of, the stock of babies in Old Bedford College was low. Or, may be, behind the girl's gentleness was some look of firmness that caught the eye of the Commandant of the Women's Volunteer Defence Corps. Rumour says that she looked at this girl who had come to take care of babies, and said 'Can you ride?' 'Yes,' says the nurse-girl. 'Can you ride bare-back?' It must have seemed an odd qualification for the care of babies! But, 'Yes,' she could ride bare-back. 'Can you take a horse to water?' says the Commandant. 'Can you take five horses to water?' 'Fifteen, if you like.' 'Can you shoot?'

The first doubtful look. 'Well . . . I've never shot a man. But I've shot partridges, and little things like that.'

From which we may deduce that those of us who have not the divining eye may not always know what we have under our hand besides a needlewoman or a nurse-girl.

In conclusion, the Women's Emergency Corps lives up to its name. It is here and there about the home field with intelligent and timely succour. Much of its short history puts us in mind of that feature of the Great War which stands out fair against the horror of its blackness. We are told that in no other war ever waged have soldiers' wounds healed so cleanly and quickly. The reason is found in the knowledge of First Aid and in the care given on the battlefield by comrades of the fallen.

Those women whom the Emergency Corps is out to help belong—in vast majority—to the army of workers who have had their means of defence wrested from them, and have been more or less disabled in the conflict.

There is a battlefield in Britain, as well as in Belgium and France. If help is not delayed here, if the remedies are applied with skill, we shall see these hard-hit thousands healed of their hurts and drafted back into the workers' army.

Among the multitude of volunteers for this work, the members of the Women's Emergency Corps have reminded us that we at home, with all the comforts and resources of civilisation at our call, must not show less skill, less kindness, less mercy to comrades than do those war-worn soldiers at the Front.

ELIZABETH ROBINS.

EXPERIMENTS IN CHEAP CATERING

IT behoves us all, surely, to husband our resources this winter, and turn to good account every penny we spend, especially every penny we spend on food. For we have fewer pennies than usual just now, and there are more hungry folk in our midst. We must, therefore, lay out what money we have thrifitly, must obtain for it the best possible return, if we are to keep the grim wolf out of sight. And it is not easy for us as a nation to lay out money thrifitly; for we are 'swatterers' by nature, many of us. We know nothing of the art of turning money to good account, the art of securing a full penny's worth for every penny we spend. I doubt, indeed, whether the average working-class Englishwoman obtains a good farthing's worth for most of the pennies she pays for what she eats.

No other nation spends nearly so much on food as we do, yet few nations are so badly fed as we are. Only the other day I came across a family of Belgian refugees in a half-starved condition. They were living as boarders with an English working-class woman, who was being well paid for providing them with food. She is an honest, respectable woman, and she was spending on them, I feel sure, the money she received; but they were starving none the less. For, as she had no more idea than a cat of spending it profitably, a good half, if not three quarters, of what she had, was going in sheer waste. Although four of her boarders were children, the dinner she gave them consisted as a rule of bread and cold beef, pressed beef, or tinned beef, more often than not. Never a pudding did they see, never a drop of soup; hardly ever anything warm at all, indeed, excepting tea, although the weather was cold and damp.

A change was, of course, made at once. It was arranged that the Belgians should cater and cook for themselves; and they were asked to fix the sum on which they could cater properly, without any stinting. They did so, and the sum they fixed was hardly half the sum the Englishwoman had spent on catering for them. And on this they are now living in great comfort, with as much good, wholesome food as they can eat.

It would be unfair, of course, to regard this woman as a typical Englishwoman. None the less, that there are thousands of her kind among us, thousands who simply 'swatter' away the money wherewith they ought to provide food for their families, can hardly be denied. Were it otherwise we should have less need than we have of sanatoria for consumptives, homes for inebriates. I know women, the wives of skilled artisans, some of them, who give their children bread and jam for dinner day by day, their husband bread and something tinned; and they actually spend on these snack meals far more than the average Frenchwoman spends on the dainty, nutritive three-course dinners wherewith she regales her family. These women never by any chance make a milk pudding, porridge, soup, or serve any vegetable unless it be a potato. Their one idea of a savoury dish seems to be fried steak; and if I venture to suggest that they should try a sheep's head, they are quite offended. They really could not fancy such a thing, they say.

Now, as it happens, fried steak is expensive, and, unless of the best, neither appetising nor yet nutritive; while sheep's head is cheap, cheaper by far than tinned beef: it is the cheapest of all savoury dishes, indeed, and the most nutritive. It is appetising, too, if well cooked. Even bread and jam, which are at best but a makeshift for a meal, are by no means cheap, it must be remembered, not nearly so cheap as many other things of which wholesome meals may be made. Thus, to feed men on fried steak, or even tinned beef, and children on bread and jam, is wantonly wasteful, as they might be fed on other things infinitely better and at a less cost. And the time is now at hand when they must be fed on these other things, unless, indeed, there is to be sore misery among us; for we can no longer afford to be wantonly wasteful. Unfortunately, these other things—oatmeal, quaker oats, vegetables, sheep's head, beef snacks, stewing bones, and the like—all require good cooking; and the average Englishwoman cannot cook. She is, as a man of vast experience in her ways once told me, 'a grub-spoiler.' There are women by the legion here in London who cannot cook properly even a potato; who let milk 'set on' if they try to boil it, and burn, or leave half cooked, everything they either put on a fire or in an oven. The fault is none of theirs; they have never been taught how to cook; and they cannot, as many French and Belgian women can, cook by instinct.

When our legislators find time to reform our education system they will, let us hope and pray, insist that every girl who goes to a County Council school shall not only be told how to cook, but shall be made to cook dinners of the sort her father and brothers enjoy and can afford to pay for, to cook them every

day during the last year she is at school. Then there will be some chance of a real improvement in our national physique. So long as men are badly fed—and working men must be badly fed as things are if their wives cannot cook—they will naturally enough resort to public-houses; and the end of that is consumption, or something worse, for themselves, rickets for their children, sojourns in hospitals and workhouses at the ratepayers' expense. It will, however, be years before our education system is reformed, years more before our girls are all turned into good cooks; and meanwhile we must be fed, well fed too, even the poor among us, if we as a nation are to do good work in the world. And we can be well fed, even in these evil days, if we set to work determinedly to obtain good value for all the money we spend on food, instead of muddling away half of it, as we do, by bad catering, bad cooking, or trying to do without cooking at all. That we can, there is proof and to spare to be had in Vienna, Christiania, and many another foreign town.

In Vienna wages are lower than in London, while the price of most foodstuffs is considerably higher. None the less, the average worker is incomparably better fed there than here. In Christiania wages are lower even than in Vienna, while foodstuffs are not much cheaper than in London; beef and mutton, indeed, are dearer. Yet there, also, the average working man is better fed than here; and not only he, but the average lower middle-class man, the man who everywhere is the worst fed of all. In the one city as in the other good, nutritive, appetising meals are to be had at a price which even the unskilled labourer can afford to pay. And there is no taint of charity about these meals: they are provided on strict business lines. The providing of them, in the one case as in the other, is a self-supporting business concern, now a purely business concern, indeed, in the case of Christiania, one that pays six per cent. interest, nay more, on the money invested in it. It is solely because of the skill with which these food-supplying businesses are organised, the infinite care with which they are worked, that the food they sell is so good and cheap as it is. It is, in fact, because there is no muddling there, no waste. They who eat it pay for it its full cost; and this is an all-important point; for, were it otherwise, many of those who need it most sorely would rather die than eat it.

In Christiania the undertaking was started fifty-seven years ago by a little group of business men—merchants, an official, a lawyer, and the chief of the police—who were anxious to help the luckless among their fellows, and were wise enough to know that it was not by lavishing money on them, but by taking thought for them, that they could best help them. They were convinced that much of the misery that prevailed in the town was due to the fact

that, as the poor were dependent on the small dealer for their food, they were being exploited. The very poor, they who live from hand to mouth and do their buying by ounces, were, they found, actually paying much higher prices for their fourth-rate provisions than the rich, who bought by pounds or stones, paid for theirs of the first quality. Good wholesome food might be brought within the reach of even the unskilled labour class, they were sure, if only the supply of it was properly organised, organised in such a way that they who bought it received the full value of what they paid for it. They decided, therefore, to try what could be done towards organising it by opening a restaurant at which food should be sold at the lowest price at which it could be sold for the place to be self-supporting. That it should be self-supporting they were determined ; nay, more, that it should ultimately pay interest on the money invested in it. For they were keenly alive to the fact that they must keep their venture free from everything that smacked of pauperising, if it were not to do more harm than good. Besides, the very people whom they were most anxious to help would, they knew, never enter their restaurant were it not worked on business lines.

They began by forming themselves into a joint-stock company with a working capital of 3483*l.*, they themselves being the shareholders. As their undertaking was a social experiment, rather than a money-making concern, they enacted, by one of their statutes, that more than six per cent. interest should never be paid on this capital ; and that, if the profits it yielded were at any time so great that more than six per cent. could be paid, the price of the food should be reduced. This statute provoked laughter, of course ; for that the company would ever pay any interest at all no one, excepting its promoters, ever dreamed. They, however, went on their way quite unconcerned, and promptly elected a board of managers from among such of themselves as had special business experience. Then, having secured at a nominal price, it must be confessed, a piece of land in the very middle of the town, they built on it their restaurant, borrowing the extra money they required for it.

Even this first restaurant, the Dampkjøkken—i.e. Steam Kitchen—as it was named, must have been fairly large, for 888*l.* was spent on the building and fitting up of it, the whole Board watching the while, as cats watch mice, that none of the money was wasted. An expert cook was installed with assistants who knew their work ; and the buying in was done by members of the Board, who regularly trained themselves for their business. The place was popular from the first : the working classes flocked there gladly ; and little wonder, for they could obtain there far more and better food than anywhere else in the district. They

obtained, indeed, too much food and too good, for the Steam Kitchen to pay its way ; and when the end of the year came the company, instead of having money in hand, was face to face with a deficit. Its managers then became quite stingy, and cut down working expenses to a minimum ; yet even then the place could not be made to pay. Evidently the portions of food would have to be reduced in size, unless indeed they were raised in price. The managers, however, were very loth to do either the reducing or the raising. For Norway was passing through evil days, as it chanced : there were rumours of war, trade was bad, wages were lower even than usual, as there were more hands to work than there was work for them to do. To make matters worse, provisions were terribly dear, especially beef and mutton. There was no foreign meat in those days, it must be remembered. For years the company fought hard to turn its every recurring deficit into a surplus ; but until 1866 it fought in vain. Then its managers decided that unless the Kitchen could be rendered self-supporting it must be closed. Before closing it, however, they were determined to make a last effort to render it self-supporting.

Up to that time they had catered only for the poor, and had sold only cooked food. They then, however, opened a department in which uncooked food was sold, beef, mutton, veal, pork, bacon, dairy produce, fruit, vegetables, bread, etc. This they did in the hope—it was but a forlorn hope at best—that the new department would attract middle-class customers, at whose expense fair profits might be made ; and that it would extend their business so considerably that they would be able to buy their supplies in large quantities direct from the producers, therefore at wholesale prices. Heretofore they had had to depend on the middleman for their stores, and his profits had been much too large for them to make any profits at all.

This second venture proved a great success, and the company's business increased by leaps and bounds. For the thrifty among the middle-classes flocked to the uncooked food department just as eagerly as the working classes had, from the first, flocked to the cooked. It soon did its work on such an extensive scale that producers competed for its custom, with the result that it could obtain all its stores at the lowest possible price, a very different price from that which it had had to pay in former days. It could, therefore, sell its uncooked provisions more cheaply than they were sold in most shops, much more cheaply than in the shops the poor and lower middle-classes frequent, and yet clear on them a profit ; it could also reduce the price of the cooked provisions in the restaurant without incurring any loss. All went so well even that first year that, when the end of it came, the company could its shareholders six per cent. on their money ; and

from that day until this, although it has doubled its capital, freed its first restaurant from its mortgage, and has spent money lavishly on buildings, it has paid them six per cent. regularly ever since.

In 1872 the Steam Kitchen had to be enlarged, and again in 1900 ; and since then it has been rebuilt. It is now a huge place, almost as large as a County Council artisans' dwellings block ; and it does its work on a huge scale—huge for Christiania, of course. It has a paid general manager now, a paid manager for each department, and other paid officials, all of whom do their work under the direction and control of the Board of Directors chosen by the shareholders. The number of shareholders has been increased by dividing the original shares into halves and quarters. It has a large staff of servants now, cooks, kitchenmaids, waiters, etc. Still, even now, thanks to the care with which it is managed, its working expenses are only 8.7 per cent. of its turnover. Its annual turnover seven years ago was already some 70,000*l.* ; it pays 1000*l.* in rates and taxes ; and, best proof of all of its success, the number of its clients increases from year to year. Some 1500 men and women make their way to the restaurant for their dinners day by day, and eat them there ; while 700 more make their way to the cooked food department, where they buy the dinners they eat at home. Then hundreds go for what they need to the casual meal rooms, and hundreds more to the uncooked provisions department. And the whole population of Christiania is only some 25,000, it must be remembered.

The Steam Kitchen is in Torvgaten, quite near the great market, and within hailing distance of the harbour. It is a plain stone building that has evidently been planned with great skill ; for, although crowded every day, it never seems overcrowded, thanks to the number of doors and staircases it has. The windows are always bright, and the whole place is clean and neat, trim as a man-of-war. The restaurant is quite separate from the provisions department, and also from that where the cooked food to be eaten at home is sold. It has on the ground floor a café, consisting of two large rooms opening into each other, and a large dining-room ; and, on the first floor, two dining-rooms and two luncheon-rooms. The café and the luncheon-rooms are open from 8 A.M. to 10 P.M., and there casual meals are sold *à la carte*. The dining-rooms are open only from noon until three o'clock, as there only dinners are served, and at fixed prices, 6½*d.* and 4½*d.* The food in the dining-rooms is a little better in quality, and a little dearer, than that in the café, but not quite so good or so dear as that in the luncheon-rooms. Still the difference is not great, for all the food is good, well cooked and cheap. The chief reason why they who can afford it go to the dining-rooms rather

than the café, and the luncheon-rooms rather than the dining-rooms, is that the company is a little more select, demeans itself with a touch more propriety in the dining-rooms than in the café, and in the luncheon-rooms than in the dining-rooms. Democrats though they be, the Norwegians have a nice sense of social distinctions; and a clerk enjoys his dinner much more if he has men of his own class around him than if he has coal-heavers. Not but that even coal-heavers behave themselves well at the Steam Kitchen. They have no choice in the matter, indeed; for, should they attempt to do otherwise, they would speedily be expelled.

The dining-rooms are always as clean as hands can make them; the white covers on the tables are spotless, the knives, forks and spoons are as bright as bright can be. In each room there is a cashier near the door, from whom the would-be diners must buy their dinner tickets as they pass in. They then take their places at the tables and wait until their turn comes to be served. Such of them as have $6\frac{2}{3}d.$ tickets are given a large basin of good soup, more than a pint, with a thick slice of bread, and a large plate of hot beef, mutton, veal or pork, with vegetables. The $4\frac{2}{3}d.$ ticket-holders have the same dinner as the $6\frac{2}{3}d.$, excepting that, instead of slices of hot meat, they have shepherd's pie, Irish stew, fish, sausages, scouse, or something of the sort. In the one case as in the other the dinner is excellent in quality, well cooked, made of good materials, and is ample in quantity. All the diners whom I asked assured me that even a $4\frac{2}{3}d.$ meal was as large as a big, strong hand-worker could eat. One reason why many head-workers have casual meals is that, if they have dinners, they pay for more than they can eat.

There is not a busier place in all Christiania than the Steam Kitchen: it is thronged from morning till night. Long before the rest of the town is awake, it opens its doors to the carts that bring its provisions from the country and the harbour. Then its cooks must be at work by six, for breakfasts are served at eight; and it has a large breakfast *clientèle*, men and women who spend a penny or twopence on bread and coffee or soup. From eight to twelve the uncooked provision department is crowded with women of divers classes, buying their day's supplies. It is easy to see from the way they ponder and haggle before they buy, that the majority of them belong to the lower middle-class, although there are many richer folk among them, and richer folk's cooks. For the place is open, of course, to every class; and all who go pay for what they buy a fair price, a price that covers its cost and yields a fair profit, besides defraying its share of the working expenses, not only of the provision department, but of the whole Kitchen. Practically all the profits

that are made are made by this department and the luncheon-rooms.

By ten o'clock market folk and wharfingers begin to appear at the café, clamouring for casual meals; and by eleven, men of another sort, the sort who, although they wear black coats, must think twice before they buy a sandwich, may be seen turning into the luncheon-rooms. A little later women carrying baskets, cans, jugs, betake themselves quietly, almost stealthily, some of them, up the side street to the door of the department where, from eleven to twelve, dinners for home consumption are sold. These are the Kitchen's very poor clients, widows many of them, who must buy their food ready cooked, as they have no time in which, and often no fire by which, to cook it, and who cannot afford to buy it and eat it in the dining-rooms. There a dinner, it must be remembered, is for one person; and that means seven dinners would have to be paid for were a woman to go there with half a dozen sons and daughters; whereas two dinners, if divided up carefully at home and eked out with bread, might suffice for the whole family. Moreover, dinners that in the dining-rooms cost $6\frac{2}{3}d.$ or $4\frac{2}{3}d.$ cost only 6d. or 4d. if eaten at home.

Although nothing is served in the dining-rooms until twelve o'clock, men and women begin making their way there by half-past eleven, and by the time the doors are opened there is a little crowd before every door. Then, within a very few minutes, there is not a vacant seat at any table; and for the next two hours, as one man finishes his dinner another slips into his place. The great majority of those who dine there are hand-workers, some skilled, others unskilled; and, although they are poor, most of them, decidedly poor some of them, very few belong to the poorest class, and fewer still to the rowdy. For the poorest go to the dinners-for-home-consumption department, while the rowdy who go at all go to the café. The dining-room frequenters are, as a whole, an eminently respectable company, decent working folk, with a fair sprinkling of the black-coated among them, of the shabby genteel, too. Clerks, teachers, functionaries, hold it, and rightly, no disgrace to go there. I have found at the Kitchen artists, actors, journalists, a novelist also, I think, although of this I am not quite certain; I have found, too, what surprised me much more, tradesmen, with their wives. One charming old gentleman whom I met informed me that he and his wife dined there every day. He was a retired official of some sort, with a little pension, one only just large enough to cover the cost of life's necessaries; and it was much cheaper for them to dine there than at home, he assured me, as they could have much better dinners for the same money. 'Besides, going

to a restaurant makes a bit of a change,' he added. ' Why, I don't know what would become of us needy folk, if we had not the Steam Kitchen to go to.'

Had they not the Steam Kitchen to go to, the majority of those who go would undoubtedly fare much worse than they fare now; while a large minority would be on very short commons; and some—those women who make their way there so stealthily, with their little baskets in their hands—would soon have the grim wolf as a casual acquaintance, if not an intimate friend.

In the Steam Kitchen help is given to a very large number of men and women who are sorely in need of help; is given, too, without anyone being the poorer, either the givers in money or the receivers in self-respect. For even the hyper-sensitive among the receivers can eat their dinners without any sense of humiliation, while as for the givers, they are actually the richer for what they give; as they are paid six per cent. interest on the money they have in the concern through which they give. They are paid, indeed, more than six per cent., now the value of their shares is increased. In Christiania good wholesome food is now within the reach of even the poorly paid among the wage earners. Thus the experiment those business men set forth to try fifty-seven years ago has proved a great success, a greater success, indeed, I am inclined to think, than any other experiment of its kind, barring one, that of the People's Kitchens in Vienna.

The People's Kitchens in Vienna were started for precisely the same purpose as the Steam Kitchen in Christiania, and in much the same circumstances. They, however, were started, not by a company, but by one man, Dr. Josef von Kühn, a far-sighted lawyer, whose head was as clear as his heart was kind. He, for forty-one years of his life, from 1872, when he opened his first Kitchen, until last year, when he died, gave himself up heart and soul to the task of catering for the poor, taking care the while not to pauperise them. Very special interest is attached to his work owing to the fact that it was from the first self-supporting; and that, although it is now the most important work of its kind in Europe, it was started on very humble lines. Why, any little provincial town here in England might, if it chose, organise a restaurant just as Dr. von Kühn organised his first People's Kitchen, and be serving out dinners there by Christmas. Should any town feel inclined to try this experiment, it might learn how to try it successfully from an article, 'How to Organise a People's Kitchen in London,' that was published in this Review many years ago.¹

In the People's Kitchens, as in the Steam Kitchen, the great

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, March 1895.

success that has been achieved is due entirely to skilful organisation, skilful management, to infinite taking of pains in fact. The Kitchens are worked on business principles : they who go there go as to an ordinary restaurant, and pay for what they buy what it costs. The price charged for every dish covers the cost of its ingredients, together with the cost of preparing and cooking it ; together also with a carefully calculated proportion of the cost of the lighting, heating, and general upkeep of the Kitchens as a whole. No interest is paid on the money invested in the undertaking, it is true ; as, whenever profits are made, the price of the food sold is reduced ; and the working expenses are lower there than in ordinary restaurants, as work that in these restaurants is done by paid servants is done in the Kitchens by honorary officials. Apart from these two points, a Kitchen when once started is financially on terms of equality with an ordinary restaurant. None the less, an infinitely better dinner can be had there for a fraction over 5d. than can be had for 10d. in any self-supporting restaurant I know in any English provincial town, or even in London, excepting at the Alexandra Trust Dining Rooms. This in spite of the fact that almost all the materials out of which dinners are made are dearer, much dearer some of them, beef, mutton, colonial produce, for instance, in Vienna than in London. And no one need give so much as 5d. for a dinner ; a very good one of three courses may be had for 4d., or of two courses for $2\frac{3}{5}$ d., while a snack meal may be had for a penny.

As in a People's Kitchen everything is sold *à la carte*, no one who goes there need spend a penny more than he chooses on his dinner. No one ever does spend more than $5\frac{2}{5}$ d., and it is only the plutocrats of labour who spend so much. The average worker spends 4d. as a rule, and his poorer comrade $2\frac{3}{5}$ d., and even for $2\frac{3}{5}$ d. he has as much food as he can eat. The man who can spare $5\frac{2}{5}$ d. for his dinner may have soup, followed by beef, mutton, pork, veal, or venison ; vegetables served as a separate dish, with sauce, a pudding, or stewed fruit, and bread. Instead of beef or mutton he may, if he prefers it, have an *entrée*. He who has only 4d. to spend may have the same dinner as his richer brother, excepting that he must either content himself with half a portion of meat, or go without a sweet. He who has but $2\frac{3}{5}$ d. must content himself with soup and half a portion of meat and vegetables or a pudding or an omelette and a roll ; while he who has just a penny, can have only soup, vegetables, or savoury rice with bread.

The dinners served at the People's Kitchens are less substantial than those at the Steam Kitchen, the portions of meat given being considerably smaller. On the other hand, the fare

there is much more varied, more *recherche*, from the epicure's point of view. The People's Kitchens have a different menu for every day in the week, with six or seven dishes on every menu; and they who decide what these dishes shall be have more than a hundred to choose from. For on the Association's list of what their cooks must be able to make are twenty different soups, twenty different vegetable dishes, more than twenty meat dishes, thirty-six sweets, half a dozen *entrees*, and miscellaneous dishes without end.

All these dishes are excellent. I can speak of them with authority, for I have tasted many of them not once, but again and again. The materials of which they are made are of first-rate quality, and they are made by highly trained, expert cooks, adepts in the art of concocting savoury pottages.

These menus show the sort of dinners even unskilled labourers may, if they choose, have every day in Vienna :

Clear soup	3d.	Vegetable soup	3d.
Spinach	3d.	Peas	3d.
Beef with spinach	3½d. or 1½d.	Beef with peas	3½d. or 1½d.
Venison with macaroni	3½d. or 1½d.	Pork cutlets with salad	3½d. or 1½d.
Fruit pudding	1½d.	Ginger pudding	1½d.

To think of men whose wages are perhaps 15s. a week being able to revel in such fare! And revel in it they certainly do. The way they chuckle as they stand conning the menu at the Kitchen entrance proves that; the smile with which they balance the relative merits of beef, pork, and venison, of a savoury omelette, or a sweet; and consider whether they can, or cannot, afford a cup of coffee. It is a real pleasure to see them settle themselves down with their dinner before them, whole-hearted enjoyment is written so plainly on their faces. Even those most down on their luck forget their troubles as they sit there; even the most surly wax genial. For it is easy to take life pleasantly, and think of one's fellows with charity, when one is eating a good dinner. And when there is peace in the land, practically every wage-earner in Vienna is sure of a good dinner to eat every day, if he chooses, now that there is a People's Kitchen in every district. When Dr. von Kühn began his work a very different state of things prevailed.

That was in 1870, when there was terrible misery among Austrians, owing to their having to face the losses entailed by the Franco-Prussian War before they had recovered from the losses their own wars of '64 and '66 had entailed. The working classes in those days hardly knew what it was to have quite enough to eat; and men, women and children died of sheer starvation in spite of the combined efforts of the Poor Law authorities and the charitable. Dr. von Kühn was so appalled by the misery he saw

around him, that he threw up his post as a State law official that he might devote himself entirely to trying to lessen it. He began by studying the working of the provision trade, with a view to finding out why food, especially the food of the poor, should be the exorbitant price that it was ; and he soon made up his mind that it was because they who sold it were making exorbitant profits. Low as wages were, no wage-earner need starve if he could obtain a fair return for what he spent on his food : of that he was sure. The thing to do, therefore, was manifestly to enable him to obtain a fair return ; and Dr. von Kühn set to work forthwith to see how this could be done.

Although a well-to-do man, he had not the wealth wherewith to try costly experiments. Besides, he felt strongly that an experiment for bringing wholesome food within the reach of the poor was one which the community as a whole ought to try. Everything that could be done he did, therefore, to induce the Vienna Municipal Council to try it ; but its members turned a deaf ear to his pleadings, dubbing his scheme Utopian. He then induced four of his personal friends to join with him in doing on a small scale what, as he maintained, the Municipality ought to have done on a large scale. They founded the People's Kitchen Association, the purpose of which was to try to supply the working classes with wholesome food at a price they could afford to pay. They formed themselves into an executive committee, one of them becoming the secretary, another the treasurer, while Dr. von Kühn himself became chairman, and the other two his assistants. Each of the five subscribed 1000 kronen, and with this sum—a little over 200*l.*—as working capital, they started a restaurant in the Hechtengasse, a district where poverty is always rife. It was at first open only from 11.30 A.M. to 2 P.M., when threepenny and three-halfpenny dinners were served. A threepenny dinner then consisted of a slice of beef, mutton, pork, or veal, together with a large dish of vegetables ; and a three-halfpenny dinner, of half a threepenny.

By this time—1872—Dr. von Kühn had become, by dint of incessant toil, an expert in catering. He had watched the working of restaurants of every sort, and he knew the lines on which they could be worked most economically ; he knew, too, and to a nicety, exactly where the best and cheapest provisions could be bought ; and he gave himself up the whole day long to controlling and directing the work of his People's Kitchen. He was not only the chairman of the Kitchen Association, but the general manager of the Kitchen itself. He bought the provisions it required, engaged its servants, decided what should be cooked, and how. He was always in the Kitchen while dinners were being served, tasting every dish before it was served, watching

those who ate them to see which they liked best, taking counsel with them, consulting their tastes, treating them the while as customers, persons whose tastes have to be consulted. He persuaded one of his friends to help him in this work by becoming lady superintendent of the Kitchen. Her business was to watch over the matron, cook, and other servants, while playing the hostess to all comers; and to form a committee of ladies willing to act as waitresses. For years the waiting in all the Kitchens was done, during the dinner hour, entirely by ladies, gratis, of course; and even now the lady superintendent or her deputy is always present at that time.

The People's Kitchen proved a great success: within a week of its being opened it had as many clients as it could provide with dinners. Before long it began to sell food *à la carte*, soup at $\frac{3}{5}d.$ the basin; pudding, omelette and macaroni cheese at $1\frac{3}{5}d.$ the portion; food, too, for home consumption; and then it became more popular than ever. Its next move was to provide breakfasts from 6 A.M. to 8 A.M. of bread and soup, coffee or tea, at $\frac{4}{5}d.$ per head; and suppers of bread, soup, tea, pudding, and vegetables, with *rechauffés* made from the remains of the dinner. And for breakfasts and suppers alike it had as many clients as it could serve.

That the Association had rendered great service to the community by opening its People's Kitchen, all the world soon agreed; still, there was a great shaking of heads whenever the financial side of the venture was mentioned. For that food of the sort sold at the Kitchen could be sold at the price it was sold, without heavy loss, was held to be impossible. When the end of the year came, however, and Dr. von Kühn published his accounts, it was found that, although no profits had been made, no money had been lost; that the Kitchen was just paying its way, in fact, as he had always insisted that it could and would. Then there was at once a clamour that the Association should open more Kitchens, and the following year it did open two. The necessary capital was raised by inviting all who were interested in the venture to become members of the Association and pay an annual subscription of at least 1s. 8d. a year into its organisation fund. As the two new Kitchens also proved a success, as time passed others were opened; and the Association is now the proprietor of fifteen, that is, of one in each district in Vienna, and of one in a suburb. In the fifteen Kitchens there are 2756 seats, and each seat may, at a pinch, be used by eight different clients during the dinner hours. Thus 22,048 men and women can, and some days do, have their dinners there; while thousands more buy there the dinners they take home to eat; and thousands more, again, go there for their breakfasts.

or suppers. Nor is this all: the Kitchens provide dinners for 5420 schoolchildren, at a charge of just under a penny for a dinner of soup, or milk pudding, or vegetables, and a large roll.

During the last few years the Kitchen Association has extended its work considerably, and is now the great emergency caterer for all Austria. It has entered into an engagement with the State under which it is responsible, at any time, for the feeding of 10,000 persons, if necessary, at twenty-four hours' notice. If there is an epidemic, therefore, an inundation, earthquake, or any sudden calamity, notice is at once sent to the Kitchen authorities, who forthwith start off to the scene of the disaster, taking with them the things necessary—they are kept ready packed in a huge van—to organise a temporary kitchen. While this is being done the food needed is sent direct from the central Kitchen in air-tight cans, in which food retains its heat for twenty-four hours. If the Red Cross requires food supplies, it always sends for them to the Association, and so does the War Office, in cases of emergency. When the Eucharistic Congress was sitting in Vienna the Kitchen's officials were suddenly called upon to cater for its 6000 members; and so satisfactorily did they do the catering that their guests waxed quite enthusiastic in their praise.

'Yes, our Kitchens are doing very good work,' Dr. von Kühn once said to me, years ago. 'But this is as nothing to the good work they would do were misfortune ever to come upon us.'

And he was right, as we know, now that misfortune is come. For, although there is great misery in Vienna, owing to the war that is raging all around, there would be infinitely greater misery were there no People's Kitchens, no Association Executive striving, as they are striving, to ward off starvation from the huge mass of fugitives who have sought a refuge in the Kaiserstadt. Well might Vienna mourn when Dr. von Kühn died, for no other man ever did so much as he did towards bettering the lot of its poor.

Twenty years ago this November, Sir James Knowles, the Founder, and at that time the Editor, of this Review, was kind enough to publish an article of mine, 'The People's Kitchens in Vienna'; to publish also, the following March, another article on the same subject. In this, 'How to Organise a People's Kitchen in London,' I tried to show that we might have People's Kitchens here in England, not only in London, but even in little provincial towns, if only a Dr. von Kühn could be found to organise them for our benefit. For, as the Doctor himself assured me again and again, 500*l.* would cover the full cost of starting a Kitchen in which 500 persons a day might have their meals served

to them, providing the building in which they were served was rented, not bought. And a People's Kitchen, when once started, is self-supporting, it must be remembered : it need never cost anyone a penny in money, although it must cost its executive committee much hard work, together with much worry and anxiety. I hoped then—I am hoping still—that an English Dr. von Kühn would be found, one who would try for us the experiment of starting a Kitchen on a modest scale, just as it was tried in Vienna.

This experiment has already been tried here on a colossal scale ; for it was the account of the People's Kitchens in Vienna that led to the establishing of the Alexandra Trust Dining Rooms, where much good work is being done. There some 4000 meals, breakfasts, dinners, or suppers, are served day by day ; and 45,000 more are sent out for children, on school days. Although the price for an adult's dinner is only 5d. and for a child's 2d., the place has for years been self-supporting. Unfortunately, to found an Alexandra Trust one must be a millionaire ; for the building and fitting up of the dining-rooms cost many thousands, almost as many thousands as the building and fitting up of the great central Kitchen in Vienna and the fitting up of the other fourteen Kitchens cost hundreds. And millionaires are not easily to be met with in this our day. There are, however, many folk about with 500*l.* to spare, in provincial towns if not in London. Were one of them to start a People's Kitchen this winter, or to join with a few friends in starting a Steam Kitchen, he would certainly merit the gratitude of his fellows.

EDITH SELLERS.

THE PRIZE COURT OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING the long period of the great struggle which is generally called the Napoleonic War, at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, the Prize Court became almost a permanent legal institution. War was declared by France against Great Britain in the spring of 1793, and—with a short intermission from October 1801 to January 1803—England was at war until the end of 1815. Throughout this period the Prize Court was at work. It sat at Doctors' Commons, and a small group of practitioners—advocates and proctors (solicitors) of Doctors' Commons¹—had the good fortune to partake of the fees and costs which were paid. It was in this ecclesiastical locality, under the shadow of St. Paul's, that, strangely enough, a tribunal held its sittings which was in abeyance in times of peace and resumed its activity in consequence of a maritime war.

From 1798 the Court was presided over by the monumental figure of Lord Stowell, who, then Sir William Scott, became, in October 1798, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty. The scene was unique, at once picturesque and impressive. Lord Stowell in well-rounded phrases enunciated the principles of prize law in an ancient tribunal in an archaic and historical atmosphere, whilst from the facts which were stated before him there emerged life-like pictures of maritime and warlike scenes, of courage and adventure. Sometimes the drama was a little sordid, as when a gallant admiral, in a suit for joint capture, contested the claim of another admiral to share in the proceeds of a prize which had been taken after a long chase. The Court had then to come to a decision of much pecuniary importance to the litigants—a singular end to a naval action. This personal aspect of the Prize Court has now, since the abolition of prize money (Order in Council, August 28, 1914), disappeared. Young officers can no longer look forward to marriage portions from the Prize Court, and their seniors to money with which to buy pleasant properties.

¹ In 1768 the Advocates obtained a Royal Charter under the name and title of 'The College of Doctors of Laws excent in the Ecclesiastical and Admiralty Courts.' The College was dissolved in 1857. The proctors by statute became in the same year to all intents and purposes solicitors.

to which to retire after their days of active service were finished.² The end which was put to privateering in 1856 by the Declaration of Paris was the real conclusion of the system which, in later times, when officers and crews of the Royal Navy were adequately paid, had become entirely indefensible. The payment of a regulated bounty which is to supersede prize money is in principle equally indefensible, since the right to money reward for active service against the enemy cannot be higher in the case of sailors than of soldiers. Historically, however, the retention of this relic of the prize money which in the eighteenth and earlier centuries caused the Prize Court to have a popular interest is noteworthy, because it recalls the days when the proceedings of the Prize Court were full of incident and raised many personal hopes and fears.

The word 'monumental,' which was used a few lines above, best describes the personal and judicial position of Lord Stowell in those last years of the eighteenth century. His predecessor, Sir James Marriott, was a careful and capable lawyer, but not one of any distinction, and he has left no mark on English prize law. At the moment when Stowell took his seat in the Admiralty Court there was no definite and comprehensive body of prize law; at the end of his tenure of office Great Britain possessed a series of judicial decisions which covered in clear form and in admirable language all the questions which could ordinarily arise in a Prize Court. This was a remarkable judicial achievement which placed Great Britain in a legal position above every other nation, and it left the figure of the Judge inseparably united with his decisions. As we read the cases which were excellently reported by Dr. Christopher Robinson in the five volumes which bear his name, and which extend from 1798 to 1808, we are conscious of the creation of a body of law in a peculiarly English manner. Searching into the law of nations, Stowell produced principles which he embodied in the municipal law of England. Abstract principles were generally found to fit in admirably with the practical requirements of the British nation, and commonsense

" 'I must take leave to observe, Sir Walter,' said Mr. Shepherd one morning at Kellynch Hall, as he laid down the newspaper, 'that the present juncture is much in our favour. This peace will be turning all our rich naval officers ashore. They will be all wanting a home. Could not be a better time, Sir Walter, for having a choice of tenants, very responsible tenants. Many a noble fortune has been made during the war. If a rich Admiral were to come in our way, Sir Walter—'"

" 'He would be a very lucky man, Shepherd,' replied Sir Walter; 'that's all I have to remark. A prize, indeed, would Kellynch Hall be to him; rather the greatest prize of all, let him have taken ever so many before; hey, Shepherd?'—"Miss Austen's *Persuasion*, ch. iii. For an earlier period than Miss Austen describes see *The English Scene in the Eighteenth Century*, ch. xv. 'The Naval Officer' (by E. S. Roscoe, London 1915).

results were sometimes extracted from curiously vague sources. 'The Court has little authority to resort to, but has to collect the law of nations from such sources as reason, supported in some slight degree by the practice of nations, may appear to point out.'³ Sometimes rules were stated with considerable verbosity which, however, by reason of the mastership of language which Lord Stowell possessed, positively attracts. Criticise it as we may, the Prize Court in the days of Lord Stowell was a great national institution, for it brought both the law and the practice of a tribunal which in no other country had either fixity of tenure, of law or of practice, which was a mere makeshift body coming into being in time of war, into the same judicial mould as the law and the practice of the other courts of the realm. It removed prize law from the guesswork of professors to the precision of the law report, and it caused it to be administered under regular and well-established legal forms. Its precedents were, of course, followed in the Vice-Admiralty Courts which existed in the British Colonies, and its influence was thus felt in very distant parts of the globe.

We are struck by a conjuncture of events—a long maritime war which gave rise to groups of facts demanding the decision of leading principles, a remarkable judicial personality, a competent reporter, a public and an international position which required the statement of the attitude of Great Britain in regard to various problems of prize law. It was in accordance with the traditions of English jurisprudence that its prize law should be permanently formulated in judicial decisions and not in a code and in temporary Government ordinances. Whether those decisions were based on that impalpable entity, the law of Nature, upon international custom, on conventions, or upon the consent of States, was quite immaterial to the Englishman, whether lawyer or merchant, or even to the neutral whose property was the subject of a decision. The main desideratum was that there should be a definite promulgation of binding rules—as binding as the decisions of the Common Law Bench. And the Prize Court during the presidency of Lord Stowell answered to this requirement in a manner which is unique in legal history.

There was another reason for the legal pre-eminence of the Prize Court under Lord Stowell's presidency. Appeals to the Lord Commissioners in Prize Cases were scarcely reported until 1809; Lord Stowell's decisions were thus almost the only judicial enunciations of British prize law which were preserved, though from time to time in his own judgments he referred to decisions—which were usually very short—of the Court of Appeal from his

³ 'The Adonis,' I. *English Prize Cases*, p. 467.

own, or from the recollection of some experienced civil practitioner.

When the Crimean War broke out another eminent civil lawyer, Dr. Lushington, was the Judge of the Admiralty Court. He was imbued with the Stowell tradition, and he had much of the intellectual temperament of his predecessor. Several of his judgments have secured a high place in the history of English prize law, but by his time the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was in existence. It had in 1834 been created by statute the Court of Appeal for Prize Cases. The decisions of this tribunal, of which several eminent lawyers, notably Lord Kingsdown, were members, rather overshadowed the Court of first instance. But the existence of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council helped to give a further permanence to English prize law, since it was the Court of Appeal from the Vice-Admiralty Courts in the Colonies, and prize decisions thus became still more a definite part of English municipal jurisprudence.

The last case reported in the Prize Court arising out of the Crimean War was heard on the 6th of February 1856. After a lapse of nearly sixty years the Court resumed its sittings under the presidency of Sir Samuel Evans on the 4th of September 1914. The word 'resumed' is used here designedly because, in spite of the lapse of years during which it was in a state of suspended animation, the Prize Court, which is now sitting in the Royal Courts of Justice, is historically the same as that over which Lord Stowell and Dr. Lushington presided. It is guided by the decisions of these Judges, and it enunciates the same principles of law. This is well exemplified by a recent judgment of Sir Samuel Evans in the case of the *Marie Glaeser* upon a claim by mortgagees against a captured vessel. In this decision judgments not only of the former judges of the Admiralty Court were examined, but those also of the Supreme Court of the United States, and a clear enunciation of an important head of prize law was given and some obscurities were swept away. It was made plainer than ever that, apart from questions of convenience and technical procedure, the right of a captor to have the full value of enemy property without regard to the rights of third parties is a governing principle of prize law. It is a right which springs from the elementary fact that in war law has to give way to force. 'Those,' said Lord Stowell, 'lending money on such security take this security subject to all the chances incident to it, and amongst the rest the chances of war.'⁴

Changes of law—by the existence of conventions which may possibly vary a few decisions—of practice, or of place, are no more than the modifications which are produced by time on a part

'The Tobago,' I. *English Prize Cases*, p. 456.

of the English legal system which, preserving its fundamental continuity, is susceptible—as English case law always has been—to the influences of the age. To appreciate this continuity one should look back over the centuries during which the Prize Court was in process of becoming a well-defined tribunal.

The Admiralty Court was and always has been the Prize Court in England. This tribunal had two distinct jurisdictions—Prize and Instance—the latter word covering what is popularly called Admiralty business, that is disputes arising out of collisions at sea, salvage services, and the like. As with other origins of English legal institutions, that of the Admiralty Court as a Prize Court was for long obscure :

In periods of our history [writes the anonymous editor of some reports of judgment delivered before the decisions of Lord Stowell, but published subsequent to those of Dr. Christopher Robinson] . . . the Lord High Admiral devolved his authority to his lieutenant under his own Great Seal; and there is not a single instance in the history of our laws when the judgment of prize of war or reprisals was not exercised by his lieutenant according to the usage of such exercise, which usage was by the common law of the land and the law of nations.⁵

This was about as far in the way of legal history as lawyers cared to go at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and it has been left to students of the present time to make an accurate research into the early history of the English Prize Court. The debt which is especially due to Mr. R. G. Marsden, author of the now classical legal treatise on ‘Collisions at Sea,’ for his researches, the results of which are chiefly contained in two papers on ‘Early Prize Jurisdiction and Prize Law in England,’⁶ cannot be exaggerated.

In looking back at the past we must carry our minds to the fourteenth century, to an age when there were no commissioned warships, and when owners of private vessels seized the property of belligerents and neutrals—whether ships or cargoes—with equal zest. We have also to picture an Admiral of the Fleet who, from his position, became an arbiter in maritime disputes. As evidence of this may be cited the fact that in 1357 the King of Portugal complained that an Englishman had taken Portuguese goods from a French ship that had previously captured them. “The answer of Edward the Third is that our Admiral has judicially and rightly determined the ownership of the goods claimed by your merchants.” This is the first mention that has

⁵ *Decisions of the High Court of Admiralty during the Times of Sir George Hay and of Sir James Marriott.* London 1801. Pref. p. xxiv. See also *Select Pleas in the Court of Admiralty*, two vols., edited for the Selden Society by Reginald G. Marsden.

⁶ *English Historical Review*, vol. xxiv. p. 675, vol. xxv. p. 243.

been found of judicial proceedings before the Admiral; it marks the beginning of the Court of Admiralty as a prize tribunal.⁷ Anything, however, in the nature of regular proceedings for prize was probably rare, some dispute had first to arise and then the Lord High Admiral was called in as an arbitrator.⁷

But once the legal germ existed, it required only opportunity to expand into more ample form. In 1498, in a treaty with France, it is provided that all prizes shall be adjudicated on by the Admiral. This is one instance only of a more general recognition of the Admiral as a judicial personage, but, as soon as this high official deputed his judicial work to a lawyer, a regular tribunal was gradually evolved. At first the judge was merely a substitute for the busier official, as in a case in 1389, in which one William Toomer is spoken of in the records as 'substitute and deputy.' But so soon as we realise that the deputy of the Admiral was the judge alike for prize and for maritime disputes, we grasp succinctly the history of the Admiralty Court. For the Prize Court being also the Admiralty Court, and the prize jurisdiction one which was only in being in time of war, the history of the Prize Court and of its judges is necessarily the same as that of the Admiralty Court at certain times in our history. Prize procedure is, however, separate from Instance procedure and has in time become well defined. The process has been gradual; thus in 1707 the first statutory regulations appear (6 Anne Ch. 37) codifying in an Act of Parliament rules which were scattered about in fragmentary orders or even in customary practice. The judge is to take what was called the preparatory examination within five days after request. This and other details indicate a regularity of procedure which shows how completely the Prize Court was a recognised part of the English judicial system.

The Admiralty Court stood, as I have stated, by the side of, but outside, the jurisdiction of the Common Law and Chancery Courts: there existed also a branch of ecclesiastical law dealing with wills and marriages. But in 1857 the Probate and Divorce Court was created by statute to take the place of the Ecclesiastical Court. By the Judicature Act of 1873 the two Courts were joined in a most ill-assorted union, and became the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice. By the Judicature Act of 1891 it was enacted that jurisdiction

⁷ The Vice-Admirals had the same jurisdiction as the Lord High Admiral, but as the Admiralty Court became a regular tribunal the personal jurisdiction of the Vice-Admirals lapsed.

The name Vice-Admiralty Court, as the Colonial Admiralty Prize Courts were called till the Courts of the self-governing Colonies obtained Admiralty jurisdiction and became Prize Courts under the Prize Court Act 1894, recalls the origin of the prize jurisdiction.

in prize matters 'on the high seas and throughout his Majesty's Dominions' should be exercised by this Division, so that the Prize Court, as soon as, on an outbreak of war, it resumes its functions, becomes in fact a branch of the High Court of Justice. The old High Court of Admiralty has been absorbed in a High Court, and a certain division of this now exercises special functions, which happily are generally in abeyance. Historically the interest of this fact is immense, because after centuries of a fluctuating legal existence the Prize Court is as much a part of the English judicature as the famous Court of King's Bench.

The reader of *The Nineteenth Century and After* cannot be expected to feel an interest in technical legal details, and it is sufficient, therefore, in regard to procedure, to say that by the rules which are now in force, and which came into existence under an Order in Council of the 5th of August 1914, the procedure of all British Prize Courts has been simplified and modernised, for the rules apply not only to the Prize Court in the British Isles but to Prize Courts in the British Dominions beyond the seas, whether in self-governing communities or in Crown Colonies and Dependencies. The 'standing interrogatives,' as they were called—an innumerable series of written, or rather printed, questions which were put to the master and some of the crew of a captured ship—are abolished. These questions, an essential feature of the old practice, cumbersome as they seemed, were based on an ancient practice—the interrogation of the servants of the owners of a captured vessel. It is to be found not only in English but in French prize law, as in an Ordinance of 1584, by the 33rd article of which the prisoners or two or three at least are to be brought before the admiral, vice-admiral, or lieutenant for examination.⁸ The practice was probably based upon a desire to give neutrals an opportunity of proving that the captured ship or goods belonged to them, it being assumed that the capture was *prima facie* valid unless some interested party could prove the contrary. As time went on, the answers were used to prove the captor's case. To-day evidence from a captured vessel can be called by the Crown. If it is found necessary, this evidence can be heard at the trial, as in an ordinary civil cause, and it can be brought forward not only on behalf of the Crown, but by an interested party who desires to avert the condemnation and sale of ship or goods. In a word, the procedure is assimilated to that of an ordinary civil action, so far as it is applicable to the special subject-matter of the Prize Court, which, in the main, now as in the past, is whether the property 'serront des amis ou des ennemis.'

It is universally recognised that the same principles of law

⁸ *Collectanea Maritima*, by Christopher Robinson, LL.D., p. 108 (1801).

should govern the decisions of all national Prize Courts. It is equally desirable that these should have an identical code of procedure. The subject-matter of the litigation is uninvolved and the rules of procedure, except in language, should be the same throughout the world. In English Prize Courts a writ served on a vessel commences the proceedings, and in a short time the case can be brought before the judge. No such simple and expeditious procedure is elsewhere to be found. Recently, in the Belgian Prize Court at Antwerp, it was desired to obtain the condemnation of the German steamer *Gneisenau*. A Prize Commission was constituted by the Military Governor of Antwerp. This Commission delegated to an advocate the duty of making a report of the case. This report was in the nature of a statement of facts and law, and it concluded with a demand for the confiscation of the steamer. The Civil Court of Antwerp next appointed a Prize Tribunal of three persons, and the report was laid before it. After the first day's hearing, at which the Government and the owners of the steamer were represented, the Court adjourned. Before it again met, the raid of the Zeppelin airship on Antwerp had taken place. By way of protest, the advocates for the German owners withdrew from the case—a singular incident in legal proceedings—but, at the request of the United States Consul, the Court appointed three advocates to appear for the owners, and on a subsequent day the hearing was resumed. Thereafter a judgment, very involved, but practically condemning the vessel, was delivered, though it concluded by authorising each side to call evidence.⁹ This narrative illustrates the prolixity of foreign Prize Courts and the necessity not only of a definite tribunal with a duly appointed legal judge, such as exists in the British Dominions, but of a code of procedure based on that which is in force in them.

A Prize Court must, in addition to a judge, have officials and an office. In England and in the Dominions beyond the seas there is attached to each Court a Prize Registry, which in England is the Admiralty Registry. The custody of captured ships and goods, and their sale, are in the hands of the marshal, one of the officials of the Registry,¹⁰ and in time of war a legal department becomes almost a mercantile office. The advantage of a permanent office becoming, on the outbreak of war, the Prize Registry is obvious, and is another point in favour of the English system.

The rise of steamships, the absence of blockades in the

⁹ Report in *Shipping Gazette*, September 22, 1914. The capture of Antwerp has put an end to this suit.

¹⁰ The first appointment registered in the Muniment Books of a Registrar is under a warrant from the Lord High Admiral August 16, 1660, and of a Marshal July 5, 1660. *Admiralty Muniment Book*, vol. i.

present War, the complete disappearance of German vessels from the ocean, and the impossibility of neutral trade with the ports of Germany or Austria, have rendered the proceedings of the Prize Court in 1914 comparatively uninteresting to neutrals. Most of the vessels have been seized in port, and are thus 'droits of Admiralty'—perquisites of the King in his office of Admiralty, and not prizes which in former times would have become the property of the captors. They have, in accordance with the wish of the British Government, not been condemned and sold, but detained by order of the Court. Hitherto the jurisdiction of the Prize Court has only been invoked for the purpose of obtaining a decree of condemnation and sale. Whether the provisions of The Hague Convention (No. VI. of 1907) are applicable to these vessels is not a question for discussion here. But the action of the Court at the request of the Crown is noteworthy as a new departure in Prize Court procedure, and it may be that, in this practice of the detention of enemy vessels, will hereafter be found a solution for the differences between those who advocate the exemption of private property from capture at sea in time of war, and those who would preserve this practice. The object of the capture of private vessels is to advance the cause of a belligerent State, and not to enrich its Exchequer, though in the eighteenth century privateers fought as much for gain as for military objects. But if, by the detention of the merchant ships of a belligerent, the purposes of the other belligerent are gained, then this action has all the military advantages of condemnation and sale, without permanently depriving the owners of the vessels of their property.

When we regard the evolution of the British Prize Court from those distant days when it first appears in an embryonic state to the present time, perhaps the most striking feature which emerges from this survey is the English passion for legality. The functions of the Lord High Admiral devolved more and more upon a trained civil lawyer, and a permanent and purely legal tribunal was the result. And the Prize Court, though outside the general English judicature, and having periods of complete cessation, became none the less a distinct part of English legal machinery, questions affecting the rights and duties of captors, of neutrals, of belligerent States and of their Colonies being decided by trained and impartial lawyers. This characteristic, as well as its continuity of legal tradition, causes the present Prize Court to be the most efficient legal instrument of its kind in the world. If it is now less picturesque as an institution than it was in the time of Lord Stowell, it is no less just and effective as a judicial tribunal.

E. S. ROSCOE.

BELGIUM IN WAR:

A RECORD OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCES

I VISITED Belgium with the object of ascertaining the condition of the civilian population generally and of informing myself at first hand as to the conditions set up by the War in an innocent and peaceful country.

I reached Antwerp towards the end of September. The King and his Cabinet, with the rest of the members of the Government, exiled from their capital, had made the city their headquarters and were conducting the work of government as best they could over a sadly shrunken area, Antwerp and Ostend, with the intervening coast line, being practically all that remained to them.

On Sunday, the 27th of September, I was received by the King of the Belgians. At the end of the conference I was asked by the King to transmit once more the expression of his thanks for all that was being done for his people by the British nation.

Antwerp itself, though practically isolated, did not at first glance show many signs of the War then rolling almost to its gates. There were some changes in its physical appearance. The German shops were untenanted and barred. The public buildings, and many private ones, were decorated with the national flag. The streets were crowded, especially in the afternoons and early evenings. Everywhere eager crowds read war telegrams exhibited in shop windows. The Flemish and French papers were bought in large numbers. They contained surprisingly little news, practically nothing of current operations being printed. A large part of the contents of all the papers consisted of reprints from English newspapers three or four days old, or even more. Mr. Lloyd George's Queen's Hall speech was being printed and discussed nearly a week after it had been delivered.

Many of the foreign legations had removed to Antwerp with the Government, and were quartered in various hotels in the city.

There was no lack of food within Antwerp. The supplies from Holland had not been interrupted, and the prices of foodstuffs remained normal. It was a noticeable feature at the daily vegetable markets that many very tiny children were acting as food buyers for the homes.

As the city was known to be in danger of attack, refugees from the ravaged districts around were not admitted indiscriminately, but, except in the case of those who came to embark on the English steamers, were sent on to other places and otherwise arranged for.

The possible fate of the wonderful fourteenth-century cathedral, one of the most beautiful Gothic churches in the world, must have been frequently in the minds not only of those who have the guardianship of this world treasure, but of all who know it. Steps were taken for its safety. It displayed from the summit of its incomparable tower a protecting flag. The pictures which usually decorate the interior, including Rubens' famous masterpiece, *The Descent from the Cross*, were removed to the cellars.

One visit which I paid to the cathedral brought home with dramatic force the sacrifice which Belgium was making. It was the hour of the afternoon service. Outside was the crowded eager life of an excited populace, finding outlet for its emotion and solace for its fears in communal intercourse. Inside, the vast congregation was composed largely of women, nearly all of them in deep mourning. Many of them seemed very old; they wept for sons, the little ones clinging to their dress for fathers. Their faces, beautiful with the toil and thought of years, were singularly impressive. They might have stepped from the wonderful Flemish canvases in the Art Gallery of their city.

A few days later these mourning women, old and young, bearing in primitive bundles all that they could save of their household goods, formed part of the procession from the city of its entire population. History itself can scarcely offer a parallel to a spectacle so charged with human suffering. Five hundred thousand peaceful and unoffending inhabitants, homeless and helpless, were fleeing into the darkness. From the banks of the Scheldt amidst flashes of fire they had what for many of them was their last vision of the city of their birth.

At night Antwerp was both dark and silent during the days preceding the bombardment. The shops and cafés closed early. By eight o'clock not a light was to be seen, and the silence was only broken from time to time by the throb of military cars passing through the city.

The German army sent several Zeppelins over Antwerp. The first bomb which was thrown did considerable damage, and killed more than a dozen persons. A married couple who were in the ground-floor room of a house near which the bomb exploded were blown to pieces, and the room presented a very horrible appearance. The Zeppelin raids did not, however, create any general panic, though the city appeared to have no defence against them.

A hostile aeroplane came over us at a great height, and the guns which were turned upon it seemed hopelessly inadequate. It did not, however, succeed in doing any damage.

THE DEFENCES OF ANTWERP

In view of subsequent events, it may not be without interest to record what was seen of the defences of Antwerp. It had the reputation of being one of the strongest fortresses in Europe, and had long been intended to serve as the base of the army, should it be compelled to retire in case of the violation of the neutrality of the country. Three circles of forts defended the city. Some of these were built fifty years ago, and all of them before anything was known of the new German siege guns, throwing a shell nearly a ton in weight, at a distance of seven miles, and it was clear to the military authorities that their forts would not stand for long a bombardment under the new conditions, and that additional measures were essential. I was shown what these latter were, and there is no longer any reason for silence respecting them. A bridge of boats had been thrown over the Scheldt west of the city, which served as the chief means of communication with the south-west portion of Belgium. For some miles around Antwerp everything that would afford cover for the Germans was, as far as possible, destroyed. Many thousands of trees were cut down, and their trunks removed or burnt, so that woods and little forests had become barren plains. A large number of houses had been similarly destroyed, and the *débris* carted away or scattered. All the way to the outer line of forts, and beyond, an enormous number of trenches had been prepared. At many strategic points extensive wire entanglements had been prepared, which were electrified and would cause death to any coming into contact with them. I was informed by the Minister of Finance that the cost of the destruction of property rendered necessary by these precautionary measures for the defence of Antwerp amounted to nearly 10,000,000*l.*

The defence guns of Antwerp did not compare with the German siege guns, and the Belgians were further handicapped by some shortage of ammunition, due in part to the fact that some of their ammunition factories were in the hands of the Germans.

THE BELGIAN MINISTRY

The members of the Belgian Government set an example of great bravery and resourcefulness. Each Minister in Antwerp was working incessantly to discharge the duties of government under unexampled conditions of difficulty and danger. They had

made arrangements by which they were kept in touch with events in almost every part of the country occupied by the Germans, and they were able to take steps accordingly from day to day, as the situation demanded. There was no panic, or alarm, or excitement in their methods. They were quiet, unassuming men whose lives had hitherto been spent in the paths of peace, but they showed the most unbounded courage. They felt no doubt as to the future, and they made their plans for it in this spirit. Their moderation was very impressive. They distinguished between the German nation and the German army, and realised that there were two Germanys, one which they had known and trusted, and another which was ravaging their land.

The Belgian Ministry gave me every possible assistance in connexion with my mission. Their anxiety throughout was to enable me to see for myself the state of their country. This was a matter of great difficulty, as the German troops were moving rapidly over many parts of the country, and it was not possible to tell a day in advance which points we could attempt to visit.

The Ministry expressed to me their great gratitude for the relief which was coming from England, but they stated that so extensive were the conditions of want and actual starvation that the help they were receiving was as a drop in the ocean. They stated that a great proportion of the population in Belgium were starving, and they gave me the following list of goods as being those most urgently required :

Coal	Flour
Rice	Sugar
Salt	Dry vegetables
Beans	Clothing of all descriptions

They suggested that these articles should be sent direct to Antwerp and that they should undertake their distribution. The German troops were constantly moving and the Government could, therefore, reach a considerable number of the districts most in need.. They added that no quantities which the imagination could suggest would be too great to send.

When this conversation took place it was not thought that the Germans would attempt to capture Antwerp. The development of the military situation and the enforced flight of the Government upset, for the time, all the relief schemes. The whole problem has assumed a new character owing to the wholesale exodus of the population from many parts of Belgium.

THE HOSPITALS

Antwerp was, of course, the main and, latterly, the only hospital base for the whole of Belgium. Many of the public buildings had been transformed and were used as emergency

hospitals. The hospitals sent by other countries were located here.

I visited most of these hospitals and was impressed by their efficiency. At the outbreak of the war there had been a shortage of surgical requirements, including a notable absence of anaesthetics, but this had since been made good.

No more striking proof of what the war meant to the Belgian nation was needed than a visit to the great military hospital in Antwerp. I hope I may be forgiven for giving a very brief account of my own visit to it. I do not wish to gratify the curiosity of the morbid but to enlist sympathy and aid.

The enormous buildings of the military hospital were filled with the wounded. They included every class of injury. Many were suffering from rifle wounds. These were the least serious cases. The wounds were generally clean, and healed quickly. There were, however, a great number of cases of shell wounds. Some of these were of a very fearful character. The surgeons were working under great pressure. In one operating room the surgeons were dealing with a smashed thigh, caused by shell; in the room adjoining and in the passage connecting, seriously wounded soldiers lay on stretchers waiting to be brought into the operating room.

One portion of the hospital was devoted to wounded Germans. The arrangements for these were the same as for the Belgians. Except that there were armed sentries at the doors there was no distinction. Many of the wounds were serious. One German whom I saw had had both eyes blown out, and was slowly recovering.

I should like to pay a tribute to the devotion of the staff of the British Field Hospital, under the care of Drs. Beavis and Souttar. The school in which they had been placed was filled with Belgians, all seriously wounded. Many of the injuries were from shells and involved complicated and difficult operations. When I was in the hospital I saw an operation being performed on a soldier whose leg had been broken in seventeen places; not only was there a practical certainty of saving the patient's life, but it was also hoped to save the injured limb. This case was typical of many more.

The staff of the hospital removed their patients from Antwerp during the bombardment of the city amidst circumstances demanding the utmost bravery, coolness, and resource.

The needs of the Belgian Red Cross Society were brought to my notice. Their funds were exhausted and they were urgently appealing to the Government, already bearing burdens beyond their strength, for immediate financial help. This matter has been brought formally to the notice of the British Red Cross

Society, and I trust some of the funds of the latter may be used in Belgium. I believe that public opinion would be wholly in favour of this being done.

TERMONDE

On Saturday, the 26th of September, I was told by the Minister of Finance that it would be possible for me to reach Termonde. Two military motor cars were placed at my disposal. The party with me included the King's Private Secretary and a staff officer. We left Antwerp at midday, and we were enabled to see for ourselves the damage which the Belgians had had to inflict upon themselves in order to protect their city. The destruction of property of every description and the flooding of vast areas of low-lying land gave the appearance of horrible desolation.

When we had gone a little distance we became aware that an attack was being made by the enemy in the neighbourhood of Termonde, and faint echoes of the guns reached us.

We passed through the villages and small towns which cluster round Antwerp, the road being frequently crowded with troops and with innumerable transport waggons going or returning from the Front. In the villages all ordinary life was arrested, the women and children standing or sitting, dumb and patient, by the roadside. Half way to Termonde we could hear very plainly the booming of the guns. We were hindered in our journey by the destruction of bridges and to some extent by the flooded nature of the country. When, at length, we reached the Scheldt before Termonde, we found a very rough narrow bridge which, with care, we were able to cross. Here the firing was very vivid. There were considerable numbers of Belgian troops, and we saw many evidences of the battle which was then raging. We came to the margin of the town and began our detailed inspection.

I had read newspaper accounts of the destruction of Termonde, and I had seen photographs of houses or parts of streets showing the work of destruction. They had not conveyed to my mind any realisation of the horror of what had actually happened.

Termonde a few weeks ago was a beautiful city of about 16,000 inhabitants; a city in which the dignity of its buildings harmonised with the natural beauty of its situation; a city which contained some buildings of surpassing interest. I found it entirely destroyed; I went through street after street, square after square, and I found that every house was entirely destroyed with all its contents. It was not the result of a bombardment: it was systematic destruction. In each house a separate bomb had been placed which had blown up the interior and had set fire to the contents. All that remained were portions of the outer walls,

still constantly falling, and inside the cinders of the contents. Not a shred of furniture or of anything else remained.

This sight continued in street after street throughout the entire extent of what had been a considerable town. It had an indescribable influence upon the observer which no printed description or even pictorial record could give. This influence was increased by the utter silence of the city, broken only by the sound of the guns. Of the population I thought not a soul remained—I was wrong. For as we turned into a square where the wreck of what had been one of the most beautiful of Gothic churches met my eyes, a blind woman and her daughter groped among the ruins. They were the sole living creatures in the whole of the town. Shops, factories, churches, the houses of the wealthy, all were similarly destroyed. One qualification only have I to make of this statement. Two or perhaps three houses bore a German command in chalk that they were not to be burnt. These remained standing, but deserted, amidst the ruins on either side. Where a destroyed house had obviously contained articles of value looting had taken place. In the ruins of what had been a jeweller's shop the remains of the safe were visible amidst the cinders. The part around the lock had been blown off and the contents rifled.

I inquired what had become of the population. It was a question to which no direct reply could be given. They had fled in all directions. Some had reached Antwerp, but a great number were wandering about the country panic-stricken and starving; many were already dead.

THE GENERAL SITUATION THROUGHOUT BELGIUM

I had other opportunities of seeing that what had happened at Termonde was typical of what had happened in other parts of Belgium under the military occupation of Germany, and I have given this record of the condition of Termonde because it is typical.

I was further supplied by the Belgian Government with details of the general conditions existing in all parts of their country.

Conditions of unexampled misery have been set up for the civilian population throughout the occupied territory. Until the fall of Antwerp comparatively only a few refugees had reached this country. The others remained wandering about Belgium flocking into other towns and villages or flying to points a little way across the Dutch frontier. Sometimes when a town has been bombarded the Germans have withdrawn and the civilians have returned to their homes, only to flee again at a renewed attack from the enemy. A case in point is Malines, which on the

27th of September, as I was trying to reach it, was again bombarded. The inhabitants were then unable to leave, as the town was surrounded. But when the bombardment ceased there was a panic exodus.

The whole life of the nation has been arrested; the food supplies which would ordinarily reach the civilian population are being taken by the German troops for their own support. The poor and many others are without the necessities of life, and the conditions of starvation grow more acute every day. Even where, as in some cases happens, there is a supply of wheat available, the peasants are not allowed to use their windmills owing to the German fear that they will send signals to the Belgian army.

We are face to face with a fact unique perhaps in the history of the world. The life of an entire nation has been arrested, its army is driven to the borders of another country, the bulk of its civilian population are refugees, of those who remain many are panic-stricken wanderers from village to village.

THE GERMAN METHODS IN BELGIUM

As I have already stated, the completeness of the destruction at Termonde was a feature which almost everywhere marked the German progress through Belgium. It was amazing because it was not the result of the ordinary incidents of war such as bombardment. It was organised and systematic destruction. The method of it was explained to me in detail by the Belgian Government, and particularly by the venerable Speaker of the Belgian Parliament. I had explained to me and was shown the numerous appliances which the German soldiers carried for destroying property. Not only were hand-bombs of various sizes and descriptions carried, but each soldier was supplied with a quantity of small black discs little bigger than a sixpenny-piece. I saw these discs which had been taken from German soldiers on the field of battle. These were described to me as being composed of compressed benzine; when lighted they burn brilliantly for a few minutes, and are sufficient to start whatever fire is necessary after the explosion of the bomb.

Many of the German soldiers who were captured were found to be carrying handcuffs, which had apparently been served out to some regiments as a matter of course.

The Belgian Government thought that the object of the German methods was to terrorise the nation, and that their comparative moderation at Brussels was due to the presence of the Ambassadors of neutral countries. I was given instances of the atrocities which the German army was everywhere committing.

They were murdering the civil population and they had put to death a large number of priests. The things came as the greater shock to the Government because in 1870 the Germans had observed international laws of war, and their campaign was free from their present cruelties and outrages.

I had described to me by a leading citizen of Liège the incidents following the occupation of that city. He is a distinguished scholar of unimpeachable character. I only refrain from mentioning his name in order not to endanger his safety. He was in Liège throughout the assault and witnessed the arrival of the German troops in the city. From the windows of his own house, saved from destruction by chance because it was next to one occupied by a German officer, he saw soldiers going from house to house setting each on fire. The terrified occupants rushed from the burning houses, the women and children generally clinging to the men. Again and again he saw the soldiers pull off the women and children, and then shoot the men before their eyes. He witnessed, too, the shooting of a number of priests.

I made myself acquainted with the methods which were being followed by the Commission appointed by the Belgian Government to investigate the methods of the German army. It is a distinguished Commission and it has sifted all its evidence with judicial impartiality. Where witnesses' or even victims' names are suppressed, it is in order to secure the safety of them or their relatives. Their statements are all capable of proof and will bear the strictest investigation. But indeed to one who has seen the ravage of Belgium no other confirmation is necessary.

TACTICS AT LIÈGE AND NAMUR

The Belgian Government described to me the difference in the German methods of attack at Liège and Namur. They explained to me the rushing tactics of great bodies of massed troops at the former place, which resulted in enormous German losses. At Namur these methods were entirely altered. The Germans waited for five days before attacking Namur, and did so only when their siege guns were in position. They relied wholly on these, and the forts of Namur were powerless against them.

THE BEGINNING OF THE ATTACK ON ANTWERP

Reference has already been made to an engagement near Termonde. It was the beginning of the attack which culminated in the evacuation of Antwerp and the flight of the population.

After I had concluded my inspection of the destroyed town I was taken to the south of Termonde, and was made acquainted

by the military authorities with the nature of the fighting which was taking place. The enemy were attempting to reoccupy the Termonde district, and, as the next day showed, an advance on Malines, east of Termonde, was part of the same movement.

I was taken as far as the Belgian trenches. Behind me the guns of the protecting forts were thundering. The Belgian soldiers were lying flat in the trenches, which, to a lay mind, appeared to be of a curious formation. They were not cut deep, but a bank was raised on the firing side only, consisting not only of soil, but of wood logs and other miscellaneous things. There was also a rough cover of what appeared to be iron sheets weighted with wood logs and supported by rough stakes—generally small tree trunks. Though this method of trenching might afford some shelter against shells breaking in front of the soldiers, it did not appear to be effective against those breaking behind but near enough for the effect of the explosion to reach the trench.

We could hear the German fire but could see nothing of the enemy. One of his shells came over us, falling well in our rear. Some of the shells fell in the ruined town behind us.

The German attack was successfully resisted on this day and the Belgians held their ground, the enemy by nightfall having retreated about three miles.

We could see in actual working the arrangements for dealing with the wounded on the field of battle. In the rear of the fighting line there waited ambulance men with stretcher-beds. They received the wounded from the Red Cross parties who brought them direct from the trenches. Simple first aid was given and they were then taken to the railway station, happily close at hand, and put into a hospital train in waiting. At Antwerp station conveyances were waiting to take them to the hospitals. These arrangements were carried out as expeditiously as possible, and everything humanly possible was done for the sufferers. But I came to the conclusion that much suffering, and perhaps loss of life, would be avoided if the wounded could be more frequently taken straight to the hospital base by a motor ambulance so as to save the changes and delays with the consequent suffering which transit by train meant. This is in no sense intended as a criticism of the Belgian arrangements, which were the subject of great care and devotion and were as good as was possible.

THE BELGIAN PRIEST IN WAR

Many opportunities occurred to witness the work of the Belgian priests. Of their courage and devotion it would be impossible to speak too highly. In every village they were to be

found comforting and helping. In many cases they acted as Red Cross workers and carried the wounded from the battlefield. I saw in the district of the fighting many of these priests waiting by the side of their stretchers. They retained their long black dress, the only difference they had made being the assumption of the Red Cross band on their arms.

Their work in this connexion should be remembered in view of the considerable numbers who have been put to death by the Germans. I remember, too, with gratitude and admiration the vision I had of their work when I returned to England in a boat crowded with refugees. They moved about the great crowd huddled together during a violent storm, doing all they could to relieve the sufferings of those poor beings already panic-stricken by their experiences on land, to which was now added the horror of a storm at sea as they journeyed to an unknown land.

THE FUTURE

What does the future hold for Belgium?

I write on the assumption that the country will be restored to her people. But what will be her condition? Many of her towns and villages are wholly destroyed. Before they could be rebuilt the existing ruins must be carted away. The bulk of her people have fled to other lands. All the activities of a nation have ceased. No factories are working, no trade is done. Agriculture is at an end. The peasants have fled from their fields and farms. The troops have trampled the harvest. All is desolation and decay. And great as the ruin is at the moment, it grows worse day by day.

But there is another side to this black picture. It is not easy to kill a nation. It is like trying to kill thought. At the end of Shorthouse's wonderful romance, Mr. Inglesant watches in the setting sun 'a glorious city, bathed in life and hope, full of happy people who thronged its streets and bridge, and the margin of its gentle stream.' Then the sunset faded, and the ethereal vision vanished, and the landscape lay dark and chill.

'The sun is set . . . but it will rise again.' So it is with Belgium. Her people will rise once more. They will rebuild their cities. They will recreate their homes. They will re-establish their commerce. They will become once more the nation they were.

But these things are not yet. Belgium is now in the hour of her need. She wants our help and it must be given in overwhelming measure. But we are not helping a nation which is going to perish. She will emerge again.

The spirit of the nation may be seen in the spirit of her King.

Let me offer this tribute, however inadequate, to the courage, the genius, and the splendid heroism of the King of the Belgians. The manner in which he has faced unexampled misfortunes has revealed his character to the world. Known as one of the most modest and gentle of men, his conduct in this crisis has revealed a great statesman and a great leader. In part this has been a revelation even to the Belgians themselves, and has been the inspiring factor in the national action.

STEPS FOR THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT

In conclusion, there are two steps which I think the Government might take for the assistance of Belgium apart from their schemes for the refugees in this country. The first is to send a Commission to Holland to co-operate with representatives of neutral countries in getting food supplies and other necessities of life to the non-combatants. The Government should place at the disposal of this Commission whatever food supplies were necessary.

The second is to establish the machinery for the help of the Belgian Government when it becomes possible for them and their people to return. Whole cities have to be rebuilt, and the life of a nation reorganised. Architects, agriculturists, builders, to mention three only out of the representatives of a hundred trades and professions whose services would be invaluable, could through a Government scheme of co-operation give help in a multitude of ways.

This is not the moment to suggest details. The first step is the appointment of a body to propose schemes and to confer with the Belgian Government.

J. H. WHITEHOUSE.

WITH THE WOUNDED AT OSTEND

THE bringing over to this country of some 10,000 or more wounded Belgian soldiers from Ostend and Dunkirk is a step which, besides being useful from the military point of view, since many of the men will ultimately be able to rejoin the army, has given the British people a further opportunity of demonstrating their admiration and sympathy for the gallant nation which has fought so worthily for the Allies' cause. These men have passed through a severe ordeal. Incessant fighting, long marches, days and nights in the trenches have exhausted them, and they badly need the rest and attention they are now getting. The Wounded Allies' Relief Committee has taken some 1500 of the wounded off the hands of the naval and military authorities, and is in process of taking more. With the ready assistance of the Mayors and inhabitants of many of our larger towns, the Committee has been able to place the men under conditions where they will receive every comfort and attention. The Committee is now appealing for funds to provide clothing and necessities for the wounded soldiers, for the great majority have arrived with nothing more than the clothes they stand up in. It is publishing lists of those who have arrived, has established a sort of clearing house to bring them into touch with their friends, and is doing all possible for their comfort while in this country.¹

After the fall of Antwerp the Committee investigated the state of affairs in Ostend, and, on receipt of its report, the Admiralty promptly undertook to bring over the wounded. Dr. W. B. Clark and I were fortunate enough to take a small part in this movement. Correspondents have already given vivid accounts of the last days in Ostend before the German occupation, but no description has yet appeared of the conditions under which the wounded were at Ostend. An account, therefore, of the scenes we saw in the hospitals and temporary shelters, and of the difficulties which attended the removal of the wounded to these shores, may be of interest.

We reached Ostend in the evening of Sunday, the 11th of October, and at once proceeded to the office of the Surgeon-General of the Belgian forces, which had been installed in one of the large

¹ The Offices of the Committee are at the Grand Hotel, Trafalgar Square. CC-0. In Public Domain: Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

hotels near the sea-front. Surgeon-General Meleiss and Inspector-General Derache were there in great perplexity as to what to do with the wounded, of whom there were then some 10,000 in Ostend and its environs, mostly brought from the hospitals at Antwerp, while 3000 more arrived the following day. We told them we hoped to be able to take away 500, and possibly more, but a little later a message arrived from England that the British Government was prepared to take the whole number. The first ship would arrive about noon the next day, and others were following. This intelligence caused the liveliest satisfaction.

On Monday morning we made a tour of inspection of the hospitals and shelters with Commandant Meyers. The sights we saw were tragic. The ordinary hospital accommodation of the town had long been exceeded, and the wounded had been placed in hotels, houses, sheds, and covered railway sidings. Some 1500 were in the Palace Hotel on the sea-front, but there were only beds for about 350. Many were lying on the floor, and even mattresses were not available for all. Three hundred men were housed in the big railway garage for the wagons-lits, the couches having been taken out of the sleeping-cars for their use. The number of doctors was insufficient to meet the demand for their services even with civilian assistance. There were very few trained nurses or dressers, most of the attendance on the wounded being done by Sisters of Mercy belonging to the religious orders. These women were doing their best, and it is no reflection on their devotion or kindness to say that their ideas of asepsis were of the most elementary character. They were anxious to remove bandages from any case in order to show us the wounds, and would replace them with entire neglect of surgical procedure. It is not surprising, therefore, that many of the wounds were septic. Even of these attendants the number was sadly insufficient. For the 300 men in the wagon-lit garage there were only two 'Sœurs' and a priest. Everybody was doing the utmost possible, but the difficulties were too great. The atmosphere in some of the sheds was stifling. Many of the dressings had not been changed for days, and the bandages were very dirty. This was partially due to the fact that the supply of dressings, bandages, and antiseptics had been almost exhausted. A considerable proportion of the cases required operation. The more serious had already received attention, but broken limbs, which had been hastily or improperly set, will require further surgical treatment in this country, and many bullets still remain to be extracted. The men looked sad and weary, but we heard no murmur or complaint. They seemed to have little with which to occupy themselves, and some were reading long out-of-date journals and newspapers. I saw one man studying the pictures in an August number of the *Queen*

which some chance had brought his way. There was a prohibition against smoking, but many pipes and cigarettes were hastily put away when we entered.

It is remarkable how clean are many of the wounds produced by bullets. Feet, hands, or limbs shot right through frequently showed no more than two slight depressions surrounded by narrow zones of inflammation without any suppuration, but sometimes the bones are badly smashed. One man had been shot right through the abdomen, but though the intestines must have been pierced again and again, he had made a rapid recovery without operation or complication. The large proportion wounded in the hand or arm was noteworthy. The explanation suggests itself that after the head these are the parts most exposed when a man is standing or kneeling in the trenches. The destruction wrought by shrapnel is ghastly. Tissues are torn, limbs shattered, features destroyed, and there were some cases of blindness. A considerable number of the men were suffering from rheumatism, the result of exposure.

At midday we went down to the harbour, but the boat had not arrived. At this time the approaching evacuation of the town had not become generally known, and, save for large crowds around the offices of the packet-boats, there were no signs of alarm among the general populace, though we were unpleasantly reminded of the proximity of the enemy by the sound of heavy firing during most of the morning, apparently from no great distance, and by the passage over the town of a Taube, which threw several bombs. The greatest activity prevailed. Military cars with Belgian or British flags, armoured motors, transport wagons, Red Cross ambulances, and London 'buses rattled over the streets. The main roads and sea-front were crowded with Belgian troops, travel-stained, worn, and often only partially clad in military uniform. Every here and there was the familiar khaki or the smart uniform of a British officer. All was bustle at the larger hotels, which were occupied by the Belgian Ministry, the foreign legations, and military staffs. Masses of peasants and refugees from other towns were crowding round the places where relief was being given out, but the crowd on the sea-front appeared to consist chiefly of well-dressed people. Many women were proudly wearing our regimental badges.

Gradually a change became perceptible. The General Staff moved out in the early afternoon in automobiles piled with luggage. Other authorities were seen rapidly preparing to leave. Soon there was a continual stream of vehicles of all sorts away to the west. Vast crowds were now besieging the offices of the packet-boats, and men were fighting to prevent the doors from being rushed. Troops were moving out in various

directions. A friendly officer from whom we made inquiries gave us a pretty broad hint that if we stayed much longer things might be awkward. Still there was no sign of the boat. The afternoon wore on, but the Belgian staff had no word of her, the port authorities knew nothing, and we gazed anxiously to sea in vain. About seven we made inquiries at the British Legation. They had been informed that the boat would arrive at twelve, had heard nothing since, and were much surprised to learn that it had not come. It looked almost as though arrangements had been changed, and we contemplated a tramp along the coast to Dunkirk as the only means of avoiding an indefinite period of trench-digging in Germany.

At nine o'clock she arrived flying the Red Cross flag. By the greatest good luck we happened to be down in the harbour and saw her come in—a large Great Eastern passenger-boat. This was exceedingly fortunate, for we learnt later that in the darkness and confusion which now prevailed in Ostend her arrival was not reported to either the medical or port authorities, and it seems probable that but for this chance no one would have known of her presence until the following morning, a delay which would have affected not only this ship but also the succeeding transports.

The process of getting the wounded from the hospitals to the ship was by no means easy. The whole town was in complete darkness, ambulances and conveyances were almost impossible to get, there were few persons to give assistance, and administrative chaos prevailed. If the authorities had been definitely informed when the boat would arrive the wounded could have been brought down to the quay by daylight ready to go on board. Difficulties were increased by the fact that many of the officials and authorities had departed. Thus when we informed the Surgeon-General of the arrival of the ship, he telephoned to the various places where wounded were, giving instructions for them to be sent to the quay, only to find that there was no one left to carry out the orders, and in the end he, the Inspector-General, and ourselves were obliged to go round and make the arrangements. At first we could get no transport, but later two ambulances of the British Field Hospital, hearing of our difficulties, generously offered their services, and worked all night with us, although their staffs had been up the three previous nights and were utterly exhausted. A party of ably assisted us to convey some fifty serious cases from the Hôtel des Thermes, while their comrades lined up in the road and sang songs during the process. To convey the wounded from the quay to the boat we had a very efficient party of some forty stretcher-bearers and a superintendent belonging to a volunteer naval detachment of the St. John Ambulance, who had been placed on board. Nothing could exceed the energy

and willingness with which these men worked and the skill and kindness they showed in handling the wounded. Nevertheless, many of the wounded had to walk more than a mile from the hospitals or hotels, and for men unused to crutches this was a heavy strain.

Further confusion occurred on the quay, as the boat was unfortunately moored some distance from the station to which the men had been directed. Small parties were continually getting lost. About midnight, almost by accident, I stumbled across a party of twenty serious cases lying on the floor in one of the pitch-dark waiting-rooms at the station. They had been brought there by somebody and apparently forgotten. With them were sleeping some members of the *Garde Civile*, and through the glass doors on the other side one could dimly discern a vast crowd of silent refugees waiting all night to get the first packet-boat. A party of our stretcher-bearers was sent for, and we lifted them on to the stretchers and took them away. This all had to be done by the light of matches held in the fingers till they burnt out, the flickering gleam on the white-bandaged figures producing a weird and ghostly effect.

The boat was not moored alongside the quay, but outside another boat, hence there were two sets of gangways to be crossed. Between the quay and the first boat only an ordinary narrow gangway was available, and this involved leaving a man who required support to make his way across unaided. Between the two boats a wider gangway was made with some planks.

During the course of the night we were asked by an English officer to take some British sick and wounded on board. Although we were only supposed to take Belgians, we could not refuse our own men, and we said we would take fifty. The officer, like a sensible fellow, sent on board sixty-eight. Most of them were not bad cases, but one man had had an arm amputated the day before.

The loading of a hospital ship is not an entirely straightforward matter, but one which requires some experience. For the first two hours Dr. Clark and I were fully occupied in the town, and were obliged to leave the arrangements for distributing the wounded on board in the hands of the ambulance party, who, we did not know, had not undertaken such duties before. When we were able to go on board we found that some mistakes had been made. Men who could walk had reached the ship first, and on being received on board had been placed in the nearest available berths. Indeed, many had been allowed to make themselves comfortable where they liked. The result was that many men wounded in the hand or arm, who could quite easily have gone below, were occupying the state-rooms and cabins on the upper

deck, while the stretcher-bearers were now, with great difficulty, conveying bad cases down to the lower decks, taking the stretchers down steep flights of stairs and round awkward corners, where sometimes the help of six or more men was required to lift them over projecting banisters. It was necessary to turn out a number of men who had occupied the upper deck and send them below, to make room for further serious cases. It must be remembered that the difference of language increased the difficulty of the attendants in dealing with the wounded.

Again, no record was kept of the number who were taken on board. The Admiralty orders were that not more than 500 were to be received, but we were determined to see that the ship was full. About midnight we inquired as to the number that had then come on, but it was not known, and we had to send men round to take a rough census. We were much more afraid of bringing too few than too many, and were considerably relieved to learn at Dover that 530 had been brought across.

Difficulties were increased by the efforts of unauthorised persons to get on board. We were continually sending back refugees, and there were many who wanted to come to look after the wounded. Nor was it possible always to be certain that a man was a soldier. Some had no vestige of a uniform left. The passport of such a one was the presence of a wound. Some, however, could not show us that there was anything the matter, and these were sent back. A few of the wounded had grimy hospital charts and records, but most had no papers; and if they had had there would not have been time to examine them. Once a Belgian officer, who was wounded in the foot, limped up with his wife. I said that we had only come for wounded, and could not take women. They looked at each other in the utmost despair, and turned to me with piteous faces. It occurred to me that it would not accelerate a man's recovery to know that he had left his wife in a country in the hands of the enemy without any means of communicating with her or finding out what fate had befallen her. It seemed convenient, therefore, not to be too observant for a brief period, and the same position recurred several times later. At Dover six wives made their appearance on deck, much to the dismay, I am afraid, of the port authorities.

At 3 A.M. we had got on board as many as it was possible to take. The berths were all occupied, the decks were crowded, and the corridors were blocked with the last stretcher cases, for whom no other place could be found. Right at the end a nurse came up with an ambulance containing ten British wounded and earnestly besought us to take them. We took the slighter cases, but could find no more room for the stretcher cases. There were still a large number of Belgian wounded on the quay, who were

bitterly disappointed at being left; but we were able to assure them that they would soon go off by another boat, for by this time we had learned that the *Munich* was lying outside waiting to come in and take our place. It was therefore important to get off as quickly as possible. We accordingly aroused the captain and told him we were all ready to start. Here a new difficulty presented itself. The captain told us that he could not start without orders. As already stated, he had made efforts the previous evening, but had been unable to find the authorities to whom he ought to have reported his arrival and from whom he would have received orders, and had come back intending to report himself in the morning. This looked like a delay of some hours, and the situation was too pressing for such a proceeding to be desirable. Dr. Clark accordingly went on shore, and, failing to find the transport officer, aroused the British Legation at 4 A.M. Orders were then given to sail as soon as possible, and we got away soon after 6, the *Munich* at once moving in to take our place.

The passage to Dover was calm, and not many of the wounded required much attention beyond the changing of some dressings. The strain the Belgian soldiers have gone through was shown in the case of one man who, without having been wounded at all, was simply a nervous wreck and had become violent and delirious. He was a big, powerful fellow, and we had had the greatest difficulty in getting him on board. During the voyage it was necessary to tell off an attendant to watch him, but he was calm by the time Dover was reached. The stretcher cases, as many as possible of which were allowed to remain on the stretchers, nearly all did well. Unfortunately, no provisions had been placed on board for the wounded, and they were not able to be given a meal. Tea and coffee were, however, available, and some of the men had brought chunks of brown bread with them. It appears to have been expected that the Belgian authorities would put rations on board, but in the general confusion and uncertainty at Ostend it had not been possible to do this. At Dover there were ample supplies and a warm welcome for the wounded. Our boat was relatively lucky, for we had a short passage, but some of the later boats fared worse. One which left Dunkirk on Tuesday, with over 2000 wounded on board, reached Dover on Wednesday, and after lying off for some time was sent on to Southampton, where the men were disembarked on Friday morning. The Belgian Government had not been able to augment the ship's provisions, and some of the wounded were without food for a long period. There were three Belgian surgeons on board, but no English doctors. Undoubtedly it was a difficult task to remove at relatively short notice a large body of wounded

men from a town threatened with early occupation by the enemy, and under these circumstances no one would expect more than second-best arrangements. Yet with a little foresight some of the difficulties might have been avoided, and there were undoubtedly needless delays. The state of confusion in Ostend does not seem to have been fully realised in this country, and duties were expected from the Belgian authorities which they were simply unable to perform.

The Belgian soldier endures hardships with great fortitude. During the whole night, though many of the men had dragged themselves down from the hospitals to the quay with wounds to which often little more than first aid had been rendered, had been kept waiting for hours, and were hungry and exhausted when they reached Dover, we never heard a single grumble or complaint. It could not be said that they were exactly cheerful. When not one of utter weariness the prevailing expression was that of surprise. I watched a group of them on deck staring with bent and puzzled brows at their country as we steamed along the Belgian coast. One could almost read their thoughts. Ignorant of 'Weltpolitik' and Kaiserly ambition, they were trying to understand what mighty force had taken them from the fields where a few short weeks ago they had been quietly working, and, after a hideous nightmare, had placed them on a strange ship bound for a foreign land—mothers, wives, sisters, and children, God knows where—fugitives from a terror which could not have been greater if a horde of devils had descended upon their unhappy country.

It is said that in England we do not know what war means. Probably this is true. But the horrors we saw in a tiny corner of the conflict are taking place all over Europe, and it is difficult to believe that this generation will ever go to war again. It can only be when a people have grown up to whom these things have become matters of history, when time has removed the shattered men from our midst, and the wives and parents of the slain have passed away, that one will see the nations again resorting to the primitive savagery of war for the settlement of international disputes.

WILLIAM A. BREND, M.B., B.Sc.

HOW BELGIUM SAVED ENGLAND

THE Triple Entente has to all appearance ended in failure. It had its origin in an honest desire for peace, and it has landed Europe in the greatest war in history. We had imagined that the understandings entered into with France and Russia had made the three Powers strong enough to defy attack. Between the members of the Entente peace was assured; there was nothing that they wanted to fight for. Was it likely that any enemy or group of enemies would feel so certain of victory as to try conclusions with the world's strongest fleet and two of its strongest armies? Yet what seemed altogether outside the range of probability has happened. An arrangement intended to secure one object has brought about its exact opposite. This is the reading of the situation which at one time appealed to some Englishmen—to more, perhaps, than now care to remember that they ever entertained it. But there is another view of the facts which suggests a very different conclusion. No doubt the primary object of the Triple Entente was the maintenance of European peace. But there was a remoter object which was all along associated with this one—the punishment of any Power that wilfully broke the peace. This second purpose was the necessary complement of the first, and the essential identity between them must never be lost sight of. Bearing this in mind, the War will appear to us not as an unlooked-for disaster, but as a piece of good fortune on which we had no right to count. To some of my readers this may seem a wild exaggeration. I believe that when the events of the last few years are properly considered it ought rather to be regarded as a sober statement of fact. The disasters the War has brought upon us are but trifles by the side of the catastrophe from which it has saved us.

The Ententes with France and Russia covered originally two limited and well-defined areas. They were intended to remove particular causes of possible quarrel—the one on the Indian frontier, the other in Northern Africa. Englishmen have short memories, and the alarms once excited by Russian progress in Central Asia, or by the appearance of a French exploring expedition making its way to the Valley of the Nile, are now forgotten.

Yet, on more than one occasion, the conflict between English and Russian policy in Afghanistan very nearly involved us in war, and, had the interview between Marchand and Kitchener at Fashoda been marked by less courtesy and self-restraint, our good relations with France might have been fatally disturbed. The good sense of the two Governments, a dawning appreciation of the change that was coming over Europe, and the disappearance of Salisbury and Gladstone from the political stage, made new combinations possible, and invested them with new attractions. No precise date can be assigned to the development of the Triple Entente from two separate arrangements, each directed to the removal of particular grounds of disagreement, into an understanding between the three Powers having for its real object the restraint of German ambition. But in all three countries the popular sentiment outstripped Diplomacy, and an agreement which hardly existed in black and white came by degrees to be regarded as the chief safeguard against a European conflagration. If it has not justified this anticipation, it has at least saved Great Britain from having to fight Germany single-handed. Had the agreements in question never been concluded, France and Germany might at any moment have come to terms, and a section of our countrymen would at once have set to work to paint the advantages to be derived from the reverent acceptance of German ideas of government, religion, and culture. In its extremest form this singular delusion went the length of preaching absolute neutrality. England, taught wisdom by centuries of warfare, must at last learn to mind her own business and grow rich on the folly of her neighbours. The two Services would then be brought down to the modest proportions required by the new order of things, and the tens of millions thus saved would go to supply the constantly growing needs of a Social Regeneration carried out by an army of officials. In the end, no doubt, these well-meaning missionaries would have discovered the opinion the Germans really had of England, and the position they intended to assign her when they had crushed out her belated resistance. I do not think that even the most moderate pacifist would have quietly accepted the German plan of European reconstruction. On the contrary, I believe that his first instinct would have been to cry out for instant war. But with what prospects would such a war have been entered upon? By that time the isolation of England would have been complete. She would not have had a single ally or a single well-wisher left in Europe. Her command of the sea would have been lost, and her shores, her food supply, and her trade would have been at the mercy of every enemy.

More dangerous, perhaps, because less seemingly selfish, was the assumption not infrequently met with that the obligations of

Great Britain to her partners in the Entente would be fully discharged when she had given them the aid of her Fleet. Even in the first days of the War certain newspapers were arguing against the despatch of an Expeditionary Force, and seeking comfort in an earlier declaration of the Prime Minister that the understanding with France committed us to no overt action on land. The Liberals whom this statement was probably meant to reassure saw in it an importance to which it had no real title. So far as the Ententes existed on paper they probably contained no reference to either military or naval operations. The help the Powers were expected to give one another was not limited by specific declarations; it covered the whole area of the needs which the Ententes were designed to meet. The considerations which would in the end govern the kind and amount of support which England was to give to France would be such as would naturally arise out of the situations which the future would bring with it. The Expeditionary Force which is now fighting in France was not sent there in fulfilment of any promise, verbal or written. Statesmen are not usually in a hurry to give promises in black and white when they are ignorant of the circumstances in which their words will have to be made good. We have helped France with our soldiers because the attack on her was made by soldiers. We might have distributed our ships along the whole length of the French seaboard without in any way affecting the result of the conflicts on the Marne and the Aisne. Help of this kind would have been worthless to France, and equally worthless to ourselves. Consequently, it would not have fulfilled the real purpose of the understanding of 1907. That purpose—or, more accurately, the purpose which had grown out of that understanding—was the defence of France against unprovoked invasion by a Power which had twice shown unmistakably that she contemplated action of this sort. When the invaders had crossed the frontier, the occasion for helping France to meet it had plainly arisen. The British Government had no choice but to give the necessary assistance in the form which could alone be of any value. If France had been defeated for want of that assistance it would have been no answer to her or to our own people that we had offered it in quite another shape. Ships have a value of their own, but the sphere of that value is seldom the land, and it was on the land that the German attack on France had to be met. The Prime Minister's answers in Parliament had no bearing on any question but that actually put to him. Nor had they any on the object with which that particular question had been asked. What certain dissatisfied members of the Liberal Party really wanted to know was whether in the event of Germany declaring war against France, the Liberal

Government meant to play the part of an ally or of a neutral. It would have been useless to ask this in so many words. No Minister—least of all Mr. Asquith—will ever commit himself to the particular course he means to take in an imaginary situation. They were welcome, however, to such comfort as they could derive from the knowledge that the policy they disliked had never been reduced to writing. When the question had been asked and answered, Minister and followers parted—the one knowing that his freedom of action was in no wise affected by what he had said; the others pleasing themselves with the reflection that they had at least conveyed to their leader their dislike of any positive action against Germany.

A second thing from which the country has been delivered is the ignorance in which it was content to live so long as Europe remained at peace. I say this with no desire to charge the Government with want of patriotism. No doubt they were extraordinarily indifferent to the numbers and equipment of the Regular Army and to the proper training of the Territorials. The position of the Allied Army to-day would have been far more satisfactory if the English contingent first despatched had numbered 300,000 men and if every Territorial recruit had received six months' training on enlistment. If Mr. Asquith had warned us a year or two back that as soon as we were engaged in an European war we should want at once to raise half a million of competent soldiers, and that this would be only an instalment, we should have been very much better prepared. I am not, I repeat, going to blame the Government on this account, partly because they have since laboured to the very utmost of their power to make up for past omissions, and partly because the responsibility must, in a great measure, be shared by the Opposition and by the country at large. If Ministers seem to have been absolutely blind to a future which, as we now know, was in a fair way to become a present in a year or two, were the Opposition any better informed? I cannot think so. If they had been gifted with any superior faculty for forecasting events, they would have devoted their whole time and strength to making the Government face the situation. An Opposition can do this in one of two ways. It can turn out the Ministry, or it can try to convince the country that the measures introduced by the Cabinet stand in urgent need of enlargement. The former of these methods was plainly beyond their reach. They had the will to cross over the House, but one general election after another had shown them that they had not the power. All that remained to them therefore was to address themselves to the humbler task of persuading Parliament or the electorate that the Army Estimates were altogether inadequate. I believe that if the Unionist front bench had taken as much pains

to make this clear as they took to establish the same point in reference to the Naval Estimates, the numbers of men demanded for the Army would have been increased and recruiting would have gone on at a very different pace. The electors would have become alarmed, and they would have communicated their uneasiness to their representatives. So again with the Territorials. The experience of the last three months has shown that Lord Haldane's scheme would have worked extremely well if there had been no shortage in the numbers of the new force, and if every man included in it had spent the first six months of his time in camp or barrack. Even as it is, many of them have proved fit for immediate service, and if the War had found us in possession of the full number of men with the right qualifications many more could have been put into the field at once, and the enlistment of others might have been carried on with less haste and confusion. The Opposition as a body did nothing to press this necessity upon the Government. With some distinguished exceptions they treated the Territorials with something like contempt. That there was good stuff among them they admitted, but it was commonly with the rider that, from the point of view of national defence, to spend more money on them would be pure waste. Instead of pressing any such additional outlay upon the Government they went on recommending one or other of two alternative systems—universal service or universal training. But for all practical purposes both these proposals had the same fatal fault. Neither of them could by possibility become law until it had been presented to the country at at least one general election, and this was the one thing that the Opposition were powerless to bring about. They were as blind to the nature, the extent, and the imminence of the German danger as the rest of us.

The same blame, in kind though not in amount, must be passed on the English people. We all read, or might have read, the German writers who, as we now know, expressed the dominant feeling and the most cherished purposes, if not of the whole German people, at all events of the classes who guide German thought and determine German policy. But what we read, or were told of, made no serious impression on us. We accepted these books as embodiments of the wild dreams of an isolated general or historian. Even when the facts were presented to us by English or American writers—by Mr. Dawson, or Mr. Price Collier, or Miss Wylie—they passed by us unnoticed. It never occurred to us that their books could have any practical bearing on English affairs, or that the whole future of the British Empire would be determined—and that within a year or two—by the policy we adopted towards these new German ambitions. With the exception of Mr. Blatchford and Mr.

Maxse, I cannot recall a single prophet who foretold, with anything like precision, the War which, as we now see, was a near and absolute certainty if England meant to retain her position in the world. Where are we to look for an explanation of this strange blindness? Only, I think, in the impossibility of persuading ourselves that a great people could be animated by a temper and purpose so foreign to modern conceptions of international relations. War for specific reasons—war for territory the possession of which seemed supremely important to national safety, war inflicted in punishment for some intolerable slight to national dignity, war as the undesigned outcome of complicated negotiations with all their manifold occasions of offence and misunderstanding—these things we could understand. But war for war's sake, war to keep an army in practice and a nation in the right temper, war to feed and stimulate a proper contempt for your neighbours, war merely to make other people afraid of you or to provide prey for a 'magnificent blonde brute, avidly rampant for spoil and victory'—was a thing that it passed our power to conceive. It might be possible on paper or on the stage, it could not be a thing so real and near that it was our duty to make preparation against it. Our forefathers, it may be, were under something of the same difficulty at the beginning of the war with Napoleon. But their difficulty was very much less than ours. Napoleon did not fight Europe because it was only in that way that the character he wished to impress upon the French people could be formed. He had objects which were at least intelligible to Englishmen as well as to his own subjects. 'He shed blood freely,' says Mr. Herbert Fisher, 'but never wantonly, using as much severity as the occasion seemed to demand, but keeping his standard of severity high.' Who will write this of William the Second? Our inability to grasp the change in the national character which has been going on in Germany, and especially in Prussia, for more than a generation may be further accounted for by the extent to which Englishmen have identified the German Empire with its first Chancellor. We have rightly regarded Bismarck as the chief architect of German greatness, but we have been wrong in assuming that German policy is still guided by his maxims. This last belief is only a half-truth, and it has been as misleading as half-truths usually are. No one knew better than Bismarck the value of the military spirit and of the army in which it was incarnate. But no one knew better the limitations that must be imposed on it if it was to remain an instrument for carrying out the intentions of the civil power. He was anything but blind to the large capacities for mischief which it would develop if it were not subjected to proper control.

The task of keeping its results [he writes] within such limits as the nation's need of peace can justly claim is the duty of the political, not the military, heads of the State. That . . . even down to the most recent times the staff and its leaders have allowed themselves to be led astray and to endanger peace lies in the very spirit of the institution, which I would not forgo. It only becomes dangerous under a monarch whose policy lacks sense of proportion.¹

If allowance be made for the giant's share in the creation of the new Germany with which Englishmen have been accustomed to credit Bismarck, it is hardly matter for wonder that they did not believe that a war of which he said by anticipation that it would be a great misfortune for Germany, even if she were victorious, could really be close at hand.

Even in the eventful fortnight which preceded the War the permanence of the Triple Entente was not absolutely secure, though I believe that the danger seemed greater than it really was. The unwillingness of Sir Edward Grey to take the final step is not hard to understand. That there was a serious division in the Liberal camp down to the very eve of the War we know. Even after the German Government had announced its intention to violate the neutrality of Belgium there were two secessions from the Cabinet, and if war had been declared in advance of that announcement there would probably have been several more. In that case, instead of meeting Parliament with a united administration, Mr. Asquith would have had to ask for time to fill up vacancies among his colleagues, and while this process was going on the policy of the Government might have remained undisclosed. The new Ministers would have been unfamiliar with their work, and the country would have had to put up with innumerable delays at a moment when speed was of untold importance. A Foreign Secretary might well have been anxious to avoid the appearance of irresolution which might thus have been created. There was also the further question how far the House of Commons could be trusted to approve the action of the Government. In his great speech on the 3rd of August, Sir Edward Grey reminded the House that he had all along warned both France and Russia that he could 'promise nothing to any Foreign Power unless it was to receive the whole-hearted support of public opinion here.' He had indeed committed the Cabinet on the previous afternoon to giving France the support of the British Fleet if the German Fleet came into the Channel or into the North Sea 'to undertake hostile operations against the French coast or shipping.' That promise would certainly have been confirmed by Parliament if it had stood alone. We should not have taken patiently the bombardment of Calais, or Boulogne, or Dieppe.

¹ I am indebted for this quotation to an article—'Bismarck's Legacy'—in *The Round Table* for September last.

But at the moment when war was resolved upon the occasion for making good this promise had not arisen, and if the German Government had looked ahead of their immediate military needs, they would have hesitated long before giving the Triple Entente a solidity which, but for their violation of Belgian neutrality, it might never have attained. Their estimate of a treaty as nothing more than a scrap of paper was, I believe, perfectly genuine, and until they discovered their mistake they probably did not credit England with the childish folly of going to war for such a trifle. Hence the miscalculation which may in the end be found to have determined the duration of the War and the character of the peace which will one day follow upon it. They judged us by the new and shameless standards they have adopted for themselves, and it is we who have been the gainer by their error. But for this Sir Edward Grey might have gone on limiting his promise of help to the single contingency of an attack by the German Fleet upon the coast or shipping of France in the North Sea or in the Channel. In that case it is possible, to say the least, that the German Government would have seen the importance of doing nothing that could bring the British Fleet upon the scene and so make England a belligerent instead of a neutral. The impression left by the White Paper is that, if there had been no violation of Belgian neutrality, the English Government, though it would almost certainly have declared war in the end, would have taken the final step with considerable hesitation and after a delay which might naturally have bred coolness and suspicion between ourselves and the other members of the Entente. Thus, on the 29th of July Sir Edward Grey told the French Ambassador that :

If Germany became involved, and France became involved, we had not made up our minds what we should do. It was a case that we should have to consider. France would then have been drawn into a quarrel which was not hers, but in which, owing to her alliance, her honour and interest obliged her to engage. We were free from engagements, and we should have to decide what British interests required us to do.

This was an absolutely correct statement of the duty of a British Minister, but when made on the very eve of a European war, it was hardly a statement calculated to reassure the French Ambassador. Sir Edward Grey took great care, however, that the German Ambassador should not give his Government too favourable a view of our intentions—an error into which Prince Lichnowsky was not unlikely to fall.

The situation [he told him] was very grave. While it was restricted to the issues at present [July 29] actually involved, we had no thought of interfering in it. But if Germany became involved in it, and then France, the issue might be so great that it would involve all European interests, and I did not wish him to be misled by the friendly tone of

our conversation—which I hoped would continue—into thinking that we should stand aside.

And then he added the warning that if the issue did become such that we thought British interests required us to intervene, we must intervene at once, and the decision would have to be very rapid.

On the following day (July 30) the French President told the English Ambassador that, if Great Britain would declare her solidarity with France in the event of her being at war with Germany, there would, he believed, be no war. On the 31st of July the French Ambassador again pressed this question of solidarity upon Sir Edward Grey, but only to be once more told that the Cabinet had decided that

we could not give any pledge at the present time. . . . Up to the present moment we did not feel, and public opinion did not feel, that any treaties or obligations of this country were involved.

Had matters stood still at this point it is possible that, so far as Great Britain is concerned, there might have been no war. Germany might have felt the importance of keeping the British Fleet out of the business, and, in order to secure this advantage, might have taken another road into France and left Belgium alone. In order to do this she would no doubt have had to subordinate military to political considerations, which is not her usual habit. But it is also possible that to keep England neutral she might for once have determined to forgo a military gain in order to avoid giving us any direct cause of offence. Had she taken this course the result to us would have been disastrous. France and Russia would naturally have felt that we had betrayed them, and in that case would almost certainly have listened to any suggestions Germany might have offered for making peace at our expense. The fact that England had retired from the Triple Entente would not have prevented Germany from opening negotiations of this kind. She would have regarded our neutrality as a paltry substitute for effective support and would have gone on with the design which, as we now know, she has entertained for years. That design is to defeat or win over France and Russia as a necessary prelude to humbling England. By that time France and Russia would, in all probability, have been quite angry enough to join heartily in this project. They would have felt that, after getting all that she wanted out of the Triple Entente, England had left her former partners to fight their own battles and bear their own burdens, and this would have been just the temper to make the proposals of Germany attractive. The bargain made with them need not have been a hard one; it would not have been difficult to bring us to our knees af-

in which France, Germany, and Russia would have b-

against us. British territory, British ships, British trade, and British cash would have presented an ample field from which to recover what they had spent in defeating us.

No doubt this may seem a very extravagant forecast, and I admit that, as the negotiations previous to the War latterly shaped themselves, it never had a chance of coming true. My point is that what saved it from coming true was the determination of the British Government to make any violation of the neutrality of Belgium a *casus belli*. If Germany had been at the pains to study the English temper she would have known that this was the question of all others that she ought not to raise, and it was the fear that in the end she would not raise it that made so many Englishmen uneasy during the closing days of last July. They were not afraid that the Government would forget its treaty obligations. But they did fear that if Germany acted as became a Power subject to precisely the same obligations, the British Government might listen to the arguments urged by a section of their supporters and leave France to her fate. Looking back to that interval I think that the alarm was exaggerated. But I also think that there was some foundation for it. Had the neutrality of Belgium been respected Sir Edward Grey's action might have been less prompt and the response of the nation less unmistakable. It was the refusal to respect it that called forth Sir Edward Grey's ultimatum. Never surely were the chimes of midnight more welcome than when they announced that England had declared war against Germany.

To those who take this view of the War and of its origin it is scarcely possible to overrate the obligations we are under to Belgium. The continuous and repeated sacrifices made by this heroic little nation have gone far to save England from a similar fate, and it will be for England to bear this in mind when the conditions of peace come to be settled. The worst losses she has suffered cannot be made good. We cannot give her back the lives she has so freely given for our benefit, or the noble buildings that have been so wantonly destroyed as a penalty for standing by our friend. But we can do something to replace her people in their wasted villages, and to raise fresh harvests on the soil that the Germans have made a charnel house. To minister to the restoration of her material prosperity will discharge but a small part of what England owes to Belgium. But we shall indeed be a thankless people if we do not see to it that this fraction at least of our debt to her is paid to the last farthing.

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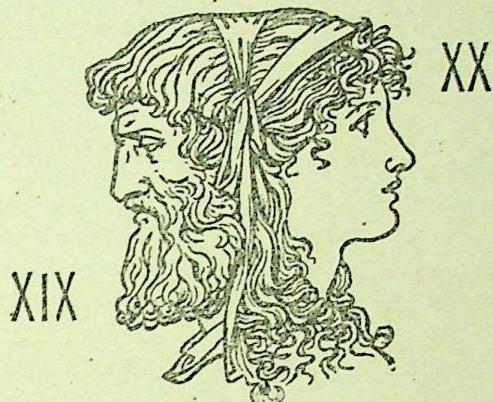
D. C. LATHBURY.

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No. CCCCLIV—DECEMBER 1914

‘THE HAPPY WARRIOR’

IT is probable that, to the end of time, the general public will continue to think of the soldier as the man whose work it is to kill, forgetting ever that his chief function is to succour and protect; to risk his life for the sake of others.

But common as this false view is with heedless folk, we find great students of human nature constantly taking soldiers as the examples of tenderness and true charity. Captain Sentry in the pages of Addison’s *Spectator*, and Uncle Toby, are instances of this. When Thackeray, whose bitter wit was used so often for the scourging of vice, snobbishness, and all unworthy things, wants to give us a type of gentleness he presents it to us in the form of the simple and chivalrous soldier, Colonel Newcome. In Wordsworth’s ‘Character of the Happy Warrior’ there is no allusion whatever to killing. The Happy Warrior

Is placable—because occasions rise
So often that demand such sacrifice;
. . . . more able to endure,
As more exposed to suffering and distress;
Thence, also, more alive to tenderness.

Thoughts such as these will come into the mind—it is impossible to exclude them—when one thinks of the kind gentleman so lately in our midst; but, putting aside such considerations for the present, I will endeavour to give a short analysis of the career of Lord Roberts as a soldier.

From his own book *Forty-One Years in India* we learn how he faced his duties as a regimental officer when, as a young subaltern, he joined a battery of that fine old corps the Bengal Horse Artillery. He began by riding every horse in the battery, or 'troop' as it was called in those days. 'Thus,' he says, 'I learned to understand the amount of nerve, patience, and skill necessary to the making of a good Horse Artillery driver, with the additional advantage that I was brought into constant contact with the men.' It would be hard to find a better method of initiation into the duties of a regimental officer. Napoleon, the greatest soldier of all time, expected his officers to know the names and personal histories of each man under his charge, and we may rely upon it that much of the recent success of our own Army in France is due to the close association between the officers and men of the units which compose it. Polo was not played in our hero's young days, but we know that he was a good rider and shot. In the fighting in the Mutiny he showed himself a good swordsman, and even when he was Commander-in-Chief he would ride with a tent-pegging team of his own staff.

Lord Roberts received a thorough training in staff duties, for he joined the Quartermaster-General's Department before the Mutiny broke out, and remained in it for two-and-twenty years. It was during this period that he had the valuable experience of superintending all the arrangements for embarking the Bengal Division which sailed from Calcutta to take part in the expedition to Abyssinia.

This staff and regimental work, combined with the fighting which he saw in the Mutiny and Umbeyla campaigns, was a splendid preparation for the work which was to fall upon his shoulders in the Afghan campaigns. It was then that he showed his tactical skill in the handling of troops in the field.

And here we come upon a most interesting study, that of battles in which he commanded and won by a happy combination of foresight and audacity. If we follow closely the operations of the battles of the Peiwar Kotal, Charasia, and Kandahar we see the same guiding principles. Lord Roberts never attacked the enemy in the place or from the direction in which the enemy wished and expected to be attacked. He invariably found a way round. He knew that the Afghans, distrusting their own powers of manœuvring and conscious of want of thorough training

and discipline, would be unwilling to quit their strongly prepared positions, so in each case he kept them amused by a display of force in front of those positions and delivered his attack vigorously from a flank.

It was always the same; at the Peiwar Kotal he had the ground reconnoitred day after day till the long, difficult, and apparently dangerous route leading to the Spingawai Kotal was found, which enabled him to turn the Afghan position and threaten the enemy's line of retreat.

At the battle of Charasia the strongly held position on the steep cliffs covering the Sanginawishta Pass was left carefully alone, or threatened only by four companies of the 92nd and three guns of the Field Artillery, while the real weight of the attack was hurled upon the extreme right of the Afghan line.

At Kandahar, again, Ayub Khan's main position on the Babawali Kotal was not attacked, the Bombay troops from the Kandahar garrison being merely drawn up in the plain in front of it, so that they could check an advance should one be made to threaten Kandahar. Meanwhile Highlanders, Sikhs, and Gurkhas threw themselves on the villages which the Afghans held in the plain, drove them out and, turning the spur of the Pir Paimal ridge, on the Afghan right, forced their way to Ayub's camp, captured all his guns, and scattered the enemy in headlong rout.

The study of the tactics of these battles is made all the more interesting when we remember that it was by closely similar tactics that Lord Roberts, twenty years later, drove Cronje from his extremely strong position on the Magersfontein Heights. Just as a skilful conjurer by movements of his hands distracts the eye of the spectator, so Lord Roberts drew the attention of the Boers to their extreme right by sending the Highland Brigade to a post some miles west of Magersfontein. Lord Methuen's troops remained facing the enemy, ready to meet the Boers in the very unlikely event of their leaving their strong entrenchments, while the real movement, French's great rush of mounted troops, took place some way to the east of Cronje's position. This movement relieved Kimberley, threatened Cronje's rear, and menaced his communications with Bloemfontein. What was the result? Cronje was driven from his well-nigh impregnable position on the heights of Magersfontein, almost without the loss of a man on our side.

We have scanned thus hastily Lord Roberts's qualities as a regimental officer, as a staff officer, and as a leader in the field. The dash on Kabul from the Kurram Valley and the march to Kandahar show how quickly and surely he could seize on

the points of what we may term political strategy. Lord Roberts was in Simla when news came of the murder of Cavagnari, our Envoy in Kabul. We may depend upon it that his advice had much to do with the quick decision of the Government of India to avenge that outrage by an immediate advance on Kabul. The forces available for this dash into a difficult country, inhabited by fierce and warlike tribes, were but six thousand strong; the number of transport animals on the spot was barely sufficient to move half of these at a time. But political considerations demanded that the risk should be run, and audacity and the quick movements of thoroughly trained troops might well lead to success. So the risks were taken, and Lord Roberts entered Kabul as a victor on the ninth day after he had crossed the Shutargardan Pass.

More remarkable still as an instance of quick grasp of the military needs of the situation was his action when the news of the disaster of Maiwand reached Kabul at the end of July 1880. He promptly sent a telegram to Simla, urging the Government of India to despatch a strong column from Kabul to Kandahar to avenge the defeat at Maiwand, relieve Kandahar, and restore our military prestige. The telegram contained the following words: 'You need have no fears about my Division. It can take care of itself, and will reach Kandahar under the month.' The promise was carried out to the letter. Maiwand was fought on the 27th of July, the troops under Lord Roberts reached Kandahar on the 31st of August.

It was while Lord Roberts was Commander-in-Chief in India that the rich and fertile province of Upper Burma was added to the British Dominions. The very ease and certainty with which the operations were carried out have prevented this campaign from attracting much attention. But it may be mentioned that the Quartermaster-General's Department had prepared everything so carefully for this expedition that the ten thousand men allotted for it were railed to Calcutta and Madras, crossed the Bay of Bengal, and arrived at their destinations on the Irrawaddy River almost exactly to the scheduled time.

As regards his work in the South African campaign, it would be difficult to express it better than in the following words, taken from a recent issue of the *Westminster Gazette*:

In that operation he showed all the qualities of the great soldier, ready acceptance of a great risk for a sufficient object, steady adhesion to his plan when once formed, refusal to be turned aside by the remonstrances of politicians, rapidity of movement and concentration on the supreme object. Other people might have thought of the plan, but only he at that moment could have executed it and carried with him the unquestioning confidence of the soldiers whom he led.

As a matter of fact, I know from conversation with Lord Roberts that as soon as the War broke out he worked out a plan of campaign, and that when the call came for his services he had it ready.¹ Also, that the plan he formed was the one he carried through.

We come now to another phase of our hero's career, his work as a student of military organisation. This is well illustrated by an article from his pen, headed 'Our Dwindling Army,' which appeared in the *Nineteenth Century* for August, only a few days before the present great War began. In that article he alluded to two others which he had contributed to this Review in 1882 and 1884,² while the lessons of the Afghan campaign were fresh in his mind.

In that campaign the British units under his command had been in a transition state. The old long-service soldiers with whom he had fought in the Mutiny were rapidly disappearing, and the bulk of the men in the ranks were those enlisted, under Lord Cardwell's reforms, for seven years' service with the Colours, followed by five years in the Reserve. Lord Roberts followed these reforms, introduced at the instigation of Lord Wolseley soon after the Franco-German War of 1870-71, with the greatest interest. He understood and acknowledged the need for reform, and made many valuable suggestions for strengthening the new measures. He was particularly anxious that bad characters should be cleared out of the ranks; he recommended the abolition of 'deferred pay,' which meant in practice tempting a man to leave the Service in order that he might handle a lump sum of 21*l.*, which had accumulated to his credit during seven years of service. He insisted that the soldier should receive in cash the clear shilling a day which he was promised on enlistment. The wisdom of all these suggestions has long since been acknowledged, and they have been adopted, to the great benefit of the Army.

But Lord Roberts did not fail to observe and to point out the weak points in Lord Cardwell's reforms. 'We have borrowed the German system in shadow, not in substance,' he said, 'and we can never possibly obtain, on the lines which we have adopted, a reserve of men of serviceable ages large enough to be really valuable.' 'England,' he added, 'with her voluntary enlistment, must depend upon her Militia and Volunteers for

¹ This plan, again, was based upon one formed twenty years earlier, after Majuba.—A. K.

² 'The Present State of the Army,' by Major-General Sir Frederick S. Roberts, November 1882, and 'Free Trade in the Army,' by Lieut.-General Sir Frederick S. Roberts, June 1884.

the necessary material' for expanding her Regular Army in time of war.

In writing of Lord Roberts's career, I think it is due to him to point out that, twenty-five years later, he still adhered to this great principle of relying upon the Auxiliary Forces for the reserves necessary for a great war. For the Bill which he introduced in the House of Lords in 1909 asked for universal training for and in the Territorial Force, so that adequate numbers of men should receive adequate training in time of peace. By this means, he pleaded, and by this means only, would adequate reserves be made immediately available on the outbreak of war.

We have seen how thoroughly Lord Roberts did his work as a regimental officer; how long and strenuous was his training in staff duties; how brilliant his tactical operations in the field; how clear his grasp of the military situation in its political aspects; how close his study of questions of military organisation and preparation for war in time of peace.

And if, as a soldier, he reached to an almost ideal standard, he set us all, civilians and soldiers alike, a splendid example as a man. If temperance be a virtue, he had it; if patience and forbearance, gentleness and unfailing courtesy are virtues, he exhibited them all in a high degree. In his domestic relations, he was a pattern for us all. Comfort and dignity are held to be the attributes of an English home; they were to be seen at their best in the home of Lord Roberts; and pervading it all was the atmosphere of love and perfect harmony, without which no home, however dignified and well ordered, can be complete. In thinking of him as a man, one cannot help recalling to mind Tennyson's lines on the Duke of Wellington :

Whatever record leap to light,
He never shall be shamed.

How many are the episodes of his life which spring to the mind, and how touching they are! Only a few days ago there appeared a little story in the *Daily Mail*, how at the end of a long and fatiguing day in the South African veldt Lord Roberts asked for a camp stool to be brought for him, and as he dozed on it two British soldiers stole up and stood near him, so as to protect him from the rays of the sun. This, again, recalls the story he himself tells of the stalwart Sikh sepoy who stood, with arms outspread, on the Peiwar ridge to protect him from the Afghan bullets. What soldierlike dignity there is in Lord Roberts's reply to his aged Queen when she called for him, when he was nearing the age of seventy, to go and retrieve the disasters in South Africa! 'Are you not afraid,' said the Queen,

'that you may be too old for the strain and fatigues of this campaign?' 'For twenty years,' replied the old warrior, 'I have been keeping myself fit for this special purpose.'

In this article Lord Roberts is styled 'The Happy Warrior'; let us see by a few quotations from Wordsworth's poem whether the title is justified :

Who if he rise to station of command,
Rises by open means; and there will stand
On honourable terms, or else retire.

Who comprehends his trust, and to the same
Keeps faithful with a singleness of aim.

Whose powers shed round him in the common strife,
Or mild concerns of ordinary life,
A constant influence, a peculiar grace.

I think that everyone who had the privilege of knowing Lord Roberts will agree that these lines seem almost to be written for him, and will acknowledge that

This is the happy Warrior; this is He
That every Man in arms should wish to be.

And yet one wonders sometimes whether during the last few years of his life Lord Roberts could have been entirely happy. His cheery stoicism never gave way; no complaints ever fell from his lips; no murmur of reproach was heard from him. But one cannot but remember that it was during his tenure of office that it was discovered that a Commander-in-Chief was no longer necessary for the British Army. No one who had heard him pleading in the coldly dignified atmosphere of the House of Lords, or amid the thundering plaudits of thousands of working men in a crowded hall, for the increase of our military forces, could have doubted the sincerity of that pleading. Could he have remained quite happy when he found that all his pleading was in vain? What cruel doubts must have assailed his mind when he found that, still unprepared, we were plunged into a war waged for our very existence as an Empire!

But he was too good a patriot to express any such anxieties if he felt them; too wise to weaken the influence of the Government and the authorities by urging any plans of his own; too chivalrous to cry aloud 'I told you so.' All his thought was to be of use to his country in the great crisis. If he could not share in the councils of war, if he was too old to lead troops in the field, yet he must do something. Nothing was too small as long as it was useful: if the Army was short of field-glasses or saddles he would collect these and see them forwarded to the Front.

And then came the opportunity. He was Colonel-in-Chief of the Forces which our Dominions and Dependencies were sending to the aid of the Mother Country. The Indian troops were in France, were actually in the firing line; he would go and see them and their British comrades, and cheer and hearten them by his presence.

How well he knew all the different types and races of the Indian Army! What a pleasure it would be to meet them again! He would look once more on the Sikhs, tall, handsome, supple, the brave men who a century ago recovered the Punjab from their Mahomedan conquerors; he would greet once again the Gurkhas, short, sturdy, thick-set, with the broad grin and gentle ways of the bulldog for their friends, and the implacable ferocity of the bulldog in the fight. He would meet the lithe and wiry Pathan, the man who, in Kipling's striking phrase,

Treads the ling like a buck in spring, and looks like a lance in rest—

the Pathan, so often called treacherous, but like the Briton in this—that he will stand firm by his plighted word and is faithful to the salt he eats. He would clasp once more by the hand the chivalrous Rajputs, who never bent their heads to the yoke of the proud Moghul, and who now, retaining their independent sway in their own territories, yield to none in affectionate loyalty to the supremacy of the British Crown; he would meet them all again, in the best place of all, the place of honour in the stricken field.

Yes, it was 'the most useful thing that he could do' for his country, and it should be done, though the risk of exposure involved in such a visit to a man of his years must have been obvious to all; not least to those who loved him best.

He went, he accomplished all the objects of his visit, and he died within sound of the guns. We have laid him to rest, with Wellington, Nelson, and many other fighting men, in St. Paul's. No one who was present will forget that ceremony—the dignity, the quiet simplicity, the soldiers in their field service dress, the beautiful music played by the band of his old regiment, the 'Last Post' sounded by the trumpeters, the solemn, sad farewell to one who was great enough to be a national hero to his countrymen and humble enough to be a personal friend to thousands among them.

The choir sang to him of 'Peace, perfect Peace.' Consciously or unconsciously, we were all saying to him

Now is done thy long day's work;
 Fold thy palms across thy breast,
 Fold thine arms, turn to thy rest
 CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

But what was Lord Roberts's last message to us? The last article which he published appeared in the *Hibbert Journal* for October; it called attention to the supreme duty of the citizen at the present crisis, and at the end Lord Roberts's trumpet call rang out to us—'Arm and prepare to quit yourselves like men, for the time of your ordeal has come.'

A. KEENE.

RUTHLESS WARFARE AND FORBIDDEN METHODS

MANY delusions are prevalent about what is permitted and what forbidden in warfare.

We see our enemy in the present War carrying on hostilities with a ruthlessness which strikes Englishmen, accustomed to the belief that all nations had agreed to attenuate these horrors of war to the utmost limit compatible with its object, as singularly inconsistent with the professions of civilised States. We see men who are undoubtedly among the *élite* of modern thought, men who belong to mankind like Hauptmann, Haeckel, Eucken, Harnack, and many others, stepping forward as apologists of methods they cannot yet have had time to examine in the cold light of reason. Amid all this we see charges of violation of the Hague Regulations for the conduct of war on land brought by the belligerents with equal vehemence against one another, as if the belligerent commanders on both sides considered them binding—the German commanders apparently not considering their methods of war in any sense at variance with them.

First of all, let me explain what these Regulations are. They are an appendix to Convention No. 4 in the list of the Conventions adopted at the Hague Conference of 1907. A similar convention and appendix had been adopted at the previous Conference in 1899. Except on one point in the Regulations,¹ all the Powers engaged in the present War have ratified both Convention and Regulations.

The Convention starts with a preamble explaining the standpoint of the Contracting Powers. This preamble states that they were 'animated by the desire to serve . . . the interests of humanity and the ever-increasing requirements of civilisation' . . . in 'laying down certain limits for the purpose of, as far as possible, mitigating the severity' of the laws and customs of war, and 'diminishing, so far as military necessities permit, the evils of war.' The Contracting Powers further acknowledge the

¹ Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Japan did not agree to Art. 44 of the Regulations, forbidding compulsion of the population of occupied territory to give information respecting the army of the other belligerent or its means of defence. See Barclay, *Law and Usage of War*, London, 1914, p. 61.

incompleteness of the Regulations, but agree that 'cases not provided for are not, for want of a written provision, to be regarded as left to the arbitrary discretion of military commanders.' 'Until a more complete code of the laws of war is decreed, the Contracting Powers . . . declare that in cases not included in the Regulations' the relations between invaded populations and belligerents remain subject to 'the principles of international law,' 'the laws of humanity, and the requirements of the public conscience.'

The Convention then provides that the parties to it shall issue instructions to their armed forces which shall be in accordance with the annexed Regulations, and to leave no doubt as to their binding character on the contracting parties a clause was deliberately added to the modified Convention of 1907, stating that

the belligerent party who shall violate the provisions of the said Regulations shall be bound, if the case arise, to pay an indemnity. It shall be responsible for all acts done by persons forming part of its armed forces.

This clause has obviously no direct coercive effect, but only the value of a declaration that the contracting parties intended the Regulations to be regarded as a binding minimum, and that no argument of military necessity was to be regarded as justification for disregarding this written law of war. Both the Belgian and French Governments are collecting evidence of the violations of the Regulations by the enemy, which, at any rate, will be evidence for historians.

In accordance with the provisions of the Convention, 'an exposition of the laws and usages of war on land for the guidance of His Majesty's Army' has been issued (without date, but I believe I am right in saying it was issued two years ago) by the British War Office.² The French War Office has issued a similar volume giving the decrets 'portant règlement sur le service en campagne,' and putting the Hague Regulations in force *telles quelles*.

There is a corresponding publication edited by the German Imperial Staff called *Kriegsbrauch im Landkriege*, which was issued in 1902. No new edition of it seems to have been published.

In previous articles I have dealt with two methods of war already³—namely, Floating Mines and Aircraft Bombs. I propose in the present article to deal with methods of destruction and the prosecution of the objects of warfare generally as regulated

² Edited by Colonel J. E. Edmonds, C.B., R.E., and Professor L. Oppenheim, LL.D., of Cambridge.

³ See *Nineteenth Century and Quarterly Review Collection, Marichalar*.

by treaty, the Hague Regulations forming, as I have shown above, part of an international Convention obligatory for the contracting parties, whether they deem it to be in their respective interests to observe them or not. In doing so I shall have to pay special attention to the German Manual, the terms of which have been amply corroborated by recent authors and still more recent actual practice.

If more recent instructions than those of 1902 exist, the action of the German military authorities during the present War seems to indicate that the spirit of them remains unchanged in spite of the assurances given by Baron Marschall von Bieberstein at the Conference of 1907, that German officers would always be guided by 'conscience,' 'sense of duty,' the 'principles of humanity,' and the 'unwritten laws of civilisation.' Moreover, the character of the present War, and the warnings of General von Bernhardi in anticipation of what would necessarily be its character, warrant us in assuming that the German commanders have not been instructed to observe the Hague Regulations, when they may consider it in the interest of military operations not to do so. But I am anticipating.

II

The object of war is to defeat or capture the forces of the enemy and oblige him to sue for peace.

To effect this purpose, the means the belligerents have the right to employ for the injuring of the enemy, says Article 22 of the Regulations, are not unlimited.

Several special Conventions contain prohibitions: such as No. IX. of the Conference of 1907 against the bombardment by naval forces of undefended ports, towns, villages, etc.; the Declaration of the Conference of 1899 forbidding the use of projectiles diffusing deleterious gases; that of the same Conference forbidding the use of expanding (dum-dum) bullets; and a third forbidding the discharge of projectiles and explosives from aircraft which has not been ratified by any of the Powers engaged in the present War (except Great Britain and Belgium⁴ as between whom the question of their use does not arise). The other two Declarations have been ratified by them all. The Convention as to the bombardment of undefended places has been ratified with a reservation. The Convention provides that the mere fact that submarine contact mines are moored in front of an undefended port does not deprive it of its character as an undefended port. Great Britain, France, Germany, and Japan did not agree to this, and thus as between

⁴ See 'Aircraft Bombs and International Law,' *Nineteenth Century and After*, November 1914, p. 1033.

them such mines are regarded as having a defensive character which, in my opinion, they undoubtedly possess. Lastly, there is the Declaration of St. Petersburg of 1868, renouncing the use of explosive bullets weighing less than 400 grammes, ratified by all the Powers engaged in the present War.²

The following is a list of other prohibited methods picked out of the Hague Regulations :

Employment of poison or poisoned arms.

Treachery for the purpose of killing or wounding.

Killing or wounding of men who have surrendered.

Ordering that no quarter shall be given.

Employment of weapons or projectiles of a nature to cause superfluous injury.

Making improper use of the flag of truce or of the Geneva or Red Cross badge, or of the enemy flags, military insignia, or uniform.

The bombardment by any means whatsoever of towns, villages, habitations, or villages which are undefended.

The destruction or seizure of the enemy's property, unless such destruction or seizure is imperatively required by necessity of war.

Seizure, destruction of, or intentional damage to, property belonging to local authorities or to religious, charitable, and educational institutions. The same applies to museums, historic monuments, works of art, &c.

Confiscation of private property generally.

Pillage of a town or place, even when taken by assault and generally.

Imposition of requisitions except for the necessities of the army of occupation, and of these except in proportion to the resources of the place.

Levying of general penalties, pecuniary or otherwise, on account of acts of individuals for which the community cannot be regarded as collectively responsible.

Compulsion of the population of occupied territory to give information to the enemy respecting their own army and means of defence, to take part in war operations against their own country, or to take an oath of fidelity to the enemy Power.

The Regulations, it is seen, specifically forbid a large number of methods of warfare, but, as the covering Convention states, this does not mean that other methods are permitted. Far from its being so, the Convention expressly binds the Contracting Powers to amplify these in the sense of mitigating the horrors and miseries of war in accordance with the dictates of humanity.

Ruses of war, however, are specifically allowed. The Regulations lay down no rules in reference to them, and only one

² See *Texts of all these Conventions and Declarations, Barclay, Law and Usage of War, London 1914.* In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

specific restriction, already cited among prohibited methods—namely, the improper⁶ use of the flag of truce, of the Geneva or Red Cross badge, and of the enemy insignia, flags, or uniform. Writers of international law are not agreed as to the extent to which the ruse of using enemy uniforms is permissible. The British Manual on Land Warfare says their employment is not forbidden, and adds that though the Hague Regulations forbid their improper use, they have left unsettled ‘what use is a proper one and what is not.’ I do not share the opinion of the authors of the Manual in question that the sense of the word improper is uncertain as regards uniforms. The word in French is *indûment*—undue use. It is well known that men are frequently obliged in the field to take the outer clothing of enemy dead in the place of their own exhausted garments or overcoats discarded in the heat of battle. The present War is far from exceptional in this respect. Such a case, of course, is not an undue use of the enemy uniform. The German Manual considers the use of uniforms and flags generally for the purpose of deceiving the enemy as forbidden by the Hague Regulations.

The provision in the Regulations is :

... il est ... interdit ... (b) d'user indûment du pavillon parlementaire, du pavillon national, ou des insignes militaires et de l'uniforme de l'ennemi, ainsi que des signes distinctifs de la Convention de Genève.

I cannot see how any doubt can exist as to the meaning of this provision. If the word *indûment* were omitted the prohibition would be devoid of sense.

There is, then, a contractual law of war which specifically forbids many methods of warfare, and a contractual ethics of war which prescribes the humane principles by which commanders in the field should be guided in the treatment of the invaded populations.

Both the British and the French Governments have issued official instructions to observe them; and, I believe, that, on the side of the Allies, a sincere attempt is being made by the commanders in the field to give effect not only to their tenour but to the spirit which dictated their adoption—that is, the spirit of mitigating as far as possible the cruelty of war.

III

Recently at Berlin I had an opportunity of ascertaining the views of one whose opinions have had a determining character in German military ethics.

‘Any war between the great Western Powers at the present day [he said] can now only be a life or death struggle. No considerations of humanity, of justice, of

⁶ The French term is *indûment*.

treaty obligations, will interfere with its one great object, which will be to annihilate the enemy's power of resistance. All methods are fair where war is no longer a mere duel, but a death grapple in which, just as teeth and nails are used between individuals, what is equivalent to them is used between nations.'

He thought the risk of such consequences was the surest guarantee of peace.

And now let us see what the German War Manual says :

A war [it states] conducted with energy cannot be confined to attacking the combatants of the enemy and its fortifications. It must at the same time be directed to the destruction of the whole of its intellectual and material resources.

The destruction of the material resources of a country ! That would imply the effective stoppage, by bombardment or otherwise, of all its factories and means of production, the burning of its crops, the destruction, where not available for utilisation for further destruction, of its railways, rolling-stock, ports, harbours, and canals, the sinking of its ships and barges, the flooding of its mines, the appropriation or destruction of all means of subsistence, food and raw material, beasts of burden and traction, etc. I am not attempting to force the meaning of the German Manual. No German officer would say this is an unfair stretching of the sense of the passage I am interpreting.

What do the intellectual resources cover ?

The term employed by the editors of the Manual is *geistige*, by which they probably meant to refer rather to the national morale than to the *intellectual* resources of the enemy to be overcome.

This would include terrorising the population, spreading alarming rumours of possible vengeance, statements, false or true, as to shooting harmless civilians, rape, child-murder, and so on ; the dropping of bombs from aircraft on a crowded city on any pretext whatever, such, for instance, as the mere presence of a sentinel at the entrance to a public building ; firing heavy artillery for the purpose of creating panic—in fact, the employment of every possible method of creating a sense of the hopelessness of resistance.

The Manual specifically adds that in the prosecution of this war against the material and 'intellectual' resources of the enemy 'humane considerations—i.e. the sparing of human life and property—can only come into play in so far as the nature and object of the war permit.'

The authors of the Manual evidently mean, by the *nature and object* of the war, the difference between war on territory which the invader hopes to annex and war on territory where the

repairing of the damage done will have to be borne by the defeated enemy. Thus the German commanders may have been instructed to spare Antwerp if Germany's object is to annex it, and for the purpose of terrorising the Belgian population to destroy Louvain with reference to which she had no such object. Otherwise, according to the Manual, there is no limit based on considerations of humanity except, as it goes on to say, the invader's own interest :

Although [it says] necessity of war (*Kriegsraison*) permits every warring State to employ *all methods which promote the attainment of its object*, practice has nevertheless taught that, in its own interest, restraint in the employment of certain methods of war and renunciation of others are desirable.

Another section of the Manual explains this generalisation.

Methods of war, it says, may be divided into two classes, the one methods of *force* and the other methods of *ruse*. Of both it adds : 'every means by which the object of the war can be attained is permissible,' although it qualifies this statement as regards ruses, and admits that 'certain forms of ruse are incompatible with the honourable conduct of war,' such as non-observance of a safe-conduct, the violation of a truce, abuse of the white flag or red cross, provocation to crime, such as murder of an enemy commander, incitement to brigandage, etc.

After studying the German War Manual one can see that the Imperial staff takes a view of the conduct of war which is diametrically opposed to that underlying the Hague Regulations.

The object of the commander-in-chief of a German army—the strategist I have already quoted told me—is to make any war Germany might have to wage as short as possible. The longer a war lasted, the greater was the gratuitous loss of life through exposure and disease, and the more difficult the industrial and commercial recovery after it was over. The necessarily large loss of life in an intense but short campaign would be amply compensated by its effectiveness, and save the country from many of the accessory and ulterior consequences of war. 'We,' he said, 'cannot afford a long war like England. She can keep her factories going and be prosperous in spite of it. For us war means industrial paralysis. England can pay for war out of the profits of the business it brings. With us while war lasts there is no business to bring the country profits. After all, is not a war, waged as we should be obliged to wage it, all things considered, the more humane way?'

'The answer I should give now, after this more humane way has been tried, is obvious.

THOMAS BARCLAY.

Berlcaur, November.

THE WASTE OF THE WAR, AND THE TRADE OF TO-MORROW

I

THE COST OF WARS IN THE PAST

WHAT is the amount of capital which will be absorbed by the War, and what will be the repercussion, when the War is over, of the losses sustained by belligerents and neutral nations, as far as their commercial and financial relations are concerned?

Such is the question which arises in every mind; for the fortune and means of existence, not only of the inhabitants of belligerent lands, but even of the inhabitants of neutral lands, will be subjected to extensive modification.

As regards the cost of the War, we can only proceed to make estimates; and the cost of past warfare cannot assist us in determining a basis for the present expenses. It has been calculated that the wars of the Revolution and the Empire cost Great Britain alone one billion of pounds sterling. But they lasted more than twenty years, from 1793 to 1815, with an interval of fourteen months after the Peace of Amiens.

Without counting the destruction of capital, and of human capital, nor the arrested production, the cost of the wars from 1853 to 1866¹ has been estimated at: Crimean campaign, 340,000,000*l.*; Italian campaign (France), 51,000,000*l.*; American war: Northern States, 560,000,000*l.*; Confederates, 560,000,000*l.*; Danish war, 7,000,000*l.*; War of 1866 (Germany), 66,000,000*l.*; Mexico, China, Cochinchina (France), 40,000,000*l.* The cost of the war of 1870 has been officially evaluated for France at 507,000,000*l.*; that of the Balkan war at 200,000,000*l.*

M. Jean de Bloch, in his important work *La Guerre*, estimates that the cost of the Russo-Turkish war in 1877-78 amounted to 258,000,000*l.* to be shared by the two belligerents; the cost of the South African war is estimated at 200 million pounds sterling for Great Britain.

¹ Paul Leroy-Beaulieu: *Recherches économiques sur les Guerres contemporaines.*

Setting aside the Russo-Japanese war, we thus attain a total figure, since 1853, of 2789 millions of pounds sterling.

But if the expense of armed peace has extended over a greater number of years, it has cost in the end far more. For France alone, from 1872 to the end of 1912 it has exceeded two billions of pounds sterling, to say nothing of colonial wars.

II

THE COST OF COMBATANTS

The cost of a war depends on its length. It is certain that the present War will last neither one hundred, nor thirty, nor even seven years, but it has already lasted longer than the Austro-Prussian war of 1866, which was over in six weeks. We are beginning the fifth month. If we admit that it only lasts six months, it will yet entail periods of evacuation, time-limits for the dismemberment of armies, the presence, during a longer or a shorter duration, of occupying forces. Hence, if we only figure on a period of six months, we shall be under-estimating. It is true that the armies are weakened by death. The cost of the wounded is not so great as that of the combatants. The same is true for prisoners.

The *Economist* estimated the daily cost of one soldier at 10s. That is about the price at which it is evaluated in Germany. It is not lower in France, and it cannot be much less in Russia. Some time before the war, Captain Henk, writing in the German Army Staff review, *Die Viertel-Jahrhefte für Truppen-führung und Heereskunde*, gave the following figures :

	Men		Men
Germany	3,000,000	France	3,000,000
Austria	2,000,000	Russia	4,000,000
	5,000,000		7,000,000

This gives a total of 12,000,000 men.

In my communication to the Société d'Economie Politique, I had taken this figure as basis, but it is too low. Captain Henk had no doubt considered that the German army would not be obliged to call out its Landsturm and that its success would be so rapid and so crushing that the other nations would not have time to call theirs out. This expectation has not been realised.

The German army, on the war footing, comprises, with the 800,000 trained men of the Landsturm, 4,350,000 men. These 800,000 men were called out, and probably others should be added to the number, if we are to believe certain prisoners.

The first French army is composed of 2,500,000 men, and to these she can add 2,000,000. All the territorials have not been called out, but at the present moment France certainly has more than 4,000,000 men under arms.

In Russia, the trained army ready for war is composed of 5,400,000 men, and she can call to arms others who would double the amount. She only calls one third of her contingent to arms. We are not speaking here of the Asiatic troops. The Austro-Hungarian armed forces, including the Landsturm, are estimated at 3,500,000 men.

We have thus :

Germany	4,350,000	France	4,000,000
Austria-Hungary . .	3,500,000	Russia	5,400,000
	7,850,000		9,400,000

or a total figure of 17,250,000 men.

According to the law of June 19, 1913, the Belgian standing army was to number 340,000 men. The number was perhaps not complete at the moment when the War broke out, but with the British army at present on foot, to say nothing of the Indians and Canadians, and the Serbian army, which must number about 250,000 men, a total is reached of from 1,200,000 to 1,500,000 men. If we take the lowest figure, we find that there are about 18,500,000 men under arms, at 10s. a day; that represents more than nine millions of pounds sterling a day, 270 millions a month, and for six months, 1,620,000,000l.

III

LOSSES RESULTING FROM NON-PRODUCTION

But, it may be said, those millions of men have lived thanks to that amount of money; it has supplied their wants. In time of peace, they would have had to be fed and clothed also. Consequently, the total amount of this money has not been lost. A large part of it is only a transferred investment.

This argument is partly true; but in time of peace most of those men would have been able to live and supply their wants for less than 10s. a day. The difference between their normal cost of living and the cost during the War represents the increment arising out of the War.

Nearly all the men engaged in the War are full-grown. The characteristic of full-grown men is that they produce more than they consume. Hence, all the production of the grown man, exceeding his necessary consumption, is lost during the time in which he is occupied in the destructive task of war.

It is true that a certain number of these men would have been engaged in military service; they would not have produced during that period; 800,000 men in Germany, 600,000 in France, 435,000 in Austria-Hungary, 949,000 in Russia; roughly speaking 3,500,000 men are subjected to military service in time of peace; thus the state of war renders impossible all productive work for 15 millions of men besides these.

What is the productive value of these 18,500,000 men?

If we compare the two industrial censuses of France (March 4, 1906), and of Germany (June 22, 1907), we find that the active population, for each one of those countries, shows the following figures :

	France	Germany
Active population	20,720,000	28,199,000
Men	13,027,000	18,620,000
Women	7,693,000	9,578,000

Among the figures above quoted were included in the army during times of peace : 592,000 for France, 651,000 for Germany; public services : 548,000 for France, being 450,000 men and 99,000 women; 1,385,600 for Germany, of which 314,000 were women.

The soldiers will cost dearer in time of war; they will destroy more than in time of peace. For the men employed in public services will do something different from what they are used to doing, a certain number will join the army.

During warfare, the soldiers represent for France 30·7 and for Germany 23 per cent. of the active masculine population, and it is the strongest, those who are in full vigour, who are taken.

We do not possess in France, or in Germany, a census allowing us to establish the value of the yearly production of each of those two countries.

Twenty years ago the amount of salaries distributed in France was estimated at 600 millions of pounds sterling.² But for 20,720,000 persons earning their living, that figure is too low. Eliminating the army, and estimating the salaries, employees' pay, and various earnings at an average slightly inferior to 40*l.* per year, we are rather below than beyond the truth. We, therefore, adopt the figure of 828,000,000*l.*

During six months, the suspension of salaries would thus represent a loss of 414 million pounds sterling.

It is evident that all salaries are not stopped. But if women are not called to the army, many are obliged to leave the warehouse or the factory which is closed through lack of raw material, of ready money, and of openings for the output. It

² See de Foville.

is not rash to estimate the real loss of salaries at three quarters, say, 303,000,000*l.*

The active population of Germany is 36 per cent. higher than that of France. The loss of salaries for that country would, therefore, be 412,000,000*l.*

We may estimate that the salaries represent *grosso modo* on an average 50 per cent. of the value of the production and the costs of services such as transportation, etc. Six months' warfare would, therefore, represent in France a loss of 600 million pounds sterling.

If we make the same estimate, for the value of production, for Germany, the total loss would be 830 million pounds.

The census of production of the United Kingdom estimates that the value of the production of each one is 102*l.* Lord Kitchener intends to put on foot an army of over two million men. Supposing that it is only on active service for six months, it represents an industrial loss of more than 100,000,000*l.*

The working value of a Russian is much lower; but the Russian army will number a minimum of $5\frac{1}{2}$ million soldiers. Estimating their productive value at about one half that of a Frenchman or a German, we find 40*l.* a year. For $5\frac{1}{2}$ million men during six months, it would be a loss of production of 110,000,000*l.*

Belgium is prodigiously active. The productive value of her workmen must be equal to that of the English. Her industrial population, according to the census of 1896, numbered 1,130,000 persons. Since then the population has increased and the production has received an enormous development. We may, therefore, estimate the loss that an interruption of six months would inflict on Belgian industrial production at $102l. \times 1,130,000 = 57,630,000l.$

But Belgium's losses will greatly exceed this figure. All her trade is interrupted; it will be long before she recovers her productive capacity. And we are not speaking of the agriculture of Belgium.

In these estimates, I mention neither Serbia nor Japan, nor the neutral nations, who are, however, sustaining heavy economic perturbations.

According to the *Bureau Veritas* (1913-1914), Germany owns 1510 steamers of 100 tons net and upwards, the total of which is 2,852,000 tons, and 1041 sailing boats with a net tonnage of 427,000 tons. A certain number of these ships have been taken; the others are condemned to inactivity during the War.

Great Britain and France have free seas; and the port of London during one month was more active than in times of peace.

Putting aside the maritime transports, we may conclude that the value of lost production is :

	Million £
France	600
Germany	830
United Kingdom	100
Belgium	58
Russia	110
	<hr/>
	1698

IV

LOSSES IN HUMAN CAPITAL

Man is a capital whose value has been most diversely estimated. As a general rule, he has been attributed a value inferior to that which he really possesses. The celebrated actuary, M. Barriol, gives the following figures : Great Britain, 828*l.*; German Empire, 676*l.*; France, 580*l.*; Russia, 404*l.*; Austria-Hungary, 404*l.*

How much human capital will the War devour?

According to the works of army doctors, the following is the proportion of losses in relation to the number of combatants in the last wars : Italian war, 1859, 15 per cent.; war of 1870 (Germans), 14 per cent.; Transvaal war, 9 per cent.; war of Bulgarians against Turks, 12 per cent.; war of Servians against Turks, 10 per cent.

If we only calculate 10 per cent. relatively to the minimum effective number of soldiers, we find a probable loss of 1,850,000 men. If we divide this proportionately with the numbers of the armies and the value of the men, we should find :

	Million £
Great Britain	$100,000 \times 828 = 83$
Germany	$435,000 \times 676 = 294$
France	$400,000 \times 580 = 232$
Russia	$540,000 \times 404 = 218$
Austria-Hungary	$350,000 \times 404 = 141$

If to this we add for Belgium 29,000,000*l.* sterling, we find that the loss of human capital amounts to 997,000,000*l.* sterling.

The calculation I have just made gives the following total :

For Six Months	Million £
Cost price of combatants	1620
Value of lost production	1648
Value of lost human capital	997
4½ billions of pounds sterling	4265

V

DEVASTATION AND REPARATION

Among these losses resulting from the War we have made no mention of the ruins accumulated on the passage of the armies. Belgium, for four months, has been trodden and retrodden by the German troops. They have bombarded towns, burnt villages, massacred women, children, men of all ages who were not under arms. In France, in certain towns, as, for instance, at Senlis, and yet more in the villages, the drunken soldiers have abandoned themselves to veritable orgies, in the midst of burning houses, with an accompaniment of massacres. They destroyed, for the very pleasure of destroying, the Cathedral of Rheims, the library of Louvain, and a certain number of dwellings. They have left a trail of ruins of which it is impossible to appreciate the value just now, and among which are those of monuments which were above every evaluation.

In Poland the German methods have not differed from those they employed in the West.

I hope when the Allied forces enter Germany they will not seek to pay the enemy in his own coin, but will show that their standard of civilisation is superior to that of the German *Kultur*.

What are the economic consequences of these devastations? They have been exercised against the richest portion of France, both as regards agricultural and industrial wealth.

Most of the military authors who have studied the economic capacity of nations to sustain war have sought to prove that those who owned the largest agricultural population were in better condition than the others for such purpose.

In this connexion the following is the respective situation of France and Germany. In France the agricultural industries take 8,814,000 persons, or 42 per cent. of the entire active population. For Germany, we find 9,732,000 persons occupied with agriculture, or 34·5 of the entire population.

In France this year the wheat harvest is 10,000,000 quintals below the average; it attains about 80,000,000 quintals instead of 90,000,000, but this is not a result of the War. The year's vintage is excellent both in quantity and quality, and the invasion of Champagne will not prevent 1914 from counting among the great champagne years. The same thing occurred in 1870. The champagne manufacturers hesitated about purchasing the fruit. Mme. Vve. Pommery said 'No matter! the Germans won't eat all the grapes'; and her bold action, based on a just argument, gave her a result which far surpassed every prevision.

The Germans have not carried away the earth on the soles of their boots. With their well-known tenacity the French peasants started, the very day after the enemies' withdrawal, to repair the ruins of their dwelling-houses, and to till the ground and gather the harvest. Some even go on with their field work in the midst of flying bullets and obus, preserving truly heroic placidity.

In spite of the great number of men under arms and the absence of horses, the harvest has been gathered in and the ploughing has been executed. 'We worked hard . . . everybody helped.' And as those present were able to do the task of the stronger absent ones, they have proved that the defect of the ordinary times is not overwork but lack of efficiency.

True, the unfortunate men whose houses have been destroyed, whose furniture has disappeared, are often in a deplorable situation. But John Stuart Mill, in his *Principles of Political Economy* (Book i. ch. v. § 7), observes, after Chalmers, that devastated lands promptly recover their former state, provided the population has not died of hunger or misery. Mill says 'What the enemy destroyed was destined to destruction.' The sentence is too sweeping. An old house may yet render service during a number of years, and the capital represented by the building of a new one would serve for other purposes. The house having been destroyed, another must be erected. It is Bastiat's story of the broken window-pane. While the masons are rebuilding that house, the capital being used to pay for the materials they employ, and to settle their wages, cannot be spent on agricultural or industrial improvements or for the construction of manufactures and railroads.

War represents the most appalling of squandering. No spendthrift has ever invented so efficacious a means of destroying wealth. What was the value of Cleopatra's pearl in comparison with the waste caused by a few heavy guns?

Standing capital has been destroyed; it must be replaced. Rolling capital has been consumed and has only been reproduced in part; the purchasing power of each unit has decreased.

War always represents an excess of consumption; consequently every war is followed by a crisis.

However, the crisis is not always as crushing nor as long as is feared beforehand.

Many of the things which are destroyed served their purpose long ago; they required to be renovated or done away with. The War has caused their disappearance. The real loss is much less important than would appear.

Many of those who accumulated capital by saving increase their savings during the War on account of the impossibility of

spending in which they find themselves. After the War needs become pressing; capital will be wanted; those who have been able to keep some will find good opportunities for rendering services to those who seek money, and will be able to make good profit from the dealings.

A Russian, M. Jean de Bloch, published, at the close of the nineteenth century, a book entitled *La Guerre*. In it he piled up the opinions of all the military or other writers who concerned themselves with questions relating to war. He demonstrated the impossibility of a European war, under penalty of disappearance of all necessary goods and of an increase in prices which would render their purchase impossible.

Present events, bad though they be, have not confirmed his previsions.

The authors quoted by M. de Bloch, and M. de Bloch himself, had conceived very false ideas regarding the influence of war on the price of wheat. At Chicago, according to the *Journal of Commerce*, New York, the idea has prevailed that wheat will advance steadily as long as the War is in progress; and the price of No. 2 red wheat reached \$1,25 at the commencement of September in Chicago. Since then the fall has been rapid.

There was no correlation between this hypothesis and facts. So long as the War lasts Germany will only be able to purchase wheat with great difficulty, for Great Britain and France are rulers of the sea, and if they do not make use, in regard to neutral countries, of the right to consider wheat as war contraband, they can always resort to pre-emption.

As a matter of fact, Germany will only be able to procure wheat after the signing of the peace preliminaries; Russia, whose harvest is small, will be unable to sell her any. Germany's need will be very great. Hence the great factor of the rise in the price of wheat is not the prolongation but the close of the War.

But as the Germans' purchasing power will be very much weakened, many families who were beginning to use wheat will go back to rye and to potatoes.

As regards cotton, the United States have three important clients who in 1913 figured as follows :

United Kingdom	bales 3,093,800 lb. 1605,455,000	dols. 207,848,500
Germany	bales 2,561,900 lb. 1329,320,000	dols. 168,202,000
France	bales 991,900 lb. 319,342,000	dols. 68,037,000

During all the length of the War Germany will have great difficulty in procuring raw material, cotton, weaving and spinning

factories will be paralysed. France will produce nothing but what will be claimed by the War Office.

The unfavourable conditions for sale of cotton will continue to burden the United States.

The supplies in cotton, wool, copper, leather will be exhausted in Germany and Austria-Hungary. The needs of this group, numbering 120 millions, will be very imperative; those of the other belligerents will also be very considerable.

The railroads of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, of part of France and part of Russia will have to be reconstructed, the railroad rolling stock, locomotives, trucks, wagons, will need repairs and renewal. There will be enormous demands to such countries as may be able to supply, as quickly as possible, rails, wagons, trucks, and locomotives.

Needs will not be lacking; that which will be lacking will be the purchasing power; but to what extent?

The Germans stated that, if they were conquerors, they would demand from France an indemnity of 1200 million pounds sterling. They boasted that they possessed a far greater fortune than France. On the other hand, as an empire, Germany's debt amounts only to 240,112,000*l.*, whereas that of the United Kingdom is 716,288,000*l.* and that of France 1,315,259,000*l.*

Germany can therefore, without being ruined, bear a debt far larger than her present one. She will have to pay formidable indemnities, as damages and interest, especially to Belgium, whose neutrality she violated.

The decrease in purchasing power of the vanquished, owing to the political dislocation which is the guarantee of future peace, and to the war indemnities they will have to pay, will put a curb on the rise in the price of raw material of first necessity; but that rise will occur at the time when peace is settled.

VI

THE COMMON INTERESTS OF THE BRITISH AND GERMAN EMPIRES

In 1912 the foreign commerce of the belligerents represented :

	Imports Millions of £	Exports Millions of £	Total Millions of £
United Kingdom, France, Russia (not including Finland), Belgium . . .	1396	1174	2570
German Empire, Austria-Hungary, total	674	554	1228
	2070	1728	3798

If the commercial figure for the Dual Alliance represents 100, that of the Quadruple Entente represents 209.

In Germany the War will not destroy coal mines or manufactures of chemical products and of electric apparatus. It will not wipe out the potato fields or beetroot plantations, and consequently alcohol and sugar will continue to be produced. Only the cost price will be increased by the war indemnity Germany will have to pay and by the reconstitution of her plant and supplies.

The Germans will suffer heavily from the moral atmosphere by which they have surrounded themselves. Many of them have impudently declared that not only they were, in foreign countries, financiers, merchants, manufacturers, but, above all, spies. Personally every German will inspire a contemptuous distrust. They cannot count on seductive methods to assist them in renewing and increasing their commercial relations. They will everywhere be considered as undesirable. Generalisations are always dangerous and unjust, but Germans of all sorts have done what was necessary to provoke them. Delicate questions will be raised in France, such as the co-ownership of Germans in the iron mines of Meurthe et Moselle and Normandy.

If Germany is subjected to a heavy war indemnity, we shall see the phenomenon which occurred for France after 1870. The exports exceeded the imports during the four years 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875. In Germany, on the contrary, the imported goods exceeded on an average the exported articles by 1200 millions of marks. To pay the war indemnity of 200 millions of pounds France was obliged to export without receiving anything in return. In 1915 the parts will be reversed. The professors of national economics may rejoice to see the balance of commerce in their favour, and what they may take as a favourable sign will be a visible proof of the defeat of their country.

While they were seeking to arrest importations, the German protectionists made every effort to increase exportation by the means of premiums, such as that granted to sugars, to alcohol, to flour, thanks to the working of importation 'bons,' by means of the dumping practised by cartels. It will not be possible to prevent aggressive protectionism except by lowering the customs duties in Germany. A commercial treaty will have to be added to the political treaty.

In July last Mr. Edgar Crammond read a paper before the Royal Statistical Society, on the *Economic Relations of the British and German Empires*. He began by stating 'The British and German Empires together transact approximately 39 per cent. of the international trade in the world (in 1911 the British Empire's share was 26·9 per cent., and the German

Empire's 12·5 per cent.).' These figures prove that there still remains a margin between the commerce of the two nations; and that of the United Kingdom is sound, whereas that of a great part of Germany is factitious.

The Germans and their admirers loudly celebrated the development of their trade in mineral combustibles. Mr. Crammond compares the 73,700,000 tons produced in 1871 with the 234,500,000 produced in 1911. And the figure is yet higher for 1912. It states 251,000,000 tons; but of those 251 millions of tons there are 80 millions of lignite, that reduces the production of coal to 171 millions of tons, whereas that of the United Kingdom is 260½ millions. The value of the coal production is estimated at 118 millions of pounds sterling and that of Germany at 90½ millions, i.e. a difference of 30 per cent. for the United Kingdom.

Germany has two enormous blocks of coals, one on the banks of the Rhine, the other in Silesia; Germany has more than 65 millions of inhabitants; she exported in 1912 31½ millions of tons of coal, of which 6 millions went to France; that which is surprising is not that the development of the coal industry should have been so great, but that it should not have been greater.

According to the report of the Board of Trade (August 1913) the production of steel exceeded, in 1912, that of Great Britain—17,700,000 tons against 6,900,000 tons; but, as Sir Hugh Bell indicated in a remarkable lecture, steel is a raw material. The question of producing it is less considered than that of utilising it for machinery, tubes, metallic constructions, ships, etc.

The coaling and metallurgical industries are the only industries which have taken vast development in Germany. As regards cotton-spinning the number of spindles used in 1888 was 5,100,000 and in 1913 11,200,000, namely, an increase of 6,100,000, whereas in Lancashire the numbers passed from 42,740,000 to 55,600,000. In Lancashire the number of spindles increased to a greater extent than the total number of spindles in operation in Germany in 1913. In 1887 the exports of German cotton goods were valued at 10,000,000*l.*; in 1913 at 19½ million pounds—an increase of 9½ millions. In 1888 the exports of cotton manufactures from the United Kingdom were valued at 72,000,000*l.* and in 1912 at 127,220,000*l.*, an increase of 55,000,000*l.* It is also curious to note the comparatively slow growth of the woollen industry of Germany: 1888, exports 12,700,000*l.*; 1912, 16,880,000*l.* In the case of the United Kingdom, the exports for 1888 were valued at 20,000,000*l.* and in 1912 they were valued at 37,773,000*l.* The triumphal march forward of the German Empire did not obtain magnificent success in every branch of industry.

The following is a comparative view of the various important categories of British and German commerce :

IMPORTS, 1912.

	UNITED KINGDOM		GERMANY	
	Millions of £	Per cent.	Millions of £	Per cent.
Food, drink, tobacco . . .	265·5	42	156·2	29·7
Raw materials and articles mainly unmanufactured . . .	208·4	32·9	266·4	50·7
Articles wholly or mainly manufactured . . .	156·3	24·7	103·0	19·6
Miscellaneous and parcel post . . .	2·7	0·4	—	—
Total	632·9	—	525·7	—

EXPORTS.

Food, drink, tobacco	32·7	6·7	38·6	8·7
Raw materials and articles mainly unmanufactured	59·5	12·2	106·4	24·2
Articles wholly or mainly manufactured	385·0	79	295·4	67·1
Miscellaneous and parcel post	10·0	—	—	—
Total	487·2	—	440·4	—

The proportion of raw material in the entire quantity of German exports is double that of the proportion of British commerce. As for the articles wholly or mainly manufactured, the exportation for Great Britain is 385 millions of pounds sterling; that for Germany 295·4; the difference is, therefore, 90 million pounds or 30 per cent. in favour of the United Kingdom.

According to German figures Germany sent to the United Kingdom, in 1912, 58 million pounds sterling of German produce, which, on her total exports, makes 13 per cent. According to British figures the United Kingdom sent to Germany 41 million pounds sterling of British produce, or 8·4 of her entire exports. The German market is, therefore, much less important for British commerce than the British market is for German commerce.

Whereas German commerce will be set back, British commerce will take a new extension. This extension will not be the result of hunting down German produce. The 'made in Germany' was an advertisement for them. This War having been provoked by the spirit of monopoly, the commercial jealousy of the Germans, must not result in inoculating the same disease to the British free-traders.

The said extension of commerce will be the result of British capital invested in foreign lands and in the Colonies and Protec-

torates. By investing capital, Great Britain has allowed the nations to build railroads and ports and to organise themselves so as to produce. She will reap benefit in two ways : she has given an impulse to public enterprise which will develop her exports. The wealth which her capital created enabled her to procure articles of food, and raw materials which are indispensable to her industry.

Most of these countries, no longer able to find funds in London, are greatly embarrassed, but Great Britain maintains her advanced position towards them. In 1913 alone she invested 200 million pounds abroad. According to the evaluations of Sir George Paish, she must receive every year from home investments 200,000,000*l.* interest, 100 millions for her sea transports, and 30 to 40 millions from insurances, commissions, banks.

This enormous advance has been unapproachable for Germany. After the War, far from being able to lend to other nations, she will have to borrow to pay the expenses which will result from her defeat and to reconstitute her working material. She will, therefore, leave the field entirely open to Great Britain, who will remain the great market of the world's capital and will, more than ever, be the universal bank.

We may hope that the peace which will intervene will be final and will put an end to the progression of financial and personal charges for armaments. It must take from Prussia the hegemony of Germany and put an end to the incoherent policy of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, in such manner that at each moment men may not be forced to wonder whether the German Emperor wants peace or war. This constant perplexity, to which he has condemned the world for many years past, paralyses the spirit of initiative and renders productive civilisation subordinate to military civilisation. If the present War sets us free from this, the losses it has caused will soon be compensated ; human losses and artistic losses will alone remain irreparable.

YVES GUYOT.

GERMAN 'KULTUR'
FROM A DUTCH POINT OF VIEW

THERE is a well-known passage in *Deutschland und der nächste Krieg* where General von Bernhardi sets himself to prove that such a war as the Germans are now carrying on is in strict accordance with Christian morality—surely the most extraordinary thesis ever adventured in the whole field of Christian apologetics. It is difficult to believe that an argument in which Christian ethics are deliberately laid upon a second bed of Procrustes—pulled out when required and docked at inconvenient parts—could ever have been intended seriously. That von Bernhardi should have used it can only be explained seriously on one of two assumptions. Either the General is cynical and contemptuous of Christianity, which does not appear to be the judgment of his contemporaries; or he and his German compatriots are suffering from a species of autohypnotism, observable not only among Germans, by which men may persuade themselves that what they desire must be right even from the point of view of other people.

A Dutch correspondent, who has had exceptional opportunities for discussing the ethical issues of the War with all classes of Germans, writes supporting strongly a suggestion of mine that there is a certain mental and moral astigmatism epidemic in Germany at the present time. He believes that in nothing are they so much deceived as in the value and acceptability of their vaunted *kultur*. My correspondent has supplied me with some interesting passages from a book entitled *Ostasien und Europa*, written by a certain *Missions-Inspektor* called von J. Witte, which illuminates and to a certain extent explains the German point of view with regard to this *kultur* and the methods of propagating it. Herr Witte must be numbered amongst those who call themselves Christians. He looks forward to an ideal Kingdom of Heaven upon earth where peace will reign ultimately, although it must be allowed that his millennium appears as likely to come as the Greek Kalends. He visualises a large community of nations, peacefully competing with one another and aiming at the per-

fecting of humanity. But at this point an attitude of mind, which we are beginning to believe is peculiarly German, intrudes itself. Modern pacifists, he asserts, have left too much out of sight the fact that the realisation of an ideal kingdom of all men is not the nearest objective at which we must aim. It is the most distant. What concerns every man, in the first place, are his duties towards himself. After them are his duties towards his family. Next his duties towards his own nation. And only after these things—in the end—come his duties towards humanity. Standing amongst these various paths it is often very difficult for a Christian to make up his mind as to the right one to follow. Nevertheless, in case of a conflict the first duty always must take precedence of the second, the second of the third, and the fourth can but follow in the very rear. One's duties towards one's own country always must have preference over one's duties towards foreign nations. This is the preamble of Herr Witte's argument. It is not strange to those who are acquainted with Treitschke's celebrated lectures on politics. The chief point is that it comes from a *Missions-Inspektor* who claims to write as a Christian, although it must be admitted that his system of casuistry has a familiar ring about it.

Herr Witte then proceeds to explain why this War must be regarded as a necessary stepping-stone towards *weltkultur*. At present Germany is surrounded on all sides by enemies. The German Government are not in a position to consider whether gaining power for Germany weakens other nations or not. By their enmity to Germany these nations have put themselves out of court. The German Government, therefore, must strive by all means to enhance the power of the German people. Power is a noble asset and a moral one (*sic*). It enables a nation to realise a wonderful development in all its spheres of activity. *And it also enables that nation to make other nations partakers of the blessings of its civilisation (Kultur)*. I have italicised the last sentence because it emphasises a sentiment and purpose which the English people not unnaturally find it difficult to understand. As a matter of fact the Germans want other peoples to be happy, but they must be happy in a German way. This glorious objective can only be effected by the predominance of the German people. Seeing that the present situation is such, Herr Witte continues to argue, and that other nations are trying to thwart the predominance of Germany, and therefore placing an obstacle in the German path towards world-civilisation, the German Government evidently not only has a right, but is bound, when other remonstrances fail, to force an armed intervention. Nor indeed is this the only duty of the German Government: For, seeing

that the other nations are not only seeking to thwart the German mission, but are desirous also of finding a favourable opportunity for themselves to hurt German interests, it is clearly the duty of the German Government to seize the very first favourable occasion for destroying these nations. If the German Government were not to do so they would be guilty of neglect of duty not only towards the German people but towards the world. This, I hope, is a fair synopsis of Herr Witte's arguments, and it must be remembered that it owes its chief interest to the source of its authorship. It does not surprise me when my Dutch correspondent exclaims 'May God save us from such missionaries! If these are the convictions of German Christians, what must German materialists think?'

My correspondent then proceeds to ask passionately if Dutch civilisation is to be passed under 'the steam roller of this Nietzschean neo-vandalism' and destroyed in order that German civilisation may bless the world? Evidently the destruction of Louvain, as an inevitable step to pave the way of world-civilisation, is still in his mind, and it suggests to him the invasion of the Northmen who once desolated Christian Netherlands, leaving 'not a stone unturned nor a manuscript unburned; no, not one.' But the immediate danger in the face of recent events, so he conceives, is not the German annexation of Holland. It is the flood of spurious ethics and materialistic aims which is already sapping the spiritual life of the Dutch people. He asserts that:

The Dutch are not a numerous people like the Germans, nor are they, like the Germans, a systematic and mechanically plodding people. They are artists, not chemists. Unassisted, by their inferior numbers and extremely individualistic natures, they are not able to withstand the machine-like materialism of modern Germany.

Therefore, unless Britain backs them up, with its spirit and social power, a spirit and a power which are closely 'akin to the Dutch, the Netherlands will certainly be drowned in the German flood.' 'The Netherlands are rapidly coming to be a Prussian dependency,' although 'it is not yet too late to save the situation.' Indeed 'it will not be very difficult to wash the German grime from the Dutch face.' The Dutch are 'more akin to the British than they are to the German.' The civilisation they believe in their hearts to be the best is 'not German but British.'

My correspondent, who writes under great stress of feeling, firmly believes that salvation for Holland cometh at the hands of the British, but he dreads that the British may not be thorough in their dealings with the Germans at the end of the War. In another letter he expresses his belief that it will be poor policy to allow the Germans to remain in possession of what is known

as the German Empire. To do so would be to 'run the same risks as the man who caught a man-eater in a trap, horse-whipped it, and let it go into the jungle.' The danger he foresees is that, bemused by false pity, 'Europe will leave Germany just strength enough to assimilate its small neighbours—Belgium, Luxemburg, Holland, Denmark—and this time thoroughly . . . Europe—yes. But does Britain believe in half measures?' he asks. 'It is to the interest of Britain to crowd the Continent full of small States, and the small States know that Britain has been always their natural protector and friend.' In support of his view, he refers to an excellent article in the *Journal de Genève* of October 10, by Professor Paul Leippel, the well-known literary critic and Swiss historian, and to an article in the *Saturday Review* for September 19 which suggests the remodelling of the map of Europe.

A map of Europe carefully coloured to show a suppositional division of Germany, Austria, and Turkey—'which now must cease to be'—has been sent to me. At first sight the map strikes an Englishman as being so revolutionary as to necessitate half a dozen wars at the conclusion of the present one. Acting upon competent advice I have decided not to make the map nor the suggested partition of Europe public. It is sufficient to state that my correspondent is thorough, for he can see no satisfactory alternative to his plan of abolishing 'the whole of Germandom.' He dreads German *kultur* as much as, if not more than, he apprehends German political domination. He writes :

I am trying to convince my fellow countrymen to look to Britain for support in this most difficult struggle for existence amongst so many bullies. I am daily trying, but the spell of prosperous and successful Germany since 1870 is so mesmerising; the campaign of lying and slandering is so telling! And, ah! that last Boer war! The pity of it!

Some practical suggestions also are made with a view to bringing a rapprochement between this country and Holland. The most important suggestion concerns the work of the Press. My correspondent writes :

If only we could be freed from the pernicious influence of the German Press which, day by day and systematically, poisons the sources of our information, not only during the War but also in times of peace. Everything is done systematically in Germany. If only *The Times* or some other good paper would be patriotic enough to issue a Rotterdam, or a Hague, or an Amsterdam edition—preferably a mid-day edition, so that the Dutch evening papers (which have the same importance as the morning papers in England) could echo its news. If only the British Government could be made to understand how vitally its interests would be affected, for good, by such an agency, they would see that it would well be worth an ample subsidy.

The suggestion of the British Government subsidising a newspaper in a neutral country might be repugnant to English ideas and also might entail complications unforeseen by our friend. But the idea is a sound one, as all who know the Continental papers and German Press methods will allow. Could not some public-spirited English publisher seize the opportunity of doing a signal service to Holland and incidentally to his own country? It is worthy also of the consideration of the Central Committee for National Patriotic Organisation, who have in hand 'a far-reaching scheme for the translation and distribution of suitable literature' in neutral countries.

My correspondent has another practical suggestion to make. Dutch professors, it appears, are frequently called to German Universities for special purposes. Cannot the same courtesy to Dutch scholars be shown by British Universities? 'Dutch scholarship,' he considers, 'ranks high, higher than German scholarship because it is less wearisome and more imaginative,' even in its present position under the 'debasing influence of German *kultur*.' 'Also,' he asks, 'why cannot British Corporations and Societies, of their own accord, appoint British professors at Dutch Universities? The Dutch Education Act allows this.' Again, British Universities have offered generous hospitality to Belgian students now their Universities have been destroyed to make way for German civilisation. Dutch students in the past have gone to Belgian Universities, and in still larger numbers to German Universities. The former educational establishments have ceased to be; the latter have ceased to be so attractive. Cannot the British Universities rise to the occasion and extend a 'definite invitation to Dutch students'? There is sound sense in these suggestions, and I commend them particularly to my own University of Durham, which is now considering the formation of an Honours School in Modern Languages. The Dutch are among the best linguists in the world.

I venture to think that the lengthy correspondence, from which I have quoted, is illuminative of a strong section of cultivated Dutch opinion. Holland deserves some special act of kindness and courtesy at the hands of the British Government, and, what is equally to the purpose, at the hands of the British Universities, and of the British people. By their complete neutrality the Dutch have strengthened our hands against a powerful and ruthless foe. They are suffering no small inconvenience by our necessary acts of warfare against this foe. They are setting a fine example of Christian charity towards an overwhelming number of Belgian refugees. And last, but not least,

they are blood kin to our fellow-subjects in South Africa who count civil war a better thing than all the treasures of German *kultur*. I associate myself completely with my Dutch correspondent when he asserts that some special act of kindness and courtesy by the British people to the Dutch nation at the present time would have an almost instantaneous effect, and that the effect would be lasting if followed up by a 'campaign of social intercourse.' As an Englishman, I am grateful to him for saying 'I have great faith in the spell of the British nation, if only they would show themselves to the Dutch *as they really are*.'

GEORGE H. FRODSHAM,
Bishop.

1914

TSINGTAU AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE:

WITH SOME IMPRESSIONS FROM A RECENT VISIT

THE fall of Tsingtau, on Friday, the 6th of November, is, in some ways, the most important event since the commencement of the present War. One by one German possessions, scattered here and there over the world, fall into the hands of the Allies after a poor and more or less formal resistance. Little is said about their capture in British journals, and their loss has not been considered worth mention in Germany except as an illustration of the avarice of Great Britain. With Kiaochau, of which Tsingtau is the capital and fortress, it is different. The news of the Allies' victory caused great rejoicing in Tokio and corresponding gloom in Berlin, while German papers devote considerable space to the event and talk of reprisals in the years to come.

This is significant. Germany is nothing if not militant. Her colonial experiments date from 1884, when Angra Pequeña was taken over by the Imperial Government from the Bremen merchant, Lüderitz, to whom it had been ceded by a Namaqua chief. This formed the nucleus of German South-West Africa. Other acquisitions followed, mainly in Africa and Polynesia, but in none of her colonial possessions has Germany displayed any energy. Under cover of 'room for expansion' she took, and held, large tracts of country which did little more than provide billets for a number of officials, while her surplus population overflowed to the British Colonies and America.

Even in Europe, Germany is Germany only because of Prussian militarism. Her boasted foreign trade, which has been a subject of much concern to rival nations, was nothing more than an expensive bubble blown for spectacular effect. It served its purpose by diverting attention while war preparations were made on an unprecedented scale, and a widespread system of espionage established under the glamour of the illusion. But it had reached bursting-point, and the realisation of this fact had more to do with the timing of the War than anything else.

The emergency measure of discounting pre-moratorium bills at the Bank of England, endorsed by the various parties to the transactions involved, with a Government guarantee over all, is a fair illustration of the manner in which Germany's foreign trade has been financed for the last ten years or more. It could not continue, and the timely outbreak of war has served meanwhile to save the face of the nation in this respect.

This is no new view of German finance in relation to foreign trade. It has been expressed and emphasised again and again, especially in technical journals. Mr. Stafford Ransome, M.I.C.E., was perhaps the first to draw attention to it, and for a number of years he kept it constantly before the readers of his own and other engineering publications, urging British manufacturers to combine with a view to combating the evil. The result has been the formation of the British Engineers' Association, which already represents 300 of the largest firms in the United Kingdom, whose total invested capital cannot be far short of 100,000,000*l*. This combination against a common danger is the more remarkable, as showing how serious the position had become, when it is considered that the firms embraced by it are in constant competition with each other in all the markets of the world.

Should German arms prevail in the present struggle, much of the huge indemnities talked of will be required for the liquidation of the national foreign trade bubble account. Should they fail, the financial demoralisation of Germany will appal the world, and force her to become either the beggar or the highwayman of Europe.

Under these conditions small development could be expected in Germany's foreign possessions. But the principles operating in Berlin against colonial exploitation were all in favour of Kiaochau, for Kiaochau was not a colony, but a naval and military stronghold, and Tsingtau was designed to become the Carthage of the Far East.

The story of the acquisition of Kiaochau will bear repetition. In 1896 His Excellency Li Hung Chang attended the Coronation festivities of the Czar at Moscow as the representative of China. He was received with much pomp, and treated with a respect generally considered out of proportion to his actual importance. This and other circumstances connected with his visit gave rise to the suspicion that a secret understanding regarding certain railway and other concessions had been arrived at between him and the Russian Government. On his return journey, Li visited Germany; but the only result evident was the decision of the Government not to be left behind in the scramble for concessions

in China already begun. The following quotation from a speech made by Baron von Bülow at the time of the occupation of Kiaochau discloses the attitude of Germany previous to that event :

All that we have done is to provide that, come what may, we ourselves shall not go empty-handed. The traveller cannot decide when the train is to start, but he can make sure not to miss it when it does start. The devil takes the hindmost.

It is generally believed that the German Government then decided that Kiaochau was the place best suited for their purposes. Belgium, America, Great Britain, and Russia had already obtained railway rights in China, but the acquisition of territory was not contemplated in these arrangements. Nor were they national rights in the accepted sense of the term, but merely official recognitions by the various Governments of agreements entered into between China and enterprising firms which had sent financiers and engineers to secure them. The methods of Germany were different, and her opportunity came when, early in November of 1897, two German missionaries were murdered by Chinese in the province of Shantung.

By a remarkable coincidence there happened to be a small naval squadron then in Eastern waters, under the command of Admiral von Diedricks. On the 14th of November a force was landed which took possession of the country surrounding Kiaochau Bay and hoisted the German flag on the adjoining heights. The same day a proclamation was issued to the effect that, while Germany was in friendly relations with China and had no designs on Chinese territory, she intended to retain possession of the part occupied till due reparation was made for the murder of her two subjects. Meanwhile, representations were made to the Chinese Government by the German Minister in Peking. These were accompanied by stipulations regarding railway rights and mining concessions in the province of Shantung.

In reply to demands from Peking for the evacuation of the territory, Germany gave an unqualified refusal, and added that further guarantees were required for the protection in future of the lives of German subjects all over China. The Chinese Government was not in a position to resist, and the result was that Germany obtained all her representatives demanded, which included a 'lease' of Kiaochau Bay for ninety-nine years, together with 193 square miles of the province of Shantung and the recognition of a sphere of influence equal to 2750 square miles. This was not a bad return on the lives of two missionaries—on the same scale Great Britain ought long ago to

have 'leased' several whole provinces and extended her sphere of influence all over the Celestial Empire.

The 'Lease' was signed on the 6th of March 1898, and is here reproduced :

THE KIAOCHAU CONVENTION.

I. His Majesty the Emperor of China, being desirous of preserving the existing good relations with His Majesty the Emperor of Germany, and of promoting an increase of German power and influence in the Far East, sanctions the acquirement under lease by Germany of the land extending for 100 li at high tide (at Kiaochau).

His Majesty the Emperor of China is willing that German troops should take possession of the above-named territory at any time the Emperor of Germany chooses. China retains her sovereign rights over this territory, and should she at any time wish to enact laws or carry out plans within the leased area, she shall be at liberty to enter into negotiations with Germany with reference thereto; provided always that such laws or plans shall not be prejudicial to German interests. Germany may engage in works for the public benefit, such as waterworks, within the territory covered by the lease, without reference to China. Should China wish to march troops or establish garrisons therein she can only do so after negotiating with and obtaining the express permission of Germany.

II. His Majesty the Emperor of Germany, being desirous, like the rulers of certain other countries, of establishing a naval and coaling station and constructing dockyards on the coast of China, the Emperor of China agrees to lease to him for the purpose all land on the southern and northern sides of Kiaochau Bay for a term of ninety-nine years. Germany to be at liberty to erect forts on this land for the defence of her possessions therein.

III. During the continuance of this lease China shall have no voice in the government or administration of the leased territory. It will be governed and administered during the whole term of ninety-nine years solely by Germany, so that the possibility of friction between the two Powers may be reduced to the smallest magnitude. The lease covers the following districts:—

(a) All the land in the north-east of Lienhan, adjacent to the north-eastern mouth of the Bay, within a straight line drawn from the north-eastern corner of Yintao to Laoshan-wan.

(b) All the land in the south-west of Lienhan, adjacent to the southern mouth of the Bay, within a straight line drawn from a point on the shore of the Bay bearing south-west from Tsi-pe-shan-to.

(c) Tsi-pe-shan-to and Yintao.

(d) The whole area of the Bay of Kiaochau covered at high water.

(e) Certain islands at the entrance of the Bay which are ceded for the purpose of erecting forts for the defence of the German possessions. The boundaries of the leased territory shall hereafter be more exactly defined by a commission of Chinese and German subjects. Chinese ships of war and merchant ships, and ships of war and merchant ships of countries having treaties and in a state of amity with China shall receive equal treatment with German ships of war and merchant ships in Kiaochau Bay during the continuance of the lease. Germany is at liberty to enact

any regulations she desires for the government of the territory and harbour, provided such regulations apply impartially to the ships of all nations, Germany and China included.

IV. Germany shall be at liberty to erect whatever lighthouses, beacons, and other aids to navigation she chooses within the territory leased, and along the islands and coasts approaching the entrance to the harbour. Vessels of China and vessels of other countries entering the harbour shall be liable to special duties for the repair and maintenance of all lighthouses, beacons, and other aids to navigation which Germany may erect and establish. Chinese vessels shall be exempt from other special duties.

V. Should Germany desire to give up her interest in the leased territory before the expiration of the ninety-nine years, China shall take over the whole area, and pay Germany for whatever German property may at the time of surrender be there situated. In case of such surrender taking place, Germany shall be at liberty to lease some other point along the coast. Germany shall not cede the territory leased to any other Power than China. Chinese subjects shall be allowed to live in the territory leased, under the protection of the German authorities, and there carry on their avocations and business as long as they conduct themselves as peaceful and law-abiding citizens. Germany shall pay a reasonable price to the native proprietors for whatever land her Government or subjects require. Fugitive Chinese criminals taking refuge in the leased territory shall be arrested, and surrendered to the Chinese authorities for trial and punishment, upon application to the German authorities, but the Chinese authorities shall not be at liberty to send agents into the leased territory to make arrests. German authorities shall not interfere with the *lekin* stations outside but adjacent to the territory.

In April 1898 the Reichstag voted 5,000,000 marks 'for the establishment of Kiaochau as a commercial and strategic *point d'appui*.' Toward the close of the same year this was supplemented by an additional 3,500,000 marks. Up to the present it is estimated that 25,000,000l. has been spent by the German Government and the railway and mining companies acting under Government supervision in the development of the 'colony' of Kiaochau.

Germany's object is set forth in the words of Baron von Bülow in a speech, already quoted from, made about the time of the occupation :

The Chinese authorities will have continually before them the evidence of German power, and will realise that wrongs against German people will not go unavenged.

And, again, when speaking on the subject he said :

We have secured in Kiaochau a strategical and political position which assures us a decisive influence on the future of the Far East. From this strong position we can look with complacency on the development of affairs. German diplomacy will pursue its path in the East as elsewhere—calmly, firmly and peacefully.

It should be noted that at this time Great Britain was in possession of Hong Kong, Portugal of Macao, France of Tong-

king, and Japan of Formosa, while Russia was extending her influence in North-Eastern Manchuria. It was not till after the occupation of Kiaochau by the Germans that Russia leased Port Arthur, Great Britain Weihaiwei, and France Kwangchouwan, the respective dates being Port Arthur, March 27, 1898; Kwangchouwan, April 9, 1898; and Weihaiwei, July 1 of the same year.

The Shantung Railway Agreement was signed on the same day as the Kiaochau Convention—March 6, 1898. This document practically abandons the whole Province of Shantung, at least in its economic development, to the German Government. In doing so great stress is laid on the 'peaceful intentions' of Germany. Dealing with the railways, the following clause occurs :

In inaugurating a railway system in Shantung, Germany entertains no treacherous intentions towards China, and undertakes not unlawfully to seize any land in the Province.

On the subject of mining concessions it is stated :

In trying to develop mining property in China, Germany is actuated by no treacherous motives against this country, but seeks alone to increase commerce and improve the relations between the two countries.

The *Engineer* of July 3, 1914, quotes the Agreement in full, and remarks :

This is probably the shortest Agreement ever made between two Governments regarding a great undertaking. And, while the one contracting party practically abandons a whole province to the operations of the other, the other contents itself with the repeated assertion of its own good intentions. The reiterated 'welcome' clause is a touch of irony worthy of Lewis Carroll in 'The Walrus and the Carpenter.'

The Province of Shantung has an area of 55,984 square miles and a population of 29,600,000.

Having thus secured a strong footing in China, and Kiaochau not being a colony but 'a strategical and political position,' Germany, with almost unseemly haste, proceeded to lavish money and talent on the new acquisition. The best engineers of the German railways and naval docks were imported without delay. The construction of extensive harbour works was well under way in a few months, and the laying of the railway line was actually commenced in September 1899, the whole of the preliminary surveys having been made and approved meanwhile. In June 1904 the railway from Tsingtau to Tsinanfu, a distance of 256 miles, was open for traffic. In the same year the harbour works were so far advanced that 351 ships, of a total tonnage of 385,000, were accommodated, besides 3990 Chinese junks.

This initial activity is noted now to mark the contrast between German enterprise here and in her colonies proper. In Berlin much attention was paid to the so-called commercial development of the new possession, while British and French newspapers praised the freshly discovered enterprise of the German nation.

Legitimate trade came later, as will be shown, but all these early activities, so widely advertised, were nothing more nor less than the 'cover' under which the heights surrounding Kiaochau Bay were converted into a chain of fortresses, the so-called harbour made a naval dockyard and Tsingtau a garrison town. The 351 ships of 1904, as well as those of the preceding years, brought only materials for the construction and equipment of railways, docks, and forts, German immigrants, mostly officials, soldiers, marines, and munitions of war. The Chinese junks traded with the native population as they had done for 3000 years before.

Here it may be noted that although Weihaiwei is also situated in Shantung, about 120 miles north-east of Tsingtau, Great Britain has not attempted to influence or develop the hinterland, but has confined herself to the use of the leased territory as a naval base. The Weihaiwei Convention, signed on the 1st of July 1898, is quoted below, and is both suggestive and instructive when compared with that of Kiaochau.

THE WEIHAIWEI CONVENTION.

In order to provide Great Britain with a suitable naval harbour in North China, and for the better protection of British commerce in the neighbouring seas, the Government of His Majesty the Emperor of China agrees to lease to the Government of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, Weihaiwei, in the province of Shantung, and the adjacent waters, for so long a period as Port Arthur shall remain in the occupation of Russia.

The territory leased shall comprise the island of Liukung and all other islands in the Bay of Weihaiwei, and a belt of land ten English miles wide along the entire coast-line of the Bay of Weihaiwei. Within the above-mentioned territory leased Great Britain shall have sole jurisdiction.

Great Britain shall have, in addition, the right to erect fortifications, station troops, or take any other measures necessary for defensive purposes, at any points on or near the coast of the region east of the meridian 121 degrees 40 min. E. of Greenwich, and to acquire on equitable compensation within the territory such sites as may be necessary for water supply, communications, and hospitals. Within that zone Chinese administration will not be interfered with, but no troops other than Chinese or British shall be allowed therein.

It is also agreed that within the walled city of Weihaiwei Chinese officials shall continue to exercise jurisdiction, except so far as may be inconsistent with naval and military requirements for the defence of the territory leased.

It is further agreed that Chinese vessels of war, whether neutral or otherwise, shall retain the right to use the waters herein leased to Great Britain.

It is further understood that there will be no expropriation or expulsion of the inhabitants of the territory herein specified, and that if land is required for fortifications, public offices, or any official or public purpose, it shall be bought at a fair price.

This Convention shall come into force on signature. It shall be ratified by the Sovereigns of the two countries, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in London as soon as possible.

Having said so much to show the real significance of Tsingtau, I shall now proceed to describe its situation and give some idea of the importance to which it had attained when I visited it last year as Special Commissioner for the *Engineer*.

My mission was to inspect railways, harbours, and other works in the Far East and to report on them for that journal, with the double object of recording engineering progress and suggesting opportunities for the British manufacturer. In this capacity I had special facilities for observation, British, French, Belgian, Russian, German, Chinese, and Japanese directors and engineers-in-chief being equally ready to render me assistance. So far as was known, no British engineer had inspected either the Shantung Railway or the Great Harbour of Tsingtau, and it was not supposed that I should be allowed to do so. However, when my wife and I were about to start from Nanking, accompanied by Mr. Tuckey, engineer-in-chief of the Pukow-Tientsin Railway, which connects with the Shantung line at Tsinanfu, I telegraphed to Tsingtau, and received a reply inviting us to put our car on the Shantung section and come along. Passports awaited us at Tsinanfu, and everything likely to tend to our comfort was arranged along the route.

On arrival at Tsingtau we were met by Herr Hilderbrandt, Director and Engineer-in-Chief of Railways, who treated us with much courtesy and kindness, and personally conducted me over all his works. Our presence was notified to Government House, and a request to call there was readily complied with. I found Herr Meyer Waldeck, Governor of Tsingtau and the representative of the Kaiser in this the strongest of his foreign possessions, one of the most amiable and courteous of men, ready to discuss any subject I cared to introduce with, apparently, as much frankness as if we had both been Englishmen in a British colony. I should have described him as a strong man, with decided views and the genius of reserve on controversial subjects. Naturally he was proud of his surroundings, for the site of this flourishing town, this strong fortress, this great naval base, had been a barren headland on the Chinese coast only fifteen years before.

That he did not take fair, if severe, criticism amiss was evidenced by a letter which I received from him after the publication of an article in the *Engineer* on my return to England.

After a lengthy interview I was taken in a car, placed at my disposal by the Governor, to the office of the Director of Naval Works, and from there conducted by various officials over the Great Harbour and the works hereafter referred to.

Kiaochau Bay, on the east coast of China, is of irregular depth and outline, measuring from 15 to 20 miles across, with a small island named Yintao near the middle. The entrance from the Yellow Sea is about $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles wide. Kiaochau lies on the inner, north-eastern corner, and is an ancient Chinese town. Tsingtau is situated on the promontory at the north-east entrance of the bay, and is immediately surrounded by a series of hills which gradually rise to a height of about 350m. within 20 miles of the harbour. The railway station, goods stores, and a number of public and private works are on or near the sea level, as close to the docks as the position will allow. The town is built on the sloping land of the promontory, rising to a considerable height and stretching across from the sea coast to the bay. Behind are numerous suburban residences, the barracks and the landward fortifications. On the coast hills to the right are forts commanding the entrance to the bay and the coast, in conjunction with those on the other side of the bay and the islands near the entrance.

Nearly the whole of the 'leased' territory is laid out in plantations. Beginning in the streets of Tsingtau, shrubs and trees creep along the hillsides and stretch beyond into the hinterland. The acacia has proved the best suited to the soil and climate, and already the coal mines in the province are supplied with props of this timber, produced locally. In a treeless country like China this is invaluable and serves as a great object-lesson to the Chinese. The local Government present one million plants and trees annually to the natives of the province. These include flowers, shrubs, and fruit trees of various descriptions.

German culture was not forgotten. Tsingtau had perhaps more schools and gymnasiums than any other town of the same size, for, in all except the higher grades, they were duplicated, Europeans and Chinese being both catered for and segregation being rigorously insisted on. There were two distinct Tsingtaus —one with a population of about 2500 Europeans and the other, joining on to it but quite distinct in all its features, containing about 40,000 Chinese. Everywhere everything was German. The officials were German, the language was German, the coinage was German. All goods not produced in Shantung were brought from Germany, from a needle to an electric crane. There was no

leakage and no exception. One remarkable thing is that, although German is spoken all over the Chinese quarter, 'pidgin' German is unknown. This is owing to the early establishment of primary schools in which German was taught. An Englishman would hardly believe himself to be in China without the familiar and fascinating 'pidgin' English of his 'look see' man.

The High School was opened in 1901, the object being 'To give a thorough education, founded on a knowledge of German science and German culture.' The upper grade was latterly composed of four principal Faculties—Technical, Jurisprudential and Political, Husbandry and Forestry, and Medical. The teaching staff consisted of twenty-five Germans and sixteen Chinese. An Observatory was presented to the town by the German Navy League in 1912.

The peace strength of the garrison was 3000 men. The Kiaochau service was popular in the Fatherland, and young men from the best families entered it with the double object of serving their country and acquiring a knowledge of the languages and customs of the Far East. Last year it was said that no fewer than 500 guns were mounted on the various forts, all of the latest Krupp types. There may have been more or less, but of this there was no doubt possible—the best-informed men in Tsingtau considered the place impregnable, and able successfully to resist any attack from land or sea.

The Bay itself has been described as the natural entrance and exit for Shantung and the maritime key of the province. This, with railways in view, is of more importance than may appear at first sight. China has few roads, and Shantung has practically none. The whole of the country from Kiaochau to the Yellow River, 250 miles, is covered to a great depth with a shifting alluvial deposit. In flood time the water cuts deep courses in this 'loess.' These irregular tracks may be said to be the only roads. This drives the Chinese to utilise the sea, hence the number of junks frequenting the port. The main waterways of China being all at great distance from the Shantung seaboard here made this bay a valuable asset to the province. To a European Power with maritime ambitions it obviously presented additional advantages.

The construction of harbour works was undertaken and carried to completion by the Government, and all loading, landing and forwarding was done by Government officials. Inside the bay is a small island. A breakwater, about three miles long, in horseshoe shape and strong enough to support a line of railway, was built to connect this with the mainland. This enclosure, narrowed at the entrance to 280 metres by the projecting commercial piers, is known as the Great Harbour. The

minimum depth of water on the land side is $9\frac{1}{2}$ metres, and on the island side it is 10 metres.

All mercantile vessels are berthed on the land side, where there are three moles with a total of 1950 metres berthing accommodation. The island referred to is about 200 metres by 600 metres. The 'Tsintauer Works' are there, and only naval ships were allowed on this side of the harbour, except those mercantile ships requiring repairs. The length of pier frontage, including that set apart for coaling, is about 2000 metres. The works are equipped in the most up-to-date fashion. No graving dock has been constructed, but there is a floating dock of 1600 tons displacement, capable of extension as required. This is the finest harbour in China, not even Dairen excepted.

The growth of trade may be gathered from the Customs returns given below.

1900	.	.	.	.	59,482	Hiakuam taels.
1903	.	.	.	.	310,461	" "
1906	.	.	.	.	878,991	" "
1909	.	.	.	.	1,120,243	" "
1912	.	.	.	.	1,670,029	" "

The progress has been steady, and now Tsingtau holds the sixth place as a Customs' revenue producer among the forty-seven open ports of China. The order is Shanghai, Tientsin, Hankow, Canton, Swatow, Kiaochau. Dairen is seventh, being 260,000 taels below Kiaochau.

Tsingtau has all the advantages of a Treaty port. It was a free port till 1906. Since then the Imperial Maritime Customs collects duties there as in all other ports. The Convention of 1906 stipulates that 20 per cent. of the Customs monies collected shall be paid to the German Imperial Government. This, with a certain proportion of the profits earned by the Railway Company, represents the return to the German Government on the capital invested.

Shipbuilding is carried on at the naval harbour, both for mercantile trade and naval purposes. Indeed, it would be possible, given the raw material, to build and equip anything up to a second-class cruiser. The whole of the outward side of the island is taken up by slips, and there were vessels of various kinds and sizes in course of construction at the time of my visit.

The first sod of the Shantung railway was cut by Prince Henry of Prussia in September 1899, and the whole of the line, from Tsingtau to Tsinanfu, a distance of 256 miles, was opened for traffic on the 1st of June 1904. From this time dates the commercial prosperity of the settlement. This is not to be wondered at. Being put in possession of a first-class harbour and a railway connecting with the very heart of the most populous

country in the world, hitherto without means of communication, prosperity worked its own way. Not only is Shantung served by this railway. The main trunk line of China, from Nanking to Peking, and thence to Mukden, where connexion is made with the lines to Dalny, Korea and Siberia, is intersected by it at Tsinanfu. The whole railway system of China is linked up with it.

There was keen competition among financiers in Berlin for the railway rights acquired by the German Government. A combination was at last arranged by the chief competitors, and the Shantung Eisenbahn Gesellschaft was formed in June 1899, with a capital of M.54,000,000, to carry into effect the agreement between the Chinese and the German Governments. This company constructed the line, and worked it under Government supervision and control, paying certain percentages of the profits to the Government, as before stated.

The possession of extensive coal-fields is one of the chief assets of Shantung. Last year the output from the collieries exceeded half a million tons. In addition to being largely used for house purposes, the coal is in demand for ship bunkers. This in itself accounts for many steamers calling at the port.

The Government consisted of a Council, composed of the heads of the various administrative departments, under the supervision of the Governor, and four members chosen from the civil population. One of these four was nominated by the Governor, one by the Chamber of Commerce, one by the trading firms, and one by the other members of the community. The Governor and chief officials were appointed by the German Imperial Government, and drawn principally from the Imperial Navy, His Excellency Meyer Waldeck, who surrendered the fortress, being Kapitän zur See.

The acquisition of Kiaochau Bay marked an epoch in German history. The mission of Prince Henry of Prussia to the Far East in 1899 was followed by extraordinary naval activity. In that year the German Navy consisted of only 77 vessels of all classes. In 1900, by conversion and construction, the number had increased to 194, while there were no less than 40 battleships, 8 coast defence ships, 68 cruisers, and 114 torpedo-boats projected. The work of the Kiel Canal, undertaken in 1887, was greatly accelerated at this time, which made its opening in 1905 possible. It will be remembered that the two warships, the *Deutschland* and the *Gefion*, sent to Tsingtau with Prince Henry, repeatedly broke down on the voyage. These mishaps were used with admirable effect to illustrate the weakness of Germany on the sea. The Emperor's point was gained,

and Germany entered on her career as a naval Power, with the results evidenced in the present struggle.

The fall of Tsingtau, it is safe to say, will be noted as a landmark in the progress of the present War when its history comes to be written. It marks the end of German pretensions in the Far East, and probably the end of her colonial empire. Whatever happens, Tsingtau is lost to her, never to be regained. It is conceivable that, under any circumstances, some of her possessions in Africa and Polynesia now falling into the hands of the Allies may ultimately be restored, but in no circumstances can she ever recover Tsingtau. German dog-in-the-manger colonial policy meant nothing more than the restraint of progress over the areas affected. Tsingtau was a standing menace to Japan and to every Power with interests in Eastern waters, as well as an insidious attempt on the integrity of China.

The siege of Tsingtau was a more hazardous enterprise than that of Antwerp, and its capture represents much more than a corresponding advantage. Antwerp in the hands of the Germans is little more than an additional care to the already overburdened armies of the Kaiser. Tsingtau under Japanese rule may be safely left undefended. Its possession provides an additional base for the Allied Fleets, where coal is abundant and where repairs can be undertaken on a large scale. Incidentally, the naval and military forces that operated against Tsingtau are free for service elsewhere, while Antwerp practically interns as many men as might have captured it. The fall of Antwerp enabled the remnant of the Belgian Army to join and strengthen the main lines of the Allies. Germany is the weaker for the loss of every man and every ship used in the defence of Tsingtau, while the only port in which one of her vessels could hope to find safety with immunity has fallen into the hands of her enemies. And, not the least, the powerful Navy of Japan is free to operate wherever it can be most serviceable against the common enemy. Nor is it a great stretch of imagination to believe that a Japanese army will soon be on the way across the Siberian Railway to East Prussia, a ten days' journey, for Japan is at war with Germany, and at peace with all the world beside.

Clearly the moral effect of the fall of Tsingtau must be great and far-reaching, and, judging by the attitude of the German Press, moral effect is of more importance than physical achievement. German prestige outside Germany is a thing of the past. Nowhere was her rule so firmly established as at Tsingtau, and nowhere has it been so definitely ended. China has been delivered from the moral influence and physical pressure of German culture and Prussian aggression, and will, doubtless, despite the sum of one million pounds said to have been spent in

the purchase of the Peking Press, possess herself in patience till Japan fulfils her pledge by handing her back the Convention of Kiaochau, cancelled.

Nothing that has happened since the War began has caused more consternation in Berlin than the fall of Tsingtau, for there its full significance is realised. Whether the present struggle ends in defeat or triumph for Germany she must suffer much, and long. Ultimately she may regain some of her prestige in the West where, in the ever-changing phases of progress, men quickly forget. 'Loss of face' is the unpardonable sin of the Far East.

WILLIAM BLANE.

1914

THE CASE OF DR. AXHAM

'It is time Dr. Axham were reinstated in the position from which he ought never to have been driven, seeing that the only ground for taking his name off the Medical Register was that he assisted a master of manipulative surgery to relieve human suffering for which no relief could be found elsewhere.'—Leading article in *The Times*, November 25, 1912.

ON the 25th of May 1911 an announcement appeared in the columns of *The Times* to the effect that the General Medical Council at its sitting of the previous day had 'directed the name of Frederick William Axham, M.R.C.S. (Eng.), L.R.C.P. (Edin.), to be erased from the Medical Register,' as he had been 'adjudged guilty of infamous conduct in a professional respect,' for 'having assisted Herbert Atkinson Barker, an unregistered person, practising in a department of surgery, in carrying on such practice by administering anaesthetics on his behalf.'

The name of Dr. Axham appeared in conjunction with those of two other medical men, who had both been convicted at Assizes of felony, and sentenced to five years' penal servitude and fifteen months' hard labour respectively.

The General Medical Council had passed an identical sentence upon the three defendants. The very association naturally suggested to the public that in his work with Mr. Barker as anaesthetist Dr. Axham had been guilty of some offence which was calculated to bring disgrace and dishonour upon the noble profession to which he had the privilege to belong.

In such an event it was quite right that the authorities should show no mercy. In the case of those whose names appear on the Medical Register, who are admitted to the bedside of the wives and daughters of Englishmen, who are entrusted with the deepest secrets of life, whose responsibilities are matters of life and death, the public have a right to feel assured that they are men of irreproachable moral character, that they are gentlemen who may be treated as friends and confidants by all. It is, therefore, to be hoped that the authorities will always have the courage to act swiftly and fearlessly in purging the ranks of any who offend against the high standard of character and efficiency

which should be inalienable from those whose credentials secure to them such special privileges in the affairs of life.

But, in this particular instance, not one of the things had happened which the public might have been justified in suspecting from the peculiarly offensive nature of the announcement.

Dr. Axham was, and is, a gentleman of irreproachable character. He is L.R.C.P.Edin., M.R.C.S.Eng. He has spent fifty years of his life in the profession without the suggestion of a stain upon his character, or the semblance of a blot upon his record. Though he never aspired to high honours and distinctions in the faculty, there are incidents in his career which serve to stamp him as an Englishman in the best sense of the word, of unflinching courage, and devotion to his duty.

As a young man he served as surgeon to the Franco-Chinese Forces (Gordon's Contingent), and on the disbanding of the troops was awarded an honorarium of 700*l*. Subsequently he was employed on the ship *Light of the Age* with coolies from Amoy to Belize, British Honduras, and on arrival at Belize was offered two appointments as Sub-Immigration Agent and Northern District surgeon, located at Corosal. These appointments he held for sixteen months. On leaving for England he was a passenger on board the R.M.S. *Tasmanian* from St. Thomas to Southampton. When about three days out the ship's surgeon died from yellow fever. Passengers and crew were stricken down, and he undertook the care of seventy-six cases during the voyage, and on reaching England was placed in charge of the Hospital Ship *Menelaos* in Southampton Water. For these services he received a present of fifty guineas from the Royal Mail Company and thirty guineas from her late Majesty's Government. After this he acted several times as *locum tenens*, ultimately settling down in 1872 as a general practitioner in the West End of London. For nearly twenty-five years he held the appointment of medical officer to the Westminster Union.¹

The important point to notice is that during all this lengthy period—an ordinary lifetime—Dr. Axham's testimonials were of the most gratifying nature, and he has invariably enjoyed the cordial friendship and esteem of all those with whom he has been professionally associated.

¹ Extract from the minutes of the Westminster Board of Guardians, May 23, 1911 : 'That there be recorded on the minutes an expression of the Board's high appreciation of the devoted service of Dr. F. W. Axham as Medical Officer of the Workhouse of the Union from November 5, 1886, to April 22, 1911 (nearly twenty-five years) in attending to and alleviating the sufferings of the sick poor under his charge in that Institution; that during this long and faithful service his duties were discharged with the utmost punctuality and exemplary efficiency, and that he leaves the Board's service with the unanimous wish of the guardians that he may long enjoy a well-deserved retirement.'

Now the public are always sympathetic, and I fancy I can hear someone saying

What a sad pity that an honourable career should be brought to an end in this distressing fashion! How very lamentable that one who had served so faithfully and so long should have the closing years of his life darkened by the contemplation of an announcement in the public Press holding him up to contempt and obloquy!

What could he have done that he should be branded before the eyes of the English-speaking race as an infamous person?

What was his offence? It will hardly be believed that the only sin committed by Dr. Axham was that he had associated with a so-called 'unqualified' ² man as anæsthetist! For some few years he had been rendering painless the operations performed by the eminent bonesetter, Mr. H. A. Barker, of Park Lane. It is not as if his association with Mr. Barker had arisen from any unworthy reasons, or even from pursuit of gain: it came about solely from conscientious motives.

In the year 1905 Mr. Barker issued an invitation to medical men to attend and witness his operations. Dr. Axham, amongst others, availed himself of the privilege, and was so impressed by the manipulative method of Mr. Barker that he asked his consent to attend further demonstrations. Permission was readily granted, and on each occasion that he was present his interest deepened. In all he devoted forty-five afternoons to the matter. He became entirely convinced of the soundness of Mr. Barker's system, and realised that here was a genius who was daily effecting cures which not only regular practitioners, but the greatest surgeons could only have attempted, and with doubtful prospects of success, by the use of the knife.

But Mr. Barker employed no anæsthetic, and it was clear that his capacity for relieving the suffering public was greatly restricted in consequence. He observed that the operations were sometimes accompanied by cries of distress, so much so that many who were waiting would leave the premises rather than face the necessary painful ordeal. Noting, therefore, the serious limitations to Mr. Barker's work, and realising the obvious and totally unnecessary pain to which his patients were subjected, he suggested the employment of an anæsthetic. Mr. Barker gladly accepted his advice.

Being filled with admiration for Mr. Barker's skilful manner of conducting his various operations, and simply amazed at the cures which he daily effected—and mostly in *cases which had defied all the known methods of the best surgeons*—he conceived

² 'Unqualified' because, as Mr. Barker has publicly pointed out, there is no real legal qualification obtainable for his work.

it a duty to the public to continue his humane work of sparing suffering where suffering was entirely unnecessary. It was a matter of conscience with him, and the result was that he became permanently associated with Mr. Barker as anaesthetist.

In my opinion, and I venture to think in the opinion of all right-thinking people, Dr. Axham, as a high-minded gentleman, could not have acted otherwise than he did. The justification of his conduct is amply demonstrated by the fact that he was throwing open to the public an avenue of relief which had been hitherto closed to them. Up to this Mr. Barker's system could be applied only in a limited category of cases; by the use of an anaesthetic it was possible widely to extend the application of his methods and therefore bring relief to thousands who must otherwise have continued to suffer.

Now it may be objected officially, on behalf of the profession, that Dr. Axham had no right even to accept an invitation to view the work of an unqualified man. He ought to have treated the invitation with contempt, as the medical journals have invariably treated Mr. Barker's efforts to secure investigation and recognition of his work. He knew perfectly well the code of medical ethics, and he must have known that his conduct was a violation of the code.

My answer is: the true scientific spirit manifests itself in a desire to learn from whatever quarter, in a readiness to sift and analyse any evidence that may be brought forward by any reputable person, and especially if that evidence on the face of it has a strong bearing on a matter of urgent scientific importance. After all, Dr. Axham was only following the advice given to young Wharton-Hood by Sir William Ferguson—the leading surgeon of his day—that 'if Hutton could teach him anything he ought to go and learn it.'

On the other hand, it has been maintained that if Dr. Axham did accept the invitation, he should have made it an opportunity merely of picking up such information as he could acquire with a view to applying it in his private practice. But I maintain that Dr. Axham acted much the more noble and unselfish part. He might, truly, have thought only of his own private gain: he chose to prefer the larger interests of the suffering public, and in doing this he showed the truer spirit of the Englishman, and gained rather a title to respect and honour than to obloquy and shame.

The art of the bonesetter is to a large extent a gift, and if it were taught and demonstrated to-morrow in all the medical schools of Great Britain, only a student here and there would develop a proficiency in the art.

Dr. Axham recognised in Mr. Barker a veritable genius, an opinion which the public and the Press, and privately—for they

dare not openly express their convictions—a large section of the faculty has since thoroughly endorsed. The real offence committed by Dr. Axham was that he, a general practitioner, discovered and recognised undoubted merit in advance of his fellows.

The remarkable fact is that nothing was ever said to him at all officially until the action in the King's Bench (*Thomas v. Barker*) in February 1911.

The moment that action was concluded the faculty moved officially, and proceeded to place before Dr. Axham the grim alternative of either severing completely, and at once, his connexion with Mr. Barker or being struck off the Register. Once again Dr. Axham manifested the true scientific spirit, and the true spirit of an Englishman, by refusing to give up a work which was being carried on by him entirely in accordance with the true spirit of the noble profession to which he belonged—viz. to do all that lay in his power to mitigate the burden of human suffering.

He counted the cost—a heavy cost indeed to him—and he did not hesitate to sacrifice his personal interests to the dictates of his conscience.

To the honour of the race, and to the eternal discredit of those who oppose them, there have in all ages been men who have been martyrs to science; and there can be no doubt whatever that to the list must be added the name of Dr. F. W. Axham.

The first intimation received by Dr. Axham that exception was taken to his conduct was a letter from the secretary of a society calling itself 'The Medical Defence Union.' The object of this association is stated to be 'to support and protect the character and interests of medical practitioners; to promote honourable practice; and to suppress and prosecute unauthorised practitioners.'

Subsequently a notification was received by Dr. Axham from the Registrar of the General Medical Council stating that information had been laid before the Committee that he was associating with an unqualified man as anæsthetist.

To this Dr. Axham returned the following dignified reply :

March 23, 1911.

To the Registrar, General Medical Council.

Sirs,—In reply to your communication dated 27th instant (*sic*), I may say that I have reached the age of 71, and for fifty years have upheld the status of the profession. At the same time I admit that medical laws were made to be observed, and in ordinary cases it is right they should be.

In the instance of Mr. Barker, about whom exception has been taken, I had, previous to associating myself with him, abundant proof of his natural talent and special ability, and, having regarded his work as necessary to the welfare of the community, consented to administer anæsthetic drugs.

There are thousands willing to bear testimony to benefits received through Mr. Barker's agency. Whatever action may be taken against me, my defence lies in the following:—

Medical men in general practice, specialists,³ men attached to the Service, non-commissioned officers and men at the expense of their commanding officers, persons of rank and distinction, and a host of sporting celebrities, have sought effectively the help of Mr. Barker, having failed to obtain relief elsewhere.

A recent typical case is that of Lady Exeter, who after eighteen years' disability, involving great expense in large fees and useless appliances, found complete relief at the hands of Mr. Barker.

Since the notice received through the Secretary, Medical Defence Union, I have resigned several lucrative appointments, including the Poor Law after twenty-four years' service.

I beg leave to place these facts for the favourable consideration of the committee.

On the 26th of April 1911 Dr. Axham received a further communication from the Registrar of the General Medical Council in the following terms :

April 25, 1911.

On behalf of the General Medical Council, I give you notice that information and evidence have been laid before the Council by which the complainant makes the following charge against you, namely:—

That you have knowingly and wilfully on various occasions assisted one Herbert Atkinson Barker, an unregistered person practising in a department of surgery, in carrying on such practice by administering anaesthetics on his behalf to persons coming to him for treatment.

And that in relation thereto you have been guilty of infamous conduct in a professional respect.

And I am directed, further, to give you notice that on Wednesday, the 24th day of May 1911, a meeting of the General Medical Council will be held at 299 Oxford Street, London, W., at three o'clock in the afternoon, to consider the above-mentioned charge against you, and decide whether or not they should direct your name to be removed from the Medical Register, pursuant to Section XXIX. of the Medical Act, 1858. You are invited, and required to answer in writing the above charge, and to attend before the General Medical Council, at the above-named place and time, to establish any denial or defence that you may have to make to the above-mentioned charge; and you are hereby informed that if you do not attend as required, the General Medical Council may proceed to hear and decide upon the said charge in your absence.

In accordance with the terms of the summons, Dr. Axham attended at 299 Oxford Street. On inquiry at the office he was received in a very off-hand way, and was told that two cases were to be disposed of before he would be called. He therefore requested the accommodation of a chair, but was informed that all the chairs were in use. As a result he was under the obligation of pacing a corridor for upwards of an hour!

³ The italics are mine, for it is significant that surgeons themselves and their wives and children are continually seeking from Mr. Barker the aid none of their profession can afford. — L. W.

At length he was summoned into the Judgment Hall.

The proceedings were painfully brief :

'Have you anything to say?' was the query.

'I have nothing to add to the statement I have already made in writing,' replied Dr. Axham.

'Are you prepared to dissociate yourself from Mr. Barker?' was the next question.

'No,' answered the doctor.

Someone got up and called out, 'What does he say?'

'He says he declines to dissociate himself from Mr. Barker,' replied the President. 'If you will leave the room, we will consider our decision, Dr. Axham.'

Dr. Axham accordingly left the room, and remained outside from ten to fifteen minutes.

On his re-entering, the President said :

'Mr. Axham, I have to inform you that the Council have judged you to have been guilty of infamous conduct in a professional respect, and have directed the Registrar to erase from the Medical Register the name of Frederick William Axham.'

Dr. Axham bowed, and left the room once more.

In these few minutes, and in these few words, the fate of Dr. Axham was sealed.

On the following day there appeared in *The Times* the paragraph, announcing the decision, to which I have referred at the commencement of this article.

I protest with all my heart and soul against this inhuman proceeding. It was surely enough to have hanged, drawn, and quartered an old gentleman in the evening of his life, with an unblemished career, and a record without a stain, for no cause whatever, without adding the further indignity of affixing his remains to the entrance gates of the whole civilised world.

I maintain that an announcement such as this was an infinitely more cruel act than the actual sentence. It left it open to the public to imagine anything they liked; and, of course, it would never enter the mind of an ordinary person that the law of England allowed a man to be stripped of his rank and buttons, and drummed out of his profession, and sent to beg his bread if he chose, or starve if he chose, unless he had been guilty of some crime, or conduct at least disgraceful and dishonourable. I am not employing the language of exaggeration. The mere statement 'struck off the Register' does not necessarily suggest very much to the outsider, but it implies a great deal 'in a professional respect.'

What, then, does the sentence 'struck off the Register' actually mean?

It means absolute extinction. A medical man whose name

has been struck off the Register cannot recover at law any professional charges ; he may not

hold any appointment as a physician, surgeon, or other medical officer, either in the military or naval service, or in emigrant or other vessels, or in any hospital, infirmary, dispensary, or lying-in hospital, not supported wholly by voluntary contributions, or in any lunatic asylum, gaol, penitentiary, house of industry, parochial union, workhouse, or poor-house, parish union, or other public establishment, body, or institution, or to any friendly or other society for affording mutual relief in sickness, infirmity, or old age, or as medical officer of health.⁴

No certificate required by any Act, from any physician, surgeon, licentiate in medicine and surgery, or other medical practitioner, is valid if signed by an unregistered person.⁵

I maintain that the sentence—‘ struck off the Register ’—amounts to absolute extinction ‘ in a professional respect ’; that Parliament never intended to confer the power, that in fact the statute does *not* confer the power upon the General Medical Council of passing such a sentence upon a man, unless evidence is forthcoming which would convince a jury of his fellows that he has been behaving, as a professional man, in such a way as to bring disgrace and dishonour upon his profession.

The term ‘ infamous conduct ’ as applied to the professional behaviour of Dr. Axham is entirely inept.

Dr. Johnson defines the word ‘ infamous ’ as meaning ‘ publicly branded with guilt—openly censured—of bad report,’ and he quotes as illustration a verse from the prophet Ezekiel, chap. xxii. verse 5 : ‘ Those that be near, and those that be far from thee, shall mock thee which art infamous.’

The sentence, and the public announcement of the sentence, passed by the General Medical Council may be said to have rendered Dr. Axham an *infamous person*, at any rate in the eyes of undiscerning people ; but there was absolutely nothing in his professional conduct previous to the sentence that could justify the application of such an opprobrious epithet. His professional conduct was not ‘ infamous ’ ; and if it be pleaded that ‘ infamous conduct ’ is the wording of the statute, then the answer is that, if the statute ties down the Council to such a limited and inflexible vocabulary, the statute ought to be altered.

It has been laid down by the Court of Appeal that ‘ infamous conduct ’ implies something disgraceful and dishonourable to the profession. Lord Justice Lopes laid it down as a sufficient definition of ‘ infamous conduct ’ (Lord Esher, Master of the Rolls, and Lord Davey concurring) that :

If it is shown that a medical man, in the pursuit of his profession, has done something with regard to it which would be reasonably regarded as

disgraceful and dishonourable by his professional brethren of good repute and competency, it is open to the Council to find that he has been ' guilty of infamous conduct in a professional respect.'

I maintain that the question before the General Medical Council was not merely ' Had Dr. Axham associated with an unregistered man? '—that much was frankly admitted—but whether, by so doing, he had acted in a way which could be reasonably regarded as disgraceful and dishonourable to the profession. This question they did not appear to have considered, and it would therefore seem that their action in striking him off the Register was distinctly *ultra vires*, or at any rate entirely contrary to the spirit of the statute.

It is of supreme interest at this point to consider the origin of the General Medical Council.

Previous to the year 1858 there had been no central authoritative body controlling the medical service of Great Britain. The Royal Colleges of Physicians of London, Edinburgh, and Ireland, the Royal Colleges of Surgeons of London, Edinburgh, and Ireland, and the Society of Apothecaries constituted, each in themselves, separate and independent licensing and qualifying authorities. There was no uniform standard of education, no single authoritative Register, and supervision was relegated to various local bodies in different parts of the Kingdom.

It was felt that this condition of things led to great confusion, admitted of many abuses, and failed entirely to protect the public against the pretensions of ignorant persons and charlatans, to whose tender mercies they were only too prone to entrust themselves. We find, for example, a butcher practising as a surgeon, a blacksmith with an extensive practice as midwife, herbalists and quacks of all sorts thriving on the credulity of the poor; medical men advertising their virtues in every conceivable way, and quarrelling amongst themselves in the hospitals, and even at the bedside of the sick, as to the particular functions of the physician and surgeon. Mr. Cowper, who was in charge of the Bill,⁷ at the second reading spoke of ' the present disorganised, chaotic state of the profession,' and declared the Bill to have a threefold object :

1. To secure an uniform standard of education and qualification.
2. To provide an authoritative register of duly qualified medical men, so that the public might be assured as to the standing of those they employed.

* *Vide Allinson v. General Council of Medical Education and Registration*
(1894) 1 Q.B., p. 750.

⁷ *Medical Practitioners Bill, 1858.*

3. To abolish the system of local jurisdiction, and establish a central governing authority.

There was no intention of interfering with the rights of the public : '*He said that he was disposed jealously to guard the right of private individuals to consult whomsoever they pleased, whether they were learned or unlearned.*'

Clearly the Bill was framed in the interests of the public, by regulating the profession from within rather than by repression from without. This was so evident at the time that Mr. Black, the member for Edinburgh, expressed his dissatisfaction with the Bill, for, like its predecessors, it did not propose 'to do away with quacks.' He did not think it went far enough.

When it reached the Lords, Lord Elcho cautioned the House against such Bills—remarking that :

One of the chief things to be guarded against was the rendering too stringent the power of these corporations ; and he would warn the House against the efforts which these bodies would be certain to make to carry out their aim when the Bill got into Committee.'

When the Bill was in committee of the Lords, Lord Ebury also cautioned their Lordships. He said :

The ostensible object of the Bill was to remedy the anomalies that at present existed in the medical profession of the country ; but the real effect of it would be to secure a monopoly to these various associations. . . . They were going to confer a monopoly in the practice of medicine in this country upon persons who themselves said that they had no confidence in that practice. What said Dr. Bailey before he died ? 'He feared he had done more harm than good.' What said Dr. Chalmers in his general oration over Dr. Williams ? Why, 'that he had no confidence in medicine.' What said Dr. Forbes ? Why, 'that the present practice of medicine was so unsatisfactory that he hoped some new school would be set on foot.'

The prophecies of Lord Elcho and Lord Ebury are being fulfilled to-day, and we see the General Medical Council, set up under the Act, deliberately attempting to establish a monopoly, and endeavouring to restrict 'the right of private individuals to consult whomsoever they please, whether they happen to be learned or unlearned.'

I think I have said enough of the General Medical Council to induce the opinion that as a Court of Judicature it is sadly lacking in its conception of the principles which govern the administration of justice in a civilised community in the twentieth century. In its procedure, and in the severity of its sentence, it smacks far too much of the Star Chamber, and the summary proceedings of the age of the Tudors.

⁸ *Hansard*, 1858, c. 1783.

[•] *Ibid.*

The public will hardly realise that it is vested with powers equivalent to the death penalty, for a medical man's career is his life. Yet there is no appeal from its decisions. The doctor who is guilty of transgressing the ethics—I think I am entitled to say the etiquette of the profession—is in worse plight than the veriest criminal, even the murderer. There is for him no Court of Criminal Appeal which can quash or revise his sentence. He is the one and only subject of His Majesty to whom the courts are closed. It is nothing short of a scandal that there should still exist in our midst—in the days when we talk so much of liberty—a court invested with such terrible powers of destruction.

It is unlike any other tribunal. The judges may number aught from eight to thirty-eight. They sit without any legal assessors; they may be all unknown to the defendant; they are all interested parties to the action; the proceedings are practically secret; there is only one crime, and only one sentence.

In no other profession are mere laymen allowed to sit in judgment on their fellows in a perfectly informal way.

The recalcitrant clerk is summoned before a Consistory Court, the proceedings of which are perfectly open. He may be censured, he may be inhibited in one diocese, or all over the country, for a time, or for always; or in the last resort he may be unfrocked.

The officer in the Navy is summoned before a properly constituted Court-Martial; he may be reprimanded, severely reprimanded, lose seniority, be dismissed his ship, or in the last resort dismissed the service.

A member of the Bar is dealt with by the Benchers of his Inn; he may be counselled in a fatherly way, he may be severely censured, or gravely warned; but it is only in the last resort, and with the greatest regret, that the Benchers proceed to 'disbar' him.

To 'unfrock' a man, to 'dismiss' him from the service, to 'disbar' him after a long career of honourable service with an absolutely clean sheet, is a course that would be adopted only in case of some very grievous offence, which was considered to bring disgrace and dishonour upon the profession.

To inflict the extreme penalty, especially in the case of a doctor, is not a case of striking a man's name off a society or a club—it is to rob him of his livelihood—to ruin him in his career.

To take the case of Dr. Axham. The sentence passed upon him was equivalent to inflicting an annual fine of some hundreds of pounds as long as he enjoyed sufficient health to carry on his practice. It meant that he went forth and was advertised to the world as a leper or a pariah. There was no attempt to 'make the punishment fit the crime.' If he had been found guilty in a

court of law of procuring abortion, or performing any other illegal operation; if he had been guilty of such negligence as to cause the death of a patient or patients; if he had been known to consort with persons of ill-fame; if his moral conduct had been utterly reprobate; if he had used his privileged position to extort blackmail or otherwise terrorise his patients; if he had been found guilty of the most heinous criminal offence—the General Medical Council could not have pronounced a more damning sentence. And all the while his offence—his sole offence, the only offence in a career of fifty years—was that he had associated with, and assisted as anæsthetist to a man whom *The Times* has acclaimed as a ‘benefactor to the public, who ought to be honoured accordingly.’

Men of repute in all walks of life, nobility, clergy, barristers, members of Parliament, members of the universities, leading journalists, officers of both services—and, lastly, distinguished members of the medical faculty themselves—but ‘secretly for fear of the Jews’—are agreed, and have vigorously protested in every way open to them, against the monstrous iniquity of such a sentence, such a tribunal, and such manifest abuse of the statutory powers conferred upon it.

Their ideas of justice are of the most elementary nature—the procedure that of a primitive tribe; they deal with facts only; their sole interrogatories are ‘Did you or did you not?’ ‘Will you desist or will you not?’ The penal code of the Romans contained many maxims based on sound common sense—e.g. that stress should be laid rather upon the intentions of the offender than upon the actual outcome of the offence. A judicial trial is not a mere assemblage of fact, a discussion upon evidence and a sentence; an enlightened community requires that the path of crime shall be traced backward to establish the determining motives of the offender.

In this tribunal—presided over by lay judges—the question of motive was never considered. It might have been supposed that Dr. Axham would have been asked ‘Why did you associate with Mr. Barker? Tell us how it came about? What was your motive? Was it for personal gain, or were you under the impression that you were undertaking a duty to the public, or merely adopting some new theory of medicine or surgery, or what? What was your intention? Did you think that by enabling Mr. Barker to extend the scope of his treatment you would ultimately establish his claim to recognition? Did you think that by supporting him you would eventually secure the admission of manipulative surgery into the curricula of the medical schools? Had you any grudge against the profession to which you belonged? Did you intend to decry your fellows in the eyes of the public? Did it

occur to you that your conduct was in any sense dishonourable or calculated to bring disgrace upon the profession?

Not one word was said reflecting upon his character, professionally or otherwise; the question of his antecedents was never considered. The fact that he had behind him an honourable career of fifty years, without a blemish or a stain, counted for nothing. No one ventured to breathe a word against his efficiency and skill in the art which he practised. There was apparently no thought in the minds of his judges except that he had associated with an outsider.

That was his sole offence. Very well, then; if that was his sole offence, the gravity of the offence must be gauged by the character, the reputation, and the work of the outsider.

The public, the Press of Great Britain have proclaimed Mr. Barker a master of his art—a ‘benefactor of the public who ought to be honoured accordingly’; they have said that probably no doctor has had so many distinguished patients, that he is ‘probably doing more to relieve suffering humanity than any living surgeon’; that in his particular branch of surgery he surpasses the most eminent professors of the day.

The penal code has been devised for the protection of society. How, then, I would ask, is society being protected in this instance?

If you exterminate the anæsthetist you limit Mr. Barker’s scope as a curative agent.

If you limit Mr. Barker’s scope you are compelling the public to go on suffering in innumerable instances where relief is ready to their hands.

Is that what the statute intended? No! but it is what Lord Ebury prophesied.

Those who have stretched the law so mercilessly can hardly realise the pain which they have inflicted; and it will be a thousand pities if slow-footed justice is deferred until the words ‘Too late, too late,’ awake a cry of shame that will re-echo from end to end of Britain.

J. L. WALTON.

*LETTERS FROM PARIS AND SOISSONS
A HUNDRED YEARS AGO*

THE correspondence which forms the subject of this article throws some interesting sidelights on the stirring events that took place in Paris and the Aisne Valley a hundred years ago. The letters are written by an English lady, wife of M. de Pougens and daughter of Mr. Sayer, a personal friend of George the Third, and Deputy Steward of Westminster and Steward of the Manor of Richmond. They are addressed to Mrs., afterwards Lady, Dundas, who also resided at Richmond.

Madame de Pougens' amiability and kindness of heart made her universally beloved and endeared her to a large and wide circle of friends. She identified herself fully with the activities and concerns of her adopted country, but always remained an Englishwoman at heart, never surrendering her native independence of character and thought. And to the end of her life she continued to entertain feelings of the warmest affection and regard for her relatives and friends in England. Herself a Protestant, she was yet broad and tolerant in her religious views, and the observations in her letters regarding religious opinions differing from her own are made without malice and in a spirit of the purest good-nature not untouched with a keen sense of humour.

The Chevalier de Pougens was a distinguished litterateur and a prominent member of the Institute of France. He was frequently consulted by French writers of eminence and acted as literary counsellor to the Dowager Empress of Russia, wife of the Emperor Paul and mother of Alexander the First and Nicholas the First. In addition, therefore, to having access to the best society in France, M. and Madame de Pougens moved a great deal in literary circles. Mlle. Thierry and Madame Louise, whose names frequently appear in the letters, were members of that happy household at Vauxbuin, near Soissons, the peace of which was so rudely disturbed by the events that followed the invasion of France by the Allies in 1814.

The stories told by Madame de Pougens concerning the Prussian soldiery and the Cossacks afford much food for reflection

when compared with the conduct of their successors in the present campaign. Even in those far-off days, the looting of private houses does not appear to have been inconsistent with the upbringing and training of Germans of princely birth.

It may perhaps assist the reader to recall more easily the historical references in the correspondence if I give a short *r  sum  * of the chief happenings during the period covered by the letters. To understand the sequence of affairs one must bear in mind that for many years Napoleon had pursued a campaign of aggrandisement on the Continent of Europe, culminating in his expedition against Russia in 1812 and closely followed by the disastrous retreat of the French from Moscow. In 1813, with the express purpose of expelling Napoleon from Germany and crushing his power, Alexander the First, Emperor of Russia, and Frederick William the Third, King of Prussia, entered into an alliance, and in view of present events it is interesting to recall the incident that Russian troops were welcomed in Berlin as friends and deliverers.

Austria did not immediately join the coalition, preferring, it is said, to assume the *r  le* of mediator, although her reluctance might well be accounted for by the fact that Napoleon had married the Archduchess Marie Louise, daughter of the Emperor Francis. A conference took place with the ostensible purpose of bringing about peace with the French, and the Austrian Minister, Count Metternich, was deputed to announce the terms agreed upon by the Allies to Napoleon at Dresden. These terms he curtly refused, and although negotiations were reopened Napoleon declined to abandon his dream of a universal empire. Austria then joined with Russia and Prussia and hostilities were renewed. The ensuing campaign proved disastrous to Napoleon's arms, and on the 19th of October 1813, after being vanquished at Leipzig, he began his retreat into France. In the meantime Wellington had fought the battle of Vittoria, which decided the fate of the Peninsula and proved fatal to the dominion of Joseph Bonaparte in Spain.

The Allies now determined to invade France and march on Paris, and with this end in view divided their forces into three great armies. The Austrian army, under Prince Schwarzenberg, crossed the Rhine at Basle; the Silesian army, under Marshal Bl  cher, made the passage between Mannheim and Coblenz, and after crossing the Vosges mountains occupied Nancy; the third army, led by Generals Wintzengerode and B  low, approached France by way of Cologne, Li  ge, and Namur, and took up a position on the road to Paris *via* Soissons.

Soissons is situated in a fertile valley on the left bank of the Aisne, and has always been regarded as a position of considerable strategic importance. The town has played a notable part in

several campaigns, and its military history goes back many centuries. In 1814 it suffered much, and for some months was the centre of severe fighting between Napoleon's forces and the Allied troops. The old fortifications had long since fallen into decay and little care had been taken to preserve the ramparts. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the guns, or perhaps it would be more correct to say cannon, of those days had little effective range, and it was not possible to bombard the ramparts from the heights which surrounded them nearly on all sides. The main defences were in good order and the place, being well garrisoned, was equipped for a long resistance.

On the 1st of February General Wintzengerode advanced on Soissons, and when within two miles of the fortress, to quote a Russian historian¹ of that time, Colonel Benkendorf, who was leading the Cossacks, fell in with the National Guards supported by irregular infantry. Being terrified by the charge and cries of the Cossacks, who now attacked them, the French troops retired towards Soissons, losing heavily. The same evening the Allied forces took up a position close to the town, and the next day General Chernisheff sent a message to the commandant of Soissons demanding surrender of the fortress. Naturally the request was refused, whereupon the assault began, but it was only at the third attempt that the Allies succeeded in making their way into the town, where they captured many prisoners and guns. This success was the more important as it secured the retreat of the Silesian army.

A fortnight later, on hearing of Blücher's defeat by Napoleon, General Wintzengerode was compelled to evacuate the town and retire on Rheims. The French immediately reoccupied Soissons and its defence was entrusted to Marshal Moreau with instructions to hold it at all costs. Meanwhile the Silesian army had broken up from Mery, and Napoleon, marching from Troyes with 40,000 troops, followed Blücher through Arcis-sur-Aube and Sézanne, arriving early on the morning of the 19th at La Ferté-sous-Jouarre. From the steep banks of the Marne he could see the rearguard of the Silesian army retiring in the direction of Soissons. His plan was to meet Blücher before he could cross the Aisne, and seeing the main passage of that river is by the stone bridge of Soissons, which at that moment was in the hands of the French, there seemed every possibility of the plan succeeding. Blücher's position therefore was critical and likely to become more so as the French were continually attacking his rearguard, while Napoleon's movement from Château-Thierry to Fisme was threatening his flank.

¹ A. Mikhailovsky-Danilefsky. It is from a translation of this author's history of the Campaign in France in 1814 that the main facts in this and the two following paragraphs are taken. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Meanwhile General Bülow had again laid siege to Soissons, and had called upon the commandant to surrender; an indignant refusal was the only reply and the siege continued. On the 2nd of March, however, an event occurred which altogether changed the situation and dashed to the ground the hopes entertained by Napoleon of defeating the Silesian army. The gates of the town were suddenly thrown open and Marshal Moreau capitulated, enabling Blücher to cross the river by the stone bridge and join forces with Bülow. Thus for a second time the town was occupied by the Allies. Napoleon was at Fisme when he received the news of the surrender of Soissons and the successful passage by Blücher's army. He at once gave orders to Marshals Marmont and Mortier to retake the town, which General Rudzévitch had been left to defend, but after severe fighting the French were driven back and the Allies remained in possession of the fortress. But this was not the end of the taking and retaking of Soissons, the last siege occupying a month, when the town was again bombarded by the Allies and forced to surrender.

On the 17th of March Napoleon himself tabulated proposals for peace. These were not even considered, and the Allies continued their march towards Paris. On the 30th they encountered the French outside the city walls, and there the last battle of the campaign was fought. It was a hopeless struggle from the first, the Allies far outnumbering their opponents, and after fighting bravely the French decided to surrender the capital and seek an armistice. This was granted and permission given for the troops to evacuate Paris. Two days previously the Empress-Regent with the infant King of Rome had taken her departure from the Tuileries, and the ex-King Joseph,² after watching the battle from the heights of Montmartre, also sought refuge in flight.

The following day the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia entered Paris with the Allied armies, and instead of meeting with opposition, as might have been expected, they were received everywhere with signs of joy and welcome. Indeed a feeling of rejoicing seemed to prevail on all sides and among all classes that at last a political change was about to be effected. For several days after the entry of the Allies the same universal joy continued to be expressed. At the theatres, at all public places, a feeling of participation in the triumph which had obtained seemed alone to occupy the French people. Crowds were constantly surrounding the palace where the Emperor of Russia had fixed his quarters. . . . Towards England the most undis-

² On January 23, when Napoleon left Paris to meet the invading armies of the Allies, he appointed his wife Marie Louise to be Regent, and his brother Joseph, ex-King of Spain, to be her chief councillor and Commander-in-Chief of Paris.

guised sentiments of respect and friendship were constantly manifested, and with regard to the Royal Family of France the white banners as pledges of attachment to it were paraded through the streets and everywhere appeared to be received as the happy symbols of a regenerated country.³

The Emperor Alexander readily agreed to the request that the National Guard should remain to perform the services of the capital and assured the community that in General Sacken, whom he named as Governor, they would find a wise and benevolent protector. He declared to the municipality 'that he did not make war on France, but against one man whom he had once admired, but whose ambition and want of faith had obliged him to pursue even to the heart of France; that his intentions and those of his Allies would soon be known: he meant not to conquer or rule in France, but to learn in Paris (the focus of French feeling) what was the wish of the French nation and then to give it his support.'

Napoleon abdicated at Fontainebleau on the 11th of April, and two days later ratified the treaty which banished him to the island of Elba and settled the rank, title, and revenue to be enjoyed by himself and the members of his family. It fell to the Emperor Alexander to determine the future government of France, and, in deciding to recall the Bourbon family to the throne, it was said in some quarters he was influenced by the advice of Talleyrand. Pending the arrival of Louis the Eighteenth, who was living the ordinary life of a country gentleman in England, the Provisional Government was set up under the Comte d'Artois with the title of Lieutenant-Governor of the kingdom; and the members of the Senate, upon whom Napoleon had lavished rewards so freely, decreed his deposition. On the 3rd of May Louis the Eighteenth made his entry into Paris as King of France. Soon afterwards the new constitution was drawn up and settled, and on the 30th of May a treaty of peace was signed between France and the Allies.

Paris, Rue du Bac, No. 18,
Faubourg St. Germain.

14th April, 1814.

A Traveller who sets out for London in a few hours has offered to take charge of my letter, I hasten therefore dearest friend to write you a few lines, though now at last the blessing of peace is restored and our letters will no longer be six long months on their weary way.

We have suffered much terror and not a little loss, we took

³ Memoir of the Operations of the Allied Armies under Prince Schwarzenberg and Marshal Blücher during the latter end of 1813 and the year 1814, by the Earl of Westmoreland, 1822. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

refuge here at last and shall remain till our pretty retreat⁴ is once more the seat of peace and quiet, I long to hear from you more than I can express. M. de Pougens charges me to say a great deal for him. Alas! his health has suffered much, he is grown very thin and looks ten years older at least, my poor nerves have been much shattered, but I begin to revive again.

I embrace you all most tenderly and am ever most truly,
most affectionately yours,

F. J. DE BOUGENS.

Paris, April 21st.

I hasten to avail myself of our renewed intercourse to write to you, my dearest friend. I wrote you a long letter about a fortnight ago full of our dismal history, have you ever received it? We passed some terrible moments, but I own I am *de la gente moutonnière* as Montaigne calls us, and partook of the easy *insouciance* of the Parisians, who were walking on the Boulevards, and the common people dancing in the streets at night, as if they were not menaced by an Army of 200,000 men. Not so M. de Pougens who was full of care and anxiety, wishing to set off for Rouen or Orleans, but all our friends advised our remaining quietly here, setting us the example. On the Sunday I went to the Tuileries, and saw the National Guard pass, composed of Parisians, our good Cochens⁵ is one, though no taller than Tom Thumb. The review was on the Place du Carrousel, and all Paris was there, I believe. We were entirely ignorant of the force approaching our walls, with only 40,000 and those partly new troops to defend us.

The day of the Siege was terrible, every instant arrived somebody with news and false intelligence. The National Guard behaved with the utmost bravery, and *les élèves de l'Ecole polytechnique*, boys of eighteen, deserve each a separate statue. They were stationed on Montmartre and had the direction of the cannon with which they did great execution. Five times the Grenadiers of the Russian Guard mounted the hill and were as often repulsed, at last numbers prevailed, but when they arrived they found these poor boys above, half killed and many others nailing the cannon. The Governor of Vincennes when summoned to surrender sent his wooden leg as an answer, and continued to defend the place till he received the news of the abdication of the Emperor, at the same time giving notice that he would only open the gates to the King, having a prisoner of great importance whom he would only deliver to Louis the

⁴ The country residence of M. and Madame de Pougens at Vauxbuin, near Soissons.

⁵ C. Gopalkrishna M. de Pougens' book-keeper, and assisted him in his literary correspondence. After the war M. Gopalkrishna obtained for him a place in the Ministère de l'Intérieur at a salary of 2000 francs.

Eighteenth. If that is true I will not answer, it is in everybody's mouth, and all imaginations are at work to discover who it can be.

But to return to our miserable state during the Siege, with the dread of pillage before our eyes. It must be owned the city owes much to the magnanimity of the Emperor Alexander. He is universally admired, and his affability makes him as universally beloved. He went *en simple particulier*, and dined with the widow of his old governor Laharpe, and to-day he is expected at a general assembly of the Institute. I have tickets *comme de raison*, and am going with our Soissons friends, the Comte and Comtesse de Gestas, who are not sorry to regain their titles.⁶ You would smile could I tell you all the instances of vanity this circumstance furnishes, especially the desire to distinguish themselves from the new *noblesse*.⁷ I own my English feelings and ideas made me melancholy at the triumphant entry of foreign troops, not so the Parisians, the Boulevards were full of well-dressed women; all exclaiming '*comme ils sont gentils, ils sont plus beaux que nos officiers*' . . .

We inhabit a street near the end of the Pont Royal very near our old Quai Voltaire, through which were continually passing troops of Cosaques. I never see one without a sensation of terror, however, I brave it and walk out as usual though always well guarded as you may believe, but poor Mlle. Thiery who is exaggerated, and a little fanatic in everything, has never passed the threshold since their arrival. Very severe and exact discipline is maintained *here*, but alas without the Gates of the Town it is far different. Not a village which has not been pillaged in the most terrible manner, the horses eat the young corn and I fear a famine. Our poor friend, M. Dansé, who inhabits a large farm near Villers Cotterets, has passed nine days in the forest with his family, and the nights hid in a stone quarry. He has lost all he had not concealed, and it is difficult to conceal hay and corn. As he is very *philosophe*, he will not be pitied, but he is most charitable and good and sent us all his horses to convey us from Vauxbuin at the risk of losing them all, and I am very sorry for him, especially too as he was at the same time ill of the Gout, and had two old ladies above eighty who had taken refuge with him, and added much he says to his care. His letters make my heart bleed.

Our poor Soissons was besieged for the third⁸ time, defended

⁶ After the peace of Tilsit, Napoleon, being desirous of rewarding his servants, formally created a new *noblesse* and revived the *majorat*.

⁷ 'La noblesse ancienne reprend leurs titres, la nouvelle conserve les siens. La Légion d'honneur est maintenue avec ses prérogatives. Le Roi détermine les décorations.' (Extract from the New French Constitution.)

⁸ This siege lasted ~~CC-0~~ month. The Allies bombarded the town and forced it to surrender.

by a spirited young man who would not hear of yielding till a few days ago. Part of the besieging Army were lodged at Vauxbuin, and we were twenty-four days without any tidings of our home. At last we received a letter from a neighbour, a young woman who had the courage to remain with her infant child. A General Thielmen, a Prussian I believe, lodged in our house; little damage has been done, the books very much deranged, possibly to see if anything was hid behind them, but alas! we received the news on Tuesday that the village was again full of troops, and are, as you may believe, full of anxiety not having heard since from our poor Servants, who are I must say admirable, having had nothing to eat but bread and vegetables, nothing to drink but water. There remains nothing in the *basse cour* but a certain donkey—cows, hog, poultry, all devoured. I must leave you, dear friend, to make my toilette, but if the post brings no letters from Vauxbuin I shall be little *en train* to amuse myself with sights. . . .

Friday morning.—Happily before I set out for the Institute we received letters to inform us the troops at Vauxbuin were only infantry on their passage. None entered the houses of the village, but our Prussian Officers carried off a mandoline which M. de Pougens brought from Italy above thirty years ago and on which he composed such pretty airs, a bust of Jean-Jacques in the garden is broke and I fear some of our books are gone.

The *séance* yesterday was very brilliant, we had excellent places and a good view of the Emperor Alexander; he is indeed a fine-looking man, with a little tincture of the Czar perhaps, but when he speaks and smiles his aspect is very gracious; he was exact to the hour, accompanied by the King of Prussia, his three sons and a Prince of Prussia. The *séance* was not very long, a young man, a M. de Villemain, read his composition on Criticism, but of which I heard not a word. It was much applauded and the Emperor seemed to make him fine compliments on the subject. M. de Pougens hopes soon to be presented, to-day he is gone with his Confrères chez Monsieur⁹ . . . what a change and how much I could say. . . .

Paris, April 25th.

Alas! my dear friend, it is at this moment I feel the narrowness of our fortune; the being lodged in an absolute *grénier*, the having no carriage and many etceteras does not cost me a single regret, but the not being able to follow the dictates of my heart, I may say ours, to set out immediately for England is a motive

⁹ The Comte d'Artois, brother of Louis the Eighteenth, afterwards Charles the Tench. CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

of deep regret. The pillage we have suffered, still more the extraordinary expenses incurred, have devoured all our loose money, M. de Pougens has 5 or 6000 *livres* owing to him from Russia at least, that sum he devotes to our journey as soon as we can obtain it. . . . Indeed and indeed I have suffered much, I am too very uneasy about M. de Pougens, his cough I am used to or rather to which I must be resigned, but the uneasiness, the agitation, the terror of the last three months have affected his general health; he is so altered, so thin and then takes so little care of himself. Just now he is very busy arranging the books he has left, some of which he hopes to dispose of now that Paris will be once more the capital of Europe, as, I think, Voltaire used to say. M. le Noir has given him two or three Cells of the old Couvent des Augustins (the Musée) which he has transformed into a very pretty apartment, and where we should be much better lodged than here; there is a charming garden full of the old Monuments disposed with much taste and judgment, Abelard and Héloïse, etc. . . .

But, my dear friend, you sober-minded English seem to have changed sides with this light enthusiastic Nation, especially if I may believe a letter from Mrs. Lutwyche. Here the people are very *silent*, the whole Country desolated, hardly a single district has escaped. Normandy I believe is the only province which has less suffered than the others, though I was told the other day the Cosaques had entered it and what is still worse the French soldiers, unpaid and discontented, had begun to pillage as well as the foreign troops. In our department there is hardly one village in which there still remains even the doors and windows. You know my principles too well to suppose I could ever attempt to justify or excuse the tyranny, the inordinate ambition under which we have groaned, but at the same time I am not ungrateful, I cannot forget the obligations we have received and therefore deplore the great ruin I contemplate . . . how great, how happy he¹⁰ might have been! Now we have only to hope that Peace and good order will heal the wounds this poor Country has suffered, but so many parties, so few good heads, so little patriotism, so much fanaticism!

Madame de Staël says somewhere '*ce qui nous manque aujourd'hui c'est un l'évier pour soulever l'égoïsme*', and I am sure it is nowhere so much wanted as in this Country . . . the Senate composed of men loaded with the gifts of Bonaparte, flattering him with so little *pudeur* that I could never bear to read their addresses, are now basely employed in searching for terms of the most excessive abuse; a Senate established for the purpose of opposing the excesses of despotism, and who having never the

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¹⁰ Napoleon.

courage to exercise their rights were certainly the accomplices of tyranny. What can be expected from such men? Accordingly as a very sensible pamphlet says they have been much more occupied in settling the hereditary *noblesse* than in providing for the rights of the individual citizen, the Priests begin to perk up their ears, to use a vulgar phrase, they who flattered most of all, and said *que 'Dieu créa Bonaparte et se repose.'* I am sometimes quite in a passion, but lest my pen should run quite wild I will throw it away for the present. Did I tell you the Institute *en corps* have been presented to Monsieur? M. de Pougens says his discourse was admirable, *d'un ton noble, et chevaleresque.* Lorin¹¹ says he hardly ever took his eyes off M. de Pougens, the likeness is so striking. . . . A man here of great literary eminence was applied to to write against Bonaparte, whom he detests, and of whom he has reason to complain, he refused saying '*je laisse ce soin-là aux ingrats, ils le feront mieux que moi.*' . . .

We are impatient for the King's arrival as nothing can be settled till then, and these foreign troops are a sore grievance. We had a letter yesterday from our poor friend M. Dansé, he is returned home at last, and is no longer an inhabitant of woods and caves, but their *commune* has 4000 troops quartered on them, and nothing to give them. He says, they have *deux chefs pires que des bêtes féroces*, and have sent a petition to the Emperor Alexander. Here the discipline is good; they kill their men like flies. This morning we had lettres from Vauxbuin. A very near neighbour and a most amiable, agreeable woman, Mde Martenot, writes us word she had six to lodge the other night, and they were so *exigéant*, she was setting out for Soissons *pour faire des réclamations*. She had the courage to remain all the time and give refuge to others of the village less rich and less able to bear the oppression; her husband, an officer high in the former Imperial Guard, and a most excellent man as well as a hero of the first lustre, we are expecting every day here, and begin to be uneasy about him. He wrote from Fontainebleau a day or two before the departure of Bonaparte, and said he should be at Paris in a day or two and since then we have no tidings of him. He is so brave, so attached, I fear some quarrel and should be very sorry, it would kill his poor wife.

They talk of erasing the name of Bonaparte and his brother from the Institute, I think that mean and pitiful, *il n'y a qu'à les laisser.* Ah! how much more noble it would have been to have remained silent on that subject, in every shape possible. We hear from Vauxbuin that the library is sadly deranged, owing to the folly of a poor old President who had taken refuge with

us, and was always employed in hiding his old clothes or saying his prayers. They found a coat not worth a straw and other trifles behind the books, and then, of course, threw down all the rest ; but we hope they have carried none off. All our valuables were confided to the care of Mother Earth, and our papers of consequence we brought with us, we have yet no intention of returning, since there are still so many troops passing. . . .

My letter will be despatched to-morrow (27th). The Emperor Alexander has dined at the Malmaison with the *cy-devant* Empress Josephine. She exerted all her influence to save the poor Duc d'Enghien¹² and in return she is to have a million, her beautiful villa and slides into Comtesse Beauharnais. . . .

Paris, April 28th.

We are still afraid to return to Vauxbuin, though very sorry to pass all the sweet nightingale season in dirty Paris. Would the foreign troops had left us ! They quite swarm here and I am already so afraid of quarrels. Saturday a French Officer wearing the *Croix d'Honneur* was in a Café, a Russian Officer went up to him, took hold of the *Croix* and said with a very insolent air '*Monsieur, apparemment vous avez gagné cette croix à Moscou,*' the other answered '*Monsieur, vous m'insultez ; j'ai le droit de vous faire fusiller, mais je me vengerai d'une autre manière,*' and he gave him a sound box on the ear saying '*Suivez moi.*' They went out, fought and the Russian was killed. They have hushed up the matter, and it makes one uneasy. It is true no regular troops are at Paris, the National Guard, good peaceable citizens, perform the duty admirably. We begin to be impatient for the King's arrival, that affairs may be a little settled. I think Henri IV would have arrived *en poste, ou plutôt au galop* ; they are working night and day to re-erect his statue *sur le Pont Neuf*.

I am just now reading for the third or fourth time Mr. Fox's admirable but alas unfinished history in English, how I wish he had continued it to the restoration of our liberties, the best of all restorations ; the introductory chapter I would fain learn by heart, but except yourselves are there any real Whigs left in England? . . .

Poor Marie Louise is set off for Vienna, she wept bitterly, spoke of her *Malheureux époux, l'homme le plus extraordinaire de son Siècle*, complained her father¹³ had been deceived, and indeed a German Count in his suite (a near relation of our good

¹² The Duc d'Enghien was a Bourbon Prince. He resided at the Castle of Ettenheim in the neutral territory of Baden. Napoleon, as is well known, caused him to be seized secretly in the night, and had him conveyed to the Castle of Vincennes, where he was shot.

¹³ The Emperor Francis of Austria.

Nun, Madame Edmon) said that the Emperor had always wished his daughter should be Regent, and I must think we are happy to have escaped such a weak imperfect government. All we aspire to is peace and tranquillity. They did all they could to establish the little boy¹⁴ a pretender, a second edition of the warming-pan, but the testimony of three physicians and the *accoucheur* was not to be done away, and now he is to be made into an Archbishop, or still better Duc de Parme, as Marie Louise is to have that Duchy, they say.

No news of our Vauxbuin M.^r Martenot; his poor wife is very uneasy, and has alarmed us by adding '*Vu les bruits qui courrent.*' Here we are entirely ignorant, as when I wrote to you before the Siege. What an escape we have had! I hope the Emperor of Russia will not depart before his Army, or God knows what will become of us; they talk much of Moscow and certainly I am the last person to justify it, but then the Poles talk of Poland. Alas there is no end to such sad recriminations. Spain I must ever think the most criminal of all and without the shadow of an excuse. . . . I leave you to take a long walk to visit an excellent friend of ours Mdme Dupont de Nemours, her husband (the friend of Turgot, Franklin and your American Mr Wilkes) was *secrétaire du gouvernement provisoire*; he was removed, the reason why—'*c'est un philosophe.*' We are promised toleration tho' our poor hiding President assured me they would never allow more than one religion.

Monday, 2nd May.—Our Gardener informs us *les troupes à lier* (so he writes it) are still in our neighbourhood, we had four to lodge '*qui n'étaient pas trop méchants.*' Mdme Martenot complains her poor maids have been cruelly menaced and she obliged to send an express to the General who was quartered three or four leagues off. She has at last heard of her husband who is on his return with his regiment; the adieux of their former General were affecting. The King is expected to-morrow, I hope to see the *cortège* without giving 100 fr. for a window. Monsieur conducts himself admirably, it was a question of naming somebody to a place, it was represented he had been a great partisan of Napoleon, Monsieur answered '*N'importe; nous verrons si dans 6 mois il se conduit bien pour le service du Roi.*' A lady was abusing Napoleon, he said '*Ah! Madame, si vous continuez je me trouverai obligé de mettre son buste dans mon Salon.*' How happy, how grateful I am to think that as M. de Pougens never flattered him so he does not insult him and bears it ill in others.

An acquaintance (a very good poet) told M. de Pougens the other day that he intended publishing a new edition of his poems.

M. de Pougens said '*Que ferez-vous de votre ode pour le Roi de Rome?*' 'Oh je ne mettrai pas ce que j'ai fait pour cet homme-là.' 'Cependant,' lui répondit mon Mari, 'cet homme-là vous a fait Bibliothécaire d'une excellente Bibliothèque, et de plus avec 6000 fr. de pension.' Yes, I hate ingratitude and at present there is enough of that detestable vice to excite all my indignation. But let me tell you a *galanterie* of M. Lorin's. This is my birthday and I can hardly believe I am 57 years old, for thank heaven I feel my heart still very young. When I left my room for our breakfast *en famille*, I found in my place the following lines :

Salut, O deux de Mai ! pour la France attendrie
Tu vois luire enfin l'aurore de la paix,
Mais cette époque si cherie,
Le ciel l'a constamment marqué par des bienfaits.
Puisqu'en ce jour il fit naître Julie.

But how these pretty lines have wasted my paper.

Napoleon's private librarian visited us yesterday, he told us the libraries formed by him at Compiègne, Fontainebleau and here consisted each of above 25,000 volumes; Napoleon has taken with him from Fontainebleau 2000 volumes; if the Librarian is not continued it will be a loss to me as he lent me books, especially new publications, but I hope he will. It was from la Bibliothèque du Roi that I borrowed Mr. Fox, I was surprised to find it there during the last reign, as the despotism exercised over the Press was excessive as well as over the admission of foreign publications. . . .

Tuesday.—And here I am very angry that I do not feel well enough to go with the Gestas to see the Cortège, but M. de Pougens, who dreads a crowd, is I believe very glad, though he dares not say so, I shall then remain quietly here. . . . The weather is divine, and all Paris in motion. I give myself up to the delightful hope that peace is restored to us, and to all Europe for a length of time; the English Nation is the subject of general admiration.

Yesterday we had letters from the niece of Professor Wyttensbach of Leyden (a great Grecian you know); she is extremely amiable, as well as *savante*, entirely without pretensions, but having the same passion for all that is Greek, as Mrs. Odell for all that is Italian. Her little dogs are called Castor, Pollux, Hélène . . . *ainsi du reste*; she says '*Je vous ai toujours embrassé bien tendrement parceque vous étiez bonne, etc., à toutes ces qualités-là vous en ajoutez une nouvelle, c'est celle d'appartenir à un peuple qui vient de briser les fers de l'Europe, en cette qualité-là je m'incline profondément devant vous.*' A great many English are already arrived, they say.

We have better news from Soissons with respect to provisions,

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so we should at least have a Spartan dinner to offer you ; we are employed now in repairing our losses in kitchen furniture, china, even the watering-pots in the garden have been carried off ; the papers in the rooms dirtied and torn, mattresses and bedding all so dirty they must be washed and re-washed, but we have most excellent servants who are anxious for our return. They will have all ready in a short time ; I fancy about the 15th we shall leave Paris. Coffee is already fallen in price as well as sugar, the former much cheaper than with you, I imagine, only 40 sous—ls. 10d. English ; they were screaming the other day in the streets '*Mort de la chicorée et résurrection du Caffé.*' . . . You cannot imagine what a pretty little apartment M. de Pougens has arranged *aux Augustins*, all his books in such order, he is very busy arranging books for the Empress Dowager of Russia. . . .

Wednesday, 4th.—Yesterday I passed the rest of my morning in the garden of les Augustins with my book, *entourée de lilacs*, and in as profound solitude as at Vauxbuin ; at night Mde. Louise and I, attended by a certain *petit Jean*, near 6 foot high, walked on the *quai* near us to see the illuminations, the Pont Neuf was brilliant but the rest not to be compared to what I have seen. Saturday I hope to have the pleasure of being introduced to Mde. de Genlis, M. de Pougens to serve a young person (too long a story to tell) has been *en rapport* with her, she writes word she would wait on me, but is too busy with her *Henri IV*, which she is impatient to produce, but receives always Saturday evening. She says '*Je reconnaiss bien une Anglaise à cette douce bienveillance et j'y reconnaiss aussi la campagne que vous avez choisie, il est impossible de ne pas se la représenter aussi bonne qu'aimable.*' As she does not know me I hope I may not be accused of much vanity in transcribing these pretty imaginations.

I hear the cortège was much applauded, the King and Madame, Prince de Condé and Duc de Bourbon were *en calèche* and very gracious, but Madame (Duchesse d'Angoulême¹⁵) very grave. Can one wonder ? What must have been her feelings on entering again le Château des Tuileries ? The newspaper which I have just read says she fainted away, so great was her emotion.

Thursday.—I am just returned from my pretty Bath perfumed with lilacs and wallflowers. My *Caffé au lait* formerly 10 pence English is fallen to 8, owing to *la résurrection du café*. Yesterday I was disappointed, after having passed through an Army of Russians and Prussians, and a whirlwind of dust, I found the

¹⁵ Marie Thérèse Charlotte, Duchesse d'Angoulême, was the daughter of Louis the Sixteenth and Marie Antoinette, and a niece of Louis the Eighteenth. She shared the captivity of her ill-fated parents, and although but a child displayed the greatest heroism. She was released in 1795, and four years later married her cousin, the Duc d'Angoulême. She was born at Versailles, December 1770. Public Domain 1851. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

door of the Museum shut, enquiring the reason I was answered by *le Suisse* 'Le Roi veut voir ce qui lui appartient.' I do hope *les troupes à lier* (as Duflot¹⁶ calls them) are on the eve of their departure, they still wear the laurel of victory in their caps, and on the day of the cortége some of the Guard now called *Royale*, snatched said laurels from their caps calling them *des lâches*, and though my story is not exactly true, yet there are continual quarrels: a Russian officer himself said it was high time they should be gone. I ought to have told you our Russian physician told us, the Empress Dowager often spoke of M. de Pougens' letters in terms of high approbation, he wrote one yesterday 8 folio pages of small writing, poor Lorin had not time to breathe, but the courier was setting out. I admire the King's Declaration, it offends the Royalists, they say, and they say too that party were not satisfied with the acclamations. It is very sure there is not the least sign of enthusiasm, and perhaps so much the better, as that always leads to fanaticism and all the world sighs for peace and quiet.

Sunday, 8th.—I preserved this little corner for our visit to Mde. de Genlis, unluckily for us she was dressing for Court where there was *cercle* at 8, therefore we could not stay long. She appeared very amiable, extremely *caressante*, saying many fine things of English women, etc. Her conversation with M. de Pougens was chiefly on her *Henri IV*, which however will not appear till autumn. I am still more impatient to see Mdme de Staël who is expected soon, I hope ere we depart, which will I think be near the 20th. They say a large party of Russians will remain, the reason why you may guess. There was a review of Russian troops before all the great personages and on a signal given by the Emperor Alexander they all tore from their caps the laurel wreaths. . . .

Paris, May 9th.

Next Spring I trust, if life is allowed me, to visit my native country, and the few friends who are so good to interest themselves about me, and then, if we can prevail with you to return with us we shall be too happy. M. de Pougens is impatient to be acquainted with you and dear Mr. Dundas, whom he is so well prepared to love, as well as to value. How I shall delight in being your Cicerone. I visit the Museum so often, I am acquainted with all that is most valuable, your own feelings and good taste would do the rest, but these *chefs-d'œuvre*, will they all remain? I sometimes doubt. We have not heard of Mde. de Staël's arrival. I am told nothing can surpass or even equal the charm of her conversation . . . but to return to my journal since you so kindly love it.

¹⁶ The gardener at Vauxbuin.

Yesterday morning M. de Pougens and I visited *la belle* Mdme de Casaman at her pretty villa, for such it is though within the gates of Paris; such a charming English garden, so full of lilacs, but alas so full of dirty Russians, there are 50 lodged in her Hôtel, but what is worse her Château de Chimay in Flanders, I believe near Cambray, is treated by them *en pays conquis* and pillaged without mercy, so her old *valet de chambre* told us, for we did not find her. A letter from M. Dansé most melancholy, just received, says '*pendant qu'on danse à Paris, les campagnes sont abimées.*' All being exhausted they now require money; they have carried off all they could find *chez lui* and have left a house full of vermin. I never in my life beheld such dirty, savage-looking creatures. We had Officers once in my room at Vauxbuin, I thought all 'the perfumes in Arabia' would never sweeten it again.¹⁷

Yesterday there was a real battle *à coup de sabres* in a village at the gates of Paris about a dance, the Russians would *walser* and the French would not, the former declared they were *masters here*, the latter drew their sabres and several were killed on both sides. As for me, since a letter from Bordeaux which extolls the discipline and good conduct of the English in the highest manner, I feel proud of the name of Englishwoman, but for these Goths and Vandals would they were departed. The Imperial Guard is composed of very fine-looking men. I have just heard of so much bloodshed in the Bois de Boulogne and les Champs Elysées, that patroles are established half National guards, half Russians or Prussians. The Russians begin to be troublesome in the houses where they are lodged, demand food as well as lodging, *enfin* would they were departed. But, my dear friend, how warlike you are grown, are your heads too turned by *l'ivresse de la victoire?* And do you think to conquer America?¹⁸ But we know so little here that I suspend my judgment.

Wednesday.—M. de Pougens is just set out for the Institute where they are all collected in order to be presented to His Majesty. I am afraid they will not permit Lorin to enter without an *habit de cour*, as the whole attention lately has been given to the *cérémonial*. We have suffered much from gigantic greatness, Heaven preserve us from the other extreme, but alas! we are *triste*, very *triste*, certainly my very dear friends, I long to go to England. . . .

The Allied troops have orders to halt, they are forbid to levy contributions in money, but they are to be fed; a Lady told us yesterday it cost her sister in the country 100 *livres* a day, besides that, so much danger from other quarters, however it

¹⁷ A striking contrast to the Russian officers of to-day.

is cruel to alarm you, and perhaps with imaginary fears. Mdme Louise returns to Vauxbuin Monday next, we hope to follow soon. . . . Meantime I amuse myself looking over the new publications destined for the Empress of Russia. *Littérature du midi de l'Europe* by Sismondi, Ginguené on the same subject, and a continuation of the new Biographical Dictionary in which our old acquaintance of noisy memory, Lally, figures, especially in English articles. I do not much like his Anne Boleyn, but I like his declaring himself the other day in the Journal on the side of a free constitution and a limited Monarchy.

Thursday.—A few words before I set out for la Bibliothèque du Roi, where I am going to examine and borrow new English books. M. de Pougens, his cane, and Lorin *sans habit de cour*, all had free entrance yesterday; the King's answer to the address was short and good. . . . We received a letter yesterday from M. Dansé which has delighted our good John. A party of Cosaques carried him off one night from Vauxbuin to serve as a guide, they stopt at a house on the way, dressed a good supper of which they gave him part, and when they released him made him a present of a horse. John, thinking I suppose the receiver as bad as the thief, refused; they menaced him with their knouts and John brought off his ragged horse, which ran a good chance of being starved had we not carried him with us to our good friend Dansé, who writes word he has sold said cosaque for 100 frs., a treasure for poor John, and replaces in some degree his watch, his money and shirts which had been stolen. Said John, I ought to say, is a youngster of 19 whom we have brought up. M. de Pougens, who never moves from his niche, took a journey to Laon last winter in the most severe weather to save him from the horrors of conscription which through the kindness of M. Malonet fils (our Préfet) he effected. John on his side gave us great proof of attachment at the Siege of Soissons.

I have had a pretty letter from Mrs. Bayntun, she too talks of visiting France, but alas! our political horizon does not appear very clear, how is it possible so many clashing contending interests should be arranged calmly, or in the twinkling of an eye? To-day there is a great and an affecting ceremony at Notre Dame, a Service for Louis XVI. I pity from my heart the poor Duchesse d'Angoulême. . . . If I was to tell you all *les on dit*, I should never have done, we are not quite easy, and many so *humilié* which does not suit the spirit of the Nation, especially the military part, however we hope the tired and exhausted world will subside into repose for at least a short time.

Friday, 20th.—I am sadly in arrears with my gossip, dearest friend, which as you are so indulgent to love it is very ungrate-

ful in me to neglect, but indeed that is not the word, but my time has been much *éparpillé* lately, even the morning. Yesterday *par exemple* I intended finishing this long begun Journal and at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 arrived a certain Mde d'Hautpoul who writes very pretty verses but is still more vain of her little feet, so we call her *la Muse aux petits pieds*, she staid till nearly one, a terrible long visit, but as Mde de Stael says very justly, they talk here forever, with or without ideas, *n'importe*, as I did not hear half, I was tired to death. She is one of *les dames institutrices* at Ecouen, an establishment for the daughters of officers, at the head of which is Mde Campan; as they have just now no money, they have nothing to eat but *soupes maigres* and potatoes, and you would willingly have believed it had you seen her breakfast here; she was followed by divers other visitors, which detained our visit to Mde de Stael, for which as you may imagine I was all impatience, and now I must say I was disappointed, I did not find her manners so pleasing as I had expected. M. de Pougens thinks her grown very *grande dame*; I was the only woman there, and as there were several men she was much more *occupée de briller*, than to pay me the attention I think politeness required, but this quite *entre nous*, for after all there was nothing to complain of, but nothing *prévenant*, especially to M. de Pougens who says she used to be quite the reverse. I talked of Richmond, but she did not attend, and my deafness too rendered our conversation difficult, especially with so many other people. . . . I spoke of you the other day to our old acquaintance Franklin. He talks of leaving this country entirely, the society and manner of living is so altered, he says, he means to pass a year in England on his way to America, but he tells me living is so dear with you it is hardly possible to exist on a moderate income, beef 15d. a pound, here they grumble and it is 7d. English.

But I must not forget to tell you M. de Pougens received the other day a most welcome letter from Petersburg written by order of the Empress Dowager to desire he would resume his literary correspondence, which always gave her *plaisir et intérêt*, and to acquaint him his pension had always been continued and deposited in some Fund which produced interest, and which he might draw for when he pleased, but the change just now is dreadfully low, worse than with England, the rouble instead of 4 is worth only 1 fr. It is charming to hear the well-informed Russians speak of the Empress Dowager, she seems indeed to be a very superior character, the Physician to the Grand Duke who was here yesterday was eloquent in her praise.

Paris, May 23rd.

Saturday I despatched a long lingering *bavardage* to you, dearest friends, and now as our last moments here are full of nothings, I must seize every leisure minute to begin at least another; happily for me our weather just now is very cold and wet, therefore my *visites de congé* will be performed by proxy, I shall regret the not bidding adieu in person to the Apollo, the Venus, etc., but as M. de Pougens has finished all his literary business for the Empress of Russia, and is to be presented to her great, and what is more, her excellent son this morning I fancy we shall set out for Vauxbuin in a day or two.

Saturday we passed our morning rattling about Paris *en fiacre*, M. de Pougens was anxious to visit the *cy-devant* Ministre des Finances, to whom he had obligations, and who appeared so touched by the attention, that I fear it is a singular instance. The said Ministre has a charming house and garden not far from Soissons, it has been so entirely stript of all the furniture there remains neither chair or bed. At our return a stranger presented himself whose voice M. de Pougens immediately recollectec though he had not heard it for sixteen years, the Duc de Mahon (brother of the Duc de Crillon), a fine Spanish-looking man, but having been on the wrong side the post, I know not how he will fare. He was here very young, sixteen years ago, and pleasantly reminded M. de Pougens how he used to scold him for his *étourduries*, etc.

Yesterday we dined with our good friends les Le Noir, at le Musée des Monuments Français, they have the best apartments the Convent afforded, looking on the Garden. I was delighted to repose my eyes on the soft green of weeping willows, instead of the ragged houses opposite me here, not to say a word of the tranquillity, while ours is the most noisy street in Paris, our cells in said Couvent are so well arranged, we shall be able to reside there very comfortably for eight or ten days when obliged to visit Paris. The greatest curiosity however the Musée affords at present is a living one, Mdme Le Noir's father, eighty-eight years old, looking seventy at most, upright as a dart, walking all over Paris, eating such a dinner! gay as possible, giving me two cards of his writing, one so small I cannot distinguish the letters without a glass, though my eyes are still good, the other a Hymn to gayety (with the music), the most perfect writing possible and without spectacles. He rises at eight, takes a cup of coffee and a small piece of bread and never tastes anything before or after his dinner, goes to bed at eleven and falls asleep the instant he lays his head on the pillow. Such an instance of a happy old age is very rare.

We returned here and found a large party of Gestas' and the
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Duc de Mahon, who staid late. Paris is so full of strangers there is hardly a room vacant at the Hôtels. I know not when our imperial and royal visitors depart. As the finances are in bad order they weigh rather heavily, the daily expence is (they say) 80,000 fr. I do not think Mdme de Staél very *pelite* (as the vulgars say); M. de Pougens presented her with a fine edition, ye only one on *papier vélin*, of her father's work, *sur la religion*, we could not take it with us not having received it from Vauxbuin, but sent it the next day, to which she has not made the smallest answer. . . . Yesterday we visited our old Princesse de Rohan, we found her very *triste* and I do not wonder if what they say is true, her eldest daughter was married to the poor Due d'Enghien, though the marriage was good in the eyes of the Church, yet as it was performed during the Revolution and the consent of the King was not asked, they say she will not be acknowledged. It appears unjust, because the Rohans have intermarried with the Bourbons; the Mother of the Prince de Condé was a Rohan. Some say there arē children, others not.

I fancy Mdme de Staél did not approve our silence with respect to a certain person¹⁹; nobody can detest the iron hand of despotism more sincerely than M. de Pougens, or lament more than he does the faults, the crimes of 'over vaulting ambition,' but surely it is more noble to be silent at this moment than to vent a torrent of vulgar abuse such as even Mdme de Staél made use of, calling him a *lâche*, a *poltron*, fit only to be a shoemaker in the Isle of Elba. *Mais parlons d'autre chose* . . . we sent our country John to the opera last night, 'Le triomphe de Trajan'; the triumphal car was drawn by four white horses and John observed 'que Mdme n'aurait jamais dansé sous le pied des chevaux comme faisait Madame Gardel'; it is true I am the greatest coward possible, walking the streets without foot pavements, and a thousand rattling *cabriolets* and galloping Cosaques.

Mdme Louise writes from our pretty Valley 'le jardin exhale un odeur embaumé, et les Rossignols ainsi que les autres oiseaux chantent plus que jamais, Ah! ma Julie, comme vous jouisiez si vous étiez ici,' indeed I shall be delighted to find myself there. Oh, could I but hope to receive you there, and gossip with you in the 'bosquet de Richmond' one of my favourite seats. . . . I think, too, I could do the honours of this great city very tolerably and M. de Pougens of course still better, he is indeed an universal genius. Would you believe it, it is he who manages the family at Vauxbuin, Mdme Louise brought up till twenty in a Convent, is ignorance itself of domestic affairs, my English ideas of housekeeping are very different, besides other reasons, so it is dear M. de Pougens who

provides everything and I laugh sometimes when I enter his cabinet to see à côté des étymologies and in the middle of Greek, Arabian, etc., a list of *pots au feu*, *gigots* and the marketing, which John performs most admirably, but more of our domestic concerns when we are quietly in the country. Here I ought and might have something more interesting to say, but though Nicholas²⁰ (as they call him) is no longer here, I know not if I may give my pen full liberty.

Wednesday.—M. de Pougens returned well satisfied with his presentation, though almost petrified with cold waiting in an immense Salon without fire, the Emperor told him *qu'il savait qu'il était le correspondant de sa Mère, qu'Elle lui en avait dit beaucoup de bien, qu'il était charmé de faire sa connaissance . . .* and was *enfin* very gracious. Yesterday morning Mr. Franklin visited me, he is better, but undecided about his future plans; he wishes to sell his houses and that is difficult, one man offers him 55,000 frs. in *pictures*, another in *cloth*. He told me Mdme Bertrand (wife of the General who accompanied Bonaparte) is very busy preparing her toilette, etc., *pour aller briller à l'Isle d'Elbe*. When one reflects said Nicholas is a Turk and a half (as they say) with respect to predestination it explains many things.

Paris is quieter, the patroles are excellent and the quarrels are no longer alarming. The Emperor Alexander is near his departure; I fancy you will possess him soon²¹ and will admire his noble character. He will not suffer in his presence the least abuse of a certain person and has always treated him with the utmost delicacy. The other Emperor²² is quite in the background though they say he makes excellent *petits pâtés*; his journey *here* is universally condemned, I think you will console yourselves if he does not visit England. Our friend Gestas is delighted with the return of the Duchesse de Bourbon, with whom he was formerly a favorite, (*en tout bien et tout honneur soit dit*) she received him most graciously, and told him it was only ye 26th April she heard of all the important events which had taken place here and that by the arrival of a detachment of French troops wearing the white cockade who had been sent to Barcelona by the Maréchal Suchet to escort her to Paris. The Duke of Orleans is at the Palais Royal, I wonder how Mdme

²⁰ Presumably the reference is to Napoleon.

²¹ After the treaty of peace between France and the Allies had been signed at Paris, the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia, accompanied by many distinguished Generals, paid a visit to England. Several brilliant entertainments were given in honour of the royal guests, who attended the Thanksgiving Service held at St. Paul's Cathedral to celebrate the termination of the war.

²² The Emperor Francis of Austria.

de Genlis has been received by her former pupil. . . . Our dinner yesterday at Mdme de Q's was rather dull, I had no gay old Beau of eighty-eight to flirt with, she told us their Château was still full of Prussians, who in spite of the *sauvegarde* she had obtained of General Sacken, *bivouacquent dans son Jardin, et y fesaient un dégat terrible*. Mdme Louise writes word they had already begun to *bivouacquer* in ours, and had led in their horses, and were going to cut down trees, when happily our good General Thielmen arrived, expelled them all, placed sentinels at all the gates, and nobody dared even to gather a violet. We have no troops at present, still M. de Pougens has obtained a *sauvegarde* from General Sacken. They say the troops, their Sovereigns, etc., cost the Country 1,200,000 frs. a day, and we are poor as rats. There are immense reductions in the publick offices, the Minister of the Post told us himself in his office alone above 300 were suppressed, judge of the rest. . . . M. de Pougens is busy at the Institute taking notes of all that has past in their literary labours during the last two years for the Empress of Russia, which can interest her.

Saturday Morning.—Our journey is fixed for Monday or Tuesday next. Mdme de Gestas having a *cabriolet* which holds four, M. de Pougens, Mdle Thiery and I shall join in post horses and travel with her, I believe, which will be better than passing the night in the diligence. . . .

Emperor (*d'Autriche*) was to set out Tuesday next on his return; though he does not take exactly our road, I have some fears about post horses, which are rather scarce at all times.

Yesterday we found our streets crowded and lined with National Guards for the *entrée du Duc d'Angoulême*, I did not suspect the cortège passed through our street; it was very brilliant, the Duke reminded me of Bolingbroke in our Shakespeare; he was quite as gracious. The Comte d'Artois has been very ill, but is out of danger, they say he is quite for the old régime, the King not, *nous verrons*. . . . M. Gestas dines with the Duchesse de Bourbon to-day, and has carried off the curious writing of my old Beau to show her.

Adieu dear friend; l'Impératrice Josephine *vient de mourir*—She was a great favourite of the Emperor Alexander, he always gave her the title of Majesty. A breakfast given him in the Garden of the Malmaison occasioned her illness, they say.

Vauxbuin, près Soissons (Aisne)

29th June.

We are once more settled in our pretty quiet retreat, my only regret at having left Paris is that when I wish to be most amusing I shall be least so. . . . To say the truth we are as ignorant of what passes in the political world as during the time of Nicholas, therefore I shall be reduced to the politicks and gossip of our village, said poor village was very roughly treated during the last siege of Soissons, they tell us that what we suffered, *c'était des roses en comparaison*; 8000 men were encamped on the Hill opposite our House, and as the small garrison, which so bravely defended Soissons, made frequent sorties, the battle was often near our garden where the bullets fell continually. The Village was given up to plunder during two days and they made the most of their time. All our Books were dispersed about the house, however, few were lost except a Volume of Buffon's Birds an excellent edition, which is a great loss as the rest are now of no value, and a few volumes of Voltaire.

An Officer arrived here to prepare the house for General Thielmen, he said to Louison as he entered '*j'espère qu'on ne pille plus*'; said Louison (who is all vivacity) replied '*Venez, Monsieur, venez voir comme on pille*', and she dragged him into the Salon where a soldier was tearing down the curtains. The officer gave him many good blows with his sabre and he made the best of his way off and without his plunder. Soon after the arrival of the General, poor Louison perceived they were leading their horses into the garden, and establishing a *bivouac*, she demanded an audience of the General, they answered '*M. le*

Général n'aime pas qu'on lui parle.' 'Mais moi, Madame, je leur répondis M. le Général ne me mangera pas, et je veux lui parler'; accordingly he granted her request, sent them all away and placed Centinels at all the gates to prevent their return. Luckily he is fond of gardens and his only amusement was to walk in ours. Had they established themselves they would have discovered no doubt the hiding-places in the garden, where we had concealed our valuables etc. : indeed we owe much to our excellent servants, who never left the house an instant, though the women, especially the *fille de la basse cour*, were often in great danger.

Our heroic neighbour Mdme Martenot received the Curé, his relation Mdile Bailly, and indeed all the *bourgeois du Village chez elle*; she had the great satisfaction to save the life of our poor blacksmith (deputy Mayor) who had the folly to resist. They pursued him into Mdme Martenot's garden, she came out, always carrying her little child in her arms, implored mercy and gave the poor man time to escape by a back door into the woods. The whole Village indeed (the peasants) took refuge in a stone quarry at a small distance, but where the Cosaques never ventured, I know not whether from superstition, or fear of being surprised, for they could not be ignorant of it. M. Dansé saved almost all his sheep (merinos) and horses at Coyolles, in the same manner, but as the weather was very severe the poor women suffered much, two who lay in died in childbirth, and M. de Pougens is now endeavouring to save a pretty, interesting and industrious woman, the mother of two children, whom when we arrived here we found very ill from want of food and cold and terror. He visits her every day with all manner of good broth, etc., and carried a very good physician, M. Boileau, and a great friend of ours, to visit her the other day, but I fear he has no great hope. We discovered they laid on straw, the Cosaques having carried off their mattresses, which however we replaced and so they are more comfortable, poor souls. . .

We travelled here with Mdme de Gestas, joining in the post horses, and were just ten hours on the road without stopping, except to change horses. She was impatient to go and examine her linnen, concealed in the cellar. She has lost 60 shifts, what folly to have such a quantity! She complains and feels quite undone at having only 25 left. The loss of her horses we share with her, as we had always her *cabriolet* to go to Soissons, the walk in hot weather is rather too much, the other day the heat was so great I could hardly bear it, even in the wood, and now I am shivering with cold, and am writing too by the fireside.

Wednesday.—We have been requested by Haridwar well as the other inhabitants to give in a list of our losses, they say the

impositions will be diminished in proportion . . . as for me I have nothing to complain of, they favoured me very much, having left several trifling articles in my room I had not time to carry off. Our poor President does not quite comprehend my being so well treated, *moi hérétique*; he is always saying ‘*Mais, Madame, vous n'avez rien perdu vous, je ne comprends pas cela,*’ however I am included in the general loss which we have calculated near 6000 frs. but in that our expensive journey and the new paper are not included, *comme de raison*.

Our two good Nuns still remain in their Convent at Paris, till they know what the Pope²³ decides about them; it will be a great grief to M. de Pougens, if they resume their chains, which is too probable. Mdme Edmon is one of his oldest friends, they were children together, I will relate her history one of these days, she is a very good soul and very charitable to the poor of the Village. All her spare money will go now to dress up Virgins, she has already stopt the bread she allowed every week to a poor widow, indeed I fear we shall be terribly priest-ridden. I must always think the clergy were well governed in the last reign, except the pensions to the Curés, which were certainly too small. Mdlle Thiery met our little Curé on a visit (quite a liliputian in every sense), he was in great spirits and seemed rejoiced to regain a little power, he said ‘*Autrefois je ne pouvais pas sonner sans la permission du Maire.*’ Mdlle Thiery replied ‘*Ah Monsieur, maintenant vous allez vous venger, vous allez bien sonner.*’ He reddened (she says) and answered ‘*Mdlle, vous autres Philosophes, . . . but prudently stopt . . . cependant ce pauvre Philosophe,*’ for it was M. de Pougens he aimed at, is the only one in the village who takes care of the poor, and they are very sensible of it, for he is quite adored. It is just now the fashion to be very *dévot*, they, the principal inhabitants, attend Mass and *Salut*, very regularly, but you never meet them in the cottages. The other evening Lorin was returning from his walk he met an old *payson* just by the Church who seeing Lorin was passing by said ‘*Monsieur, vous n'en mangez pas vous’!*

The *Fête Dieu* was celebrated with great pomp at Paris, that is the processions which were not allowed before, only the service in the Church. M. de Pougens is much amused that his Institute distinguished themselves by a fine *reposoir*, a place adorned with flowers, tapers and a kind of altar, where the peasants tell you *le bon Dieu se repose*, but in the country the processions were always allowed, and one of the *reposoirs* was always at our garden gate, where Duflot, our Gardener, displayed all his taste, and he

²³ Pius the Seventh, restored to the papal throne by the Treaty of Paris, 1814.

really has a great deal ; this year it was uncommonly pretty. As soon as we heard the little bell we all went forth, heretics, philosophers and all, and knelt on chairs ; there is something touching in the simple devotion of the gray-headed peasants, the women so neatly dressed and children strewing flowers, but the little Curé marching with great importance under a kind of old bedstead of 'tawdry yellow lined with dirty red' spoils all . . .

Vauxbuin, July 17th.

Would you believe it, we are starving here in the midst of plenty, that is the farmers, who complain bitterly they are ruined from the low price of corn, bread is only $2\frac{1}{2}$ sous a lb., little more than 1d. English. Rents here are paid in corn. M. Dansé too fears they will have no hands to get the harvest in, for the *moissonneurs* are always paid in corn, and will of course prefer more profitable labour. In spite of the immense armies, there is an amazing quantity of corn in the country, and the harvest, they say, promises enough for four years to come. During the former Government a great quantity was exchanged for your Coffee, sugar, etc., the license trade *enfin* ; I am no Adam Smith, therefore cannot reason upon all this, but am glad for the poor who profit by the cheapness . . .

Our poor sick *paisanne* Thérèse *va tout doucement* (as they say here), our two good Physicians, M. Boileau and M. Missa, have little hope. M. Boileau though a most charitable, benevolent creature will certainly be burnt in the next world ; having lost an only Son, he no longer practises but when the Hôtel Dieu was full of sick and wounded he went and established himself there and never left it, still *he will be burnt*. A new Physician is arrived who is a *grand dévot*, prescribes the sacraments, *tout de suite*, and is *le Médecin des dévots* as you may easily imagine, though some prefer a little their body to their soul, and as M. Missa has a great and I believe indeed a well deserved reputation they remain faithful to him.

We had a letter yesterday from our good Nun (Mdme Edmon), they are still uncertain what the Pope will decree respecting them, I believe said Pope set out rather too much *au galop* at first, and has had perhaps a little hint that this is no longer *le siècle des Grégoires et des Bonifaces*, I judge so because I know the priests are a little disappointed and complain *tout bas*. . . .

Tuesday.—No, my dear, the remembrance of all we suffered in the winter is by no means painful, we often talk it over, and are very thankful we suffered no more. At the time terror and apprehension oppressed us sadly, but now we are grateful that it was no worse. The only real grievance is the loss of our money which

arrived at a bad moment when our revenue was so curtailed, the only compensation in that respect is the change with England, the last money I received since the Peace was so low as 18, but it is now risen to 21, we hope it will get up to 24 before the Autumn. . . . Certainly I think we should never have had peace with *you* but for this revolution, and in that I must rejoice, but I fear lest peace (at least interior) should not last, meantime the King of Spain has re-established the Inquisition and the King of Sardinia is going to re-establish the precipices, to demolish all the fine roads of Nicholas. . . .

I believe I have never told you the Emperor Alexander was so delighted with the heroism of the *Elèves de l'Ecole Polytechnique*, he offered them great advantages if they would enter into his Service, I know not if any have accepted. . . . When I talk of our losses I blush, comparing them with those of an acquaintance of ours, M. de Benvieu, a sensible, well-informed but singular man; he had a large house and charming garden laid out in the true good English style, the finest Catalpa and Tulip trees, between us and Soissons, so near the Town the garden reached to the Rampsarts. House, garden, all have been destroyed, hardly a vestige left of the garden, and that by our Commandant, the enemy having availed themselves of the situation to assail the Town. M. de Benvieu says very justly had his property been sacrificed for any good purpose, he would be resigned, but it was useless to defend Soissons when all France had yielded. His wife came to see us the other day, so thin, so altered, poor woman, as she says, the house might be rebuilt but the garden in which they delighted is lost to them for ever. I have only been once at Soissons since our return, and I assure you I was much affected when I passed the ruins of a place I had seen in such beauty last autumn.

Nothing since Tuesday has occurred to vary the even tenor of our days, except another day passed at Soissons, whither I went early Wednesday with Mdlle Thiery, my constant companion on such occasions, our kind Mdme Martenot lent her *cabriolet*. Having a visit to make to Mdme Boileau who lives quite the other side of the Town, faubourg de Rheims, I saw that part of the Town for the first time since the War, no words can express the desolation, however they are repairing and building up the houses. M. Boileau's house has suffered much, they tore up the pavement and floors to discover hiding places, he, poor man, was stript of his clothes to his shirt one day going to the Hôtel Dieu. We then proceeded to Mdme de Gestas whom we found very comfortably established in her Bath, with breakfast of currants, raspberries and a Galette, a sort of paste, so it altogether composed a good English currant tart. I quite envied her for the weather was very hot, we visited too the poor Benvieu's whom we found

in a wretched apartment in the high street instead of their large house and charming garden. Did I tell you in a retired part of the garden M. Benvieu had chosen a place for his grave, and they say dug a little every day; I have seen it, but now he will choose it elsewhere as they leave this country for St. Germain I believe.

An Officer quartered here came in the evening to take leave, all Soissons regrets the departure of the troops, as they spent a great deal of money and were not charged *aux Bourgeois*. The large old Seminaire (*a pépinière de Prêtres*) had for many years been converted into Casernes, but now the Bishop has applied for it, and it is restored to him. The Officer told us said Bishop had complained to the commanding officer *de ce qu'ils avaient donné le Bal aux dames, cela dérangeait les demoiselles . . .* he (the officer) complimented us on being *sous la loi des prêtres*. . . .

Vauxbuin, July 31st.

. . . They say the Duc de Berri²⁴ succeeds very well with the Army, and we heard a pretty little trait of him which I think I may venture to repeat. He was reviewing lately the troops at Fontainebleau, composed chiefly of the old Imperial Guard, and was a little surprised and disconcerted by hearing the 1st rank exclaim '*vive l'Empereur*', then ye 2nd and 3rd. He calmly said '*Mes amis, pourquoi dites vous cela?*' . . . '*Parcequ'il nous a toujours menés à la victoire*' . . . The Duke gaily replied '*Pardi, c'était bien difficile avec des gaillards comme vous*' . . . they say the soldiers turned about directly and were delighted. Some say the answer was '*Et moi aussi j'irai bien à la Victoire avec des gaillards comme vous, avec des Français*'. I give you both versions, take which you please.

We read in the *Moniteur* yesterday the King of Spain's decree for the re-establishment of the Inquisition, and could not help thinking a mistake in the date, and that it belonged to ye 9th century instead of ye 19th. The passage relating to his 'good and great allies' is a charming proof of his gratitude, poor John Bull! who has sacrificed, as you say, so much blood and treasure for such an honorable end. They say here that Spain is the theatre of civil war at this moment, and that they begin to call out for their old King Log, having had already quite enough of King Stork. I am sure all the Spanish officers we have had here were none of them likely to approve the late rash and sanguinary measures.

France may rejoice in her good King more than ever. A young man in *les gardes du corps*, who is of course often at the Palace, says it is very often midnight before the Ministers

²⁴ Second son of the Comte d'Artois. He was assassinated by a revolutionary on February 13, 1820.

leave the King. In to-day's *Moniteur* there is a long report to the *Chambre des Représentants* on the law proposed for the liberty or rather the restrictions on the liberty of the press, that '*chartered libertine*,' as Lord Chatham used to apply the words of Shakespeare; the Reporter speaks much against *la censure préalable*, but you will see all that in your papers. . . . I must interrupt my gossip and return to the house, the reading hour being arrived, for we are here as regular as a Convent. . . .

Wednesday.—Mde de Staël has left or is leaving Paris, a friend of ours writes she was expected at Lyons on her way to Geneva I suppose, but that she meditates a journey to Greece. I hope that 'sublime country' will inspire her and that her *Greece* will be more amusing than her *Allemagne*. . . . There are already five Couvents de Carmelites, and many de Visitandines. Our good Nuns are doing Penance in a close street at Paris and sick and miserable *pour l'amour de Dieu*, they wait superior orders as they write us. Two Bishops are gone to Rome to treat of such matters, meantime our two Nuns will retire to Versailles *dans une maison Religieuse*; they say they had dined with the Abbé de la Trappe and two of his Monks, who told them the converts to their order were innumerable, the daughter of the Prince de Condé is of that order and they think she will obtain the *Val de Grâce* at Paris, lately an excellent hospital. All these religious orders are to undergo a very severe reform, and to be brought back to *l'esprit des fondateurs*, so says our good Nun, who had seen a most edifying letter from the Princesse de Condé to the Abbé de la Trappe. I leave you to make your reflections, slave trade, inquisition, Convents, fine food for thought, meantime the poor here regret our poor Nuns, who were very good and charitable, I fear they will incur some penance for having lived such a *philosophical life*. Meantime we heretics will continue to do all the good we can in this world and stand the chance of being burnt in the next.

Vauxbuin, près Soissons,
September 2nd.

All Paris I suppose is occupied with the discussion on the Estates of the Emigrants, I think if the Government makes restitution of what it possesses of theirs it ought also to restore the property in the funds, which it had seized during the revolution. M. de Pougens had a *rente viagère* of 10,000 frs a year, two thirds were suppressed and he now receives only 3300 frs, but I have no hopes on that head, those who staid are not the fashion by any means, those who ran away may say the day is now their own, they are in the right to strike while the iron is hot.

. . . When I think of the taxes you pay I am quite angry to hear of the continual complaints here, it is true after all the pillage, all the promises, our *arrondissement* is not well pleased to hear it must produce next year *quinze cent mille francs* instead of *neuf*. M. Dansé is very busy with several others arranging the *répartition*. We begin to feel the loss of the cows in this country. The other day there was no butter in the market, and we have great difficulty to get a little milk, but I believe I have not yet told you one Cossack story in this letter, you will not however get off so, but it is too late this morning as I must dress for our early dinner.

Wednesday, 16th.—In spite of the rain and wind which beat dark November, our old Curé M. de Reimpré came to visit us and has furnished me with a story which surpasses all others in barbarity, but I do not believe it. I think it was a cruel and barbarous *plaisanterie*. A friend of his, Curé in a neighbouring parish, received a large party of Prussians; one, the most savage looking man he ever beheld, asked him what he had for supper, the Curé answered '*De la viande, des légumes.*' '*Pour moi*' said the officer, '*il me faut un enfant à la broche*' and went out. The poor curé all horror said to one of his comrades '*Sûrement c'est une plaisanterie que Monsieur fait là.*' '*Non*,' dit l'autre, '*c'est un homme que nous ne connaissons pas, il n'est pas Prussien, mais il est Anthropophage, et je vous conseille s'il y a des enfants dans la maison de les lui cacher.*' But indeed I don't know why I tell you this, for I think they only meant to play as a cat does with a mouse with the poor affrighted Curé. Mdme Aubriot told us their Curé while the storm was at a distance, like our lilliputian, was always preaching '*ce sont les meilleurs gens du monde, ils ne vous feront aucun mal, vous devez les recevoir comme des amis.*' On arriving at the village they met the Curé, carried him off (a poor little thin being), kept him two days, treated him with hard fare and still harder blows, and when at last they released him he could with difficulty crawl home. M. Aubriot met him, '*Eh bien, Monsieur, que dites vous de nos bons amis?*' '*Ah, ne m'en parlez pas, ne m'en parlez jamais*' was his answer.

Now I must relate a trait of a Prince and then we will finish the chapter, the horrid chapter of *les troupes à lier* (as Duflot calls them). The Prince Auguste de Prusse, prisoner at the battle d'Iena, resided at Soissons, being so appointed by the government; we were at Paris then, but the inhabitants delighted to possess a Prince, laid themselves out in all manner of attentions, parties, balls, suppers without end. A gentleman who possessed a pretty château garden and having a large establishment and very good fortune was particularly civil to said Prince.

When the enemy approached he and his family left the House to the care of an *Intendant*, the man was delighted when he saw his master's old acquaintance arriving at the head of the troops and produced many things he had concealed to give him a good reception. When they departed he was surprised to see the soldiers packing all they could find of valuables; the *Intendant* had recourse to the Prince who made a slight answer '*qu'il n'y pouvait rien*', the *Intendant* then desired him to be so good as to sign a paper that it was by his order the goods were carried off as his Master would certainly never believe his bare assertion. The Prince said '*c'est juste*' and signed the paper. This I am assured is fact. . . .

I hope you are going to have peace with America. It is high time your swords should be turned into ploughshares. Adieu dearest friends.

Here Madame de Pougens' letters for the year 1814 come to a close. Her fears lest the peace she so ardently desired should not be of long duration were unfortunately destined to be realised. Five months had scarcely elapsed before France was once more plunged into war. Who indeed could have foreseen that Napoleon, so readily abandoned by the people in the hour of his downfall, would again make a triumphant appearance in Paris and take up his old quarters at the Tuilleries amid the plaudits of the very persons who gave to the Emperor Alexander so cordial a welcome and were apparently so gratified at the restoration of the Bourbons?

In the next number of this Review it is hoped to publish Madame de Pougens' letters for 1815, which begin with the return of Napoleon from Elba.

FLORENCE KINLOCH-COOKE.

WHAT COULD NAPOLEON ACCOMPLISH TO-DAY?

THE advance of the German armies into France has started many well-intentioned, but not always well-informed, people speculating on what Napoleon and his miracle-working methods might effect now, in this year, the centenary of his famous campaign of France. Could the present War produce a Napoleon? The answer may be found in his own words, that he was the child of the Revolution. He was the product of his age, and his success came not from sheer pre-eminence or genius, but from a combination of personal qualifications with the march of events. Accepting at full value all that has ever been said to place his mind and his courage on a superlative plane, the fact still remains: he was a man of the moment, a creature of circumstance. Following a natural bent, we exalt him into a type and crown him the greatest of the soldiers of all time. But the plain fact is that this remark is not significant, while it is important to perceive that he would probably have effected less with the armies of Frederick or of von Moltke than they did, while they in turn might not have succeeded with his. The problems were different. The men were different. And so, placing his genius at the highest, it does not follow that he could give us to-day an equivalent for Marengo or Austerlitz.

Napoleon showed scant courtesy to eminent persons. He declared his greatest diplomat a thief and outcast; his greatest general, a buffoon and circus performer; the Pope, a comedian; the Czar, a schoolboy; the lovely and good Queen of Prussia something worse than all these. His ancients, Frederick, Turenne, Caesar, Alexander, Hannibal, came in for tempered praise rather than for unbounded admiration. In fact, there is only one individual, alive or dead, in presence of whom we can catch him hat in hand, the pupil in the presence of the master; that individual was de Griebeauval.

Not many people have heard of de Griebeauval. Even Professor Delbrück, arbiter of military history and *Weltpolitik* at the University of Berlin, in a comparison of Frederick with Napoleon, takes little or no notice of de Griebeauval and the wide

range of facts associated with his name.¹ Yet it may be said fairly that this is the point that most needs emphasis in any attempt to analyse the distinctive features of the generalship of Napoleon.

The Seven Years' War closed in 1763, and during the next thirty years no great campaigns were fought in Western Europe. Yet within that epoch, just as in that between 1870 and 1914, the art of war came near being revolutionised. Reforms were made in the armament of the French army that brought to a head a change for some time impending in strategy and grand tactics.

The firearms used up to the middle of the seventeenth century did not play so important a part in field operations as is generally supposed. The lance and sword of the cavalryman, the pike of the footman, did far more real work than cannon, musket or pistol. Actions were fought at close range, were decided by shock, lasted but a short time, and were correspondingly murderous. Infantry—pikemen flanked by musketeers at the beginning of the seventeenth century—was thought of and generally used as a unit, though subdivision was by no means unknown. Even after Gustavus Adolphus had broken up his infantry into regiments, the same tendency to keep it together and employ it as a whole subsisted, and remained the rule up to and including the period of Frederick. This meant, among other things, no initiative among subordinate infantry commanders, who were too directly under the eye of the general in chief and too directly concerned in combined manœuvres to attempt independent movements.

Some progress was made in armaments. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the musket begins to improve, and is finished off with a bayonet, thus driving the pikeman out of business. Even with the new infantry, however, it was necessary to push the lines of horse and foot into the closest sort of contact to get a decision. Artillery was neither mobile nor destructive enough, and could rarely keep pace with the action. Gustavus tried to improve the arm; and so did Frederick, who also, towards the close of his career, gave much attention to light infantry and skirmishing tactics. But the real change was left to de Gruyéval in the years just preceding the War of American Independence.

De Gruyéval reformed the French artillery, gave it lightness, mobility, range, and destructive power. He thus altered the existing adjustment of the three arms. From about 1700 the bayonet and improving musket had given the infantry a hard-won superiority over cavalry. Now, artillery also asserted its superiority under the right conditions; and an army composed

¹ H. Delbrück, *Hist. und Polit. Aufsätze*, iii. 19.

of the three arms might be likened to an orchestra of which the woods and strings are sufficiently supported by the brass, thus enabling its conductor to interpret the whole range of musical composition. So now a general might venture with well-balanced horse, foot and guns, a range of military operations hitherto unattempted.²

For one thing, a general might now operate offensively or defensively on terrain hitherto avoided as unsuitable for the shock of armies. Let us glance at what happened, first under the old system and then under the new. Frederick's infantry, highly disciplined, and possessing extraordinary manœuvring power, relied for success on deploying a wide and continuous line of musketry, on advancing to the closest range, and, when feasible, on obtaining by quick manœuvres an enfilading position. When its tactics were successful, as at Rossbach or Leuthen, the result might be rapid and most decisive. To attain its object it therefore sought, as most armies had from the time of the Middle Ages, open ground where the line might be entirely deployed, and where a good field of fire and of manœuvre might be secured.

The new system came to its head with Napoleon. He carried to its full expression the tendency shown in the French army since about the middle of the century to break up into divisions and eventually into corps. By 1812 the corps will have grown almost into a subordinate army, though that ultimate development will never be acceptable to Napoleon. This reformed system of grouping was in part furthered by the great increase in the size of armies during the Revolutionary period. But essentially this fractioning was made possible because the smaller group was now relatively safe, even if not strongly connected with the main group, owing to the much increased power of fire, and especially of artillery fire. Save in quite open country, a division or a corps might manœuvre strategically and even support a heavy attack, at any distance from a few hours' up to a couple of days' march from its main body, in comparative safety.

With the power of fire increasing, troops were less inclined to stand in the open, and more disposed to take cover and to fight behind and for natural obstacles. Actions became less decisive. Half attacks, false attacks, skirmishing, cannonading, with no intent of decisive action, grew to be more and more common. And, as the result of the shock became less decisive, efforts were made, both tactical and strategical, to remedy this difficulty. Tactically, de Griebeauval and his followers, like du Teil, under whom Napoleon studied at Auxonne, taught that by the concentration of mobile and powerful four- and eight-

² Introduction, *L'éducation militaire de Napoléon*, by Captain Colin.

pounders,³ together with suitably disposed supporting troops, on a selected point of the enemy's line, a breach might be made, and victory thus obtained. This was, incidentally, an artillerist's conception of tactics. Instead, therefore, of opposing line with line, and of deploying on ground suited to this purpose, the whole effort was to hold the enemy by any convenient disposition, and on any ground whether or not suited to deployment, so as to concentrate the greatest offensive effort on a comparatively small section of his defence. So far did Napoleon follow this precept that he declared to Montholon at St. Helena 'In modern warfare there is no natural order of battle.'⁴ It was an utterance calculated to make Frederick turn in his grave!

Napoleon's tactical panacea, the concentration of superior masses at a given point and breaking through his opponent, was never the equal of Frederick's great enfilading manœuvre. At Austerlitz it was brilliantly successful; but often enough it failed, and results had to be got by some other means. Another tactical device, also used at Austerlitz, the change of line of operations during the course of the engagement, will receive notice presently. But for the present what needs emphasis is this, that as tactical results became more difficult to get, so the necessity arose of having greater recourse to strategy. And that again was an inevitable deduction from de Groubeauval's premises.

Marengo illustrates admirably the strategic conception that overcomes tactical disability. Between the two armies that met on that field there was no comparison in point of discipline and of manœuvring power in terms of minor tactics. The French army was wretchedly inadequate to the business in hand. A large proportion of the infantry was green. Some of the men had not even received muskets, while many others had had muskets dealt out to them on the march through Switzerland, and were only just beginning to get correct notions as to which end should be pointed at the enemy. As soon as Austrians and French were fairly deployed face to face the result, tactically, was not in doubt for an instant. And it was only because the Austrians, superior also in numbers, carelessly blundered after apparently winning an easy victory, only because Desaix and Kellermann struck an unexpected, clever, and lucky blow, that Melas did not camp on the battlefield. But the remarkable thing was that all this mattered very little, because Bonaparte had got a decisive strategic advantage before he even attempted to get a tactical one.

The strategic manœuvre of Napoleon was far more akin

³ Even 12- and 24-pounders became effective in field action by the time that Napoleon first saw fighting.

⁴ Montholon, *Memoirs*, p. 122. CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

to the conceptions of von Moltke than to those of Frederick. The disposition of troops in France and Italy for a strategic purpose; the rapid march to Milan; the fanlike spread of the French divisions to cover all roads whereby Melas could get back to his line of communications; the occupation of the Stradella Pass, easy of defence but with no ground really suited to the deployment of an army: all of these were features that belonged to an era of greatly increased power in firearms, of the fractioning of armies into self-sustaining parts. For these reasons the strategic advantage which Napoleon obtained by the rapidity of his concentration, by his preliminary manœuvre, and by his getting on ground of negative tactical value was decisive, and a tactical set-back was not at all likely to prove serious with the strategic situation of the armies such as it was.

Napoleon was an artillery officer by training, an expert in ballistics. It is natural enough that a new conception of war based largely on the increased efficiency of his own arm should have appealed to him. And if we were to trace the development of his methods we should find that, as he himself declared, he knew all he ever learnt before ever he became a general-in-chief. 'Fighting sixty battles taught me nothing,' he declared; and this became painfully evident in his later years. York von Wartenburg—who is not, however, a weighty authority—declares that in his last campaigns Napoleon grew careless of tactical considerations and put his whole faith in strategy and mass.⁵ The Emperor himself said 'The impact of an army, like the total of mechanical coefficients, is equal to the mass multiplied by the velocity.'

The development with Napoleon came wholly in what may fairly be described as placing greater and greater reliance on the theory of de Griebeauval. At first he succeeded in improving on his master. His light horse artillery became a tremendous offensive arm, decisive at Dresden, though at Wagram it failed to break the Austrian centre. He substituted an excellent six-pounder for the fours and eights which de Griebeauval had favoured. He spoke of these not as reforms but as 'modifications of M. de Griebeauval's system; they were made in a similar spirit, and he would not have objected to them. . . .'⁶

But later there is only exaggeration. In the Russian campaign, with two armies, one of 100,000 men, the other of 50,000 men, in his front, he writes to Davout: 'The result of all my manœuvres will be to mass 400,000 men at a single point.'⁷

⁵ York von Wartenburg, *Napoleon as a General*, ii. 92.

⁶ Note on Rogniat's *Considérations* . . . in Montholon, *Mems. of Napoleon*, i. 281 (London 1823).

⁷ Napoleon to Davout, May 26, 1812.

There was apparently no consideration of the fact that it was unnecessary, if not impossible, to employ that number of men to crush either of the Russian armies, and that the greater the concentration the more would the mobility, manœuvring power, and facility of subsistence of the French army be impaired. It was merely the carrying out of an idea, learned in youth, to an extravagant and pernicious length.

In the matter of the increased use of artillery there is less subject for criticism. The only point that need be made as regards the tendency to deliver the decisive tactical blow chiefly by a rapid massing of artillery is that it tended to minimise the offensive value of infantry at a period when its discipline and value were already much reduced. The tactics of artillery combined with cavalry, which were so brilliantly practised by Murat and became so important in the later campaigns of the Empire, were also in part connected with the depreciation in the quality of the infantry. But when in 1814, from sheer necessity, Napoleon displays a front at La Rothière which is little more than a continuous battery with inadequate infantry supports in second line, the artillery theories of de Grouxaval and his pupil have clearly run to seed ; the balance of the three arms is lost ; the orchestra has become nothing but a row of trombones.

Having now indicated Napoleon's relation to the developments of the art of war proceeding in his time, and particularly emphasised that one should see in him the pupil of a school of artillerists and tacticians of which de Grouxaval was the father, it will be convenient to turn next to other factors that will be of assistance in forming a final estimate. These factors are, Napoleon's peculiarities of character and intellect and the influences that may be traced to the outbreak of the Revolution. These two angles established, in addition to the one already disposed of, we shall be better able to judge what Napoleon might signify in terms of to-day.

Certain characteristics are common to all great generals. No effort will be made here to estimate the precise degree of courage, vigour, decision, secretiveness, judgment, attained by Napoleon. Attention will only be called to certain more distinctive qualities that went to make up his equipment for success. Of these perhaps the most marked was the geometrical turn of his intellect ; of a somewhat less uncommon order was his psychological insight.

As an artillerist Napoleon was a mathematician by profession. But he was also a mathematician, a logician, by predilection. He spoke of the politicians of his time contemptuously as 'vague and false thinkers ; a few lessons of geometry would do them good.' Of his officers he declared : 'To be a good general a man must

know mathematics ; it is of daily help in straightening one's ideas. Perhaps I owe my success to my mathematical conceptions.' In his own operations it may fairly be inferred from a good deal of evidence, direct and indirect, that there was always a geometrical predisposition.⁸ To deal with this aspect of Napoleon's genius adequately would require a review of all his campaigns and the bringing together of all the utterances that bear on the point, a matter more for a book than for an article. Here all that can be done is to give a few indications as to where the outstanding illustrations of what was probably a constant state of mind may be found.

The march to Jena is perhaps the most striking example. The positions of the French corps, worked out on the map for a week previous to the battle, present an appearance far removed from the geometrical. Yet when considered in their strategic and logistic bearings they can be made to conform readily with Napoleon's well-known description of his army and its disposition. To Soult he wrote (October 5, 1806) describing it as 'a battalion square of 200,000 men.' This square, as he conceived it, on establishing contact with the enemy, was to manœuvre about the point of contact, that is to unfold from the square first a line, then an arc, and if circumstances should favour, even a circle, with the Prussians in its centre. Turning to Austerlitz, we have the 'change of line of operation during the course of the engagement,' an idea of Napoleon's 'own, and quite new.' This also is in a sense a geometrical conception, as may be seen from the accompanying diagram. In this are formally figured (1) the position of Napoleon and his ostensible line of communication towards Vienna when the battle opened, and (2) his position after he had carried the Pratzen hill in front of his centre, together with the new line of communications he had secretly established a few days before the battle towards Brunn and Igla.



In 1796 at Montenotte, in 1815 at Ligny, he was striking the apex of a triangle the sides of which figured the diverging lines

⁸I have given more detailed treatment to this question in a paper read before the Military History Society of Massachusetts; this paper is to appear in due course in the Society's transactions.

of operations of two differently based armies. He opens the campaign of 1812 by moving on the radius of a circle of which the pivot is Warsaw, that of 1813 by attempting to establish himself at the summit of a great triangle of which Mainz and Wesel were the base and Berlin the summit.

No one who has read much of the Napoleonic correspondence, or of his utterances gathered by others, can reasonably doubt that to some degree or other he approached military problems, and for the matter of that civil ones too, in the spirit of a mathematician or geometrician. The same turn of mind will not be found in Frederick, or Turenne, or Marlborough, or Condé, or Wellington, or Gustavus Adolphus. It may therefore be described as a peculiarity of Napoleon. Another peculiarity, which, again, he did not share with other great captains, was his psychological sense; though here, it might possibly be argued that the era was more responsible than the man. The Revolution created public opinion, and Bonaparte recognised and utilised the new force. If we prefer, however, the personal solution, we find in Napoleon a past master in the art of stimulating the morale of masses of men, in playing on their prejudices and passions by an unscrupulous use of the Press. In the early days, and in those of triumph, his proclamations and allocutions to his troops reverberate as no other eloquence of that character which we possess. Later, inflation, pose, insincerity, pomposness, somewhat mar the effect. But in disaster the great voice vibrates more truly again, as in the address to the Polish officers on the lamentable march from Leipzig to the Rhine, or in the touching farewell to the Old Guard and the tricolour flag in the courtyard of the Palace of Fontainebleau.

But his sense of dramatic effect, of how to touch men's hearts and minds, went far beyond that. He had not only made history but had come to realise how popular history is made, largely by the cheating of entirely meritorious people out of their deserts! So soon as he was removed from activity and imprisoned in St. Helena, he set to work to falsify the record for his personal benefit, and, incidentally, for that of posterity. At once he struck the attitude of Prometheus chained to the rock: 'The Universe watches us! We stand as martyrs of an immortal cause! Millions of men weep with us, our country sighs, and glory has put on mourning! We struggle here against the tyranny of the gods, and the hopes of humanity are with us!' And by dictating to his companions, by converting a seclusion of nearly six years into one continuous interview—in which accuracy of statement was never once considered—he supplied the historians with a mass of, shall we say invaluable, material for their compositions. As a falsifier of opinion, the Press, and of history, Napo-

leon stands unexcelled until the advent of Bismarck and the German generations infected with his virus.

When turning from the characteristics of the man to those of his age, so far as it is possible to keep them apart, one may first note the change in the composition of armies. The French army ceases from being the mercenary and proprietary force of the Bourbon monarch, and becomes national, at first volunteer, later conscript. This army was worse and better than the old one; in other words, it was different. Your linesman no longer feared the sergeant's stick. Frederick's foundation for a successful infantry was to make his men 'respecter le bâton'; but the *Constituante* decreed that soldiers were now equal and free citizens, and that it was an infringement of their civic dignity to strike them. Discipline went to pieces, of course. Infantry declined any longer to march slowly and steadily up to a line of guns or muskets; the free and equal citizen had acquired too much regard for his skin and disregard for his sergeant. But a considerable proportion of the men, fanatics of the new freedom, or eager contestants for the promotion now thrown open to plebeian ambition, were found willing to rush to the skirmish line, or to head small columns; they soon gave the Republican armies a disorderly dash and initiative that redeemed the slackness and skulking of the majority. There was something in this that went hand in hand with Napoleon's methods and that was peculiar to the epoch. Thus, when Junot was spurred on from Bayonne to Lisbon in 1807, he arrived at the Portuguese capital with only 1500 footsore men, while 15,000 more were tailed out behind him all the way to the French frontier. But he had moved so fast, and the prestige of Napoleon's army was so great, that the terror-struck Government abandoned the city at his appearance.

Dash and initiative were the qualities of the army of Italy; they were far less apparent in that of Waterloo. And it was Napoleon himself who did most towards crushing the spirit of initiative in his subordinates. This is not the occasion for a discussion of the system of orders, or of the degree of initiative, and to what ranks it should be extended. Without going into the questions of detail that are involved, nothing can be more obvious, as a general proposition, than that Napoleon weighed on his staff and on his generals with a dead hand. To him, perhaps, Berthier's greatest qualification as Chief of Staff was his entire innocence of original ideas. Even when engaged in critical operations and at some distance from their master, the marshals were rarely entrusted with a general scheme of operations, and rapidly learnt the lesson of sticking to orders and taking nothing on themselves, with disastrous consequences in

the later campaigns. Murat and Masséna often knew what was contemplated, Davout sometimes, Lannes and Soult on a few occasions, and that is about all that can be said. Napoleon would have argued that the others were not capable enough to be worthy of his confidence; the answer is that at that rate the armies of von Moltke could never have progressed at all. The more mediocre the general, the more important it is to give him as wide and clear a view as possible of what is expected of him.

The truth, of course, was that Napoleon was too sure of his genius, too jealous of power, to delegate anything beyond essentials to subordinates. And that is why in his hands so many of the brilliant generals of the Revolution were reduced into military dummies. That is why no staff was developed, no machine worthy of the name, so that when the indefatigable Berthier was lost the staff of Napoleon sank immediately to a much lower level than that of Blücher's. The Revolution lavished talent, faith, courage, initiative, and numbers; Napoleon wore out or abused all of these, and availed himself fully of the last only.

One more aspect of these matters that may be described as pertaining partly to the Revolution, partly to Napoleon, was the fact that he never became a national statesman, but always remained the individual adventurer. The point is familiar enough to all students of his history. But what is not perhaps always so clearly discerned is that this fact profoundly affected the character of his military operations. Nor is this influence to be traced merely in the great questions of military policy such as his treatment of Prussia or Spain, but even in tactical dispositions and the battlefield. For the best generals of that day, Blücher, Wellington, Masséna, even Murat, with their country's interests ever uppermost, would never have thrown their last reserve into the melting pot, and thereby risked the total destruction of their army, as did the titanic gambler who sent the last battalions of the Guard to their doom when Waterloo was already lost.

When all has been considered, a substantial enough conclusion can be reached. The superb intellect and power of Napoleon rapidly and logically gave him, by the year 1796, a system of war compounded from the teachings of his masters, the circumstances of the epoch, and his personal idiosyncrasies. That system was outgrown by the year 1812, if not before; while some of his idiosyncrasies had weakened in vital ways the instrument which the Revolution had placed in his hands. The operation against Russia, though in its manœuvres of approach and concentration it presents some interesting and able features, was on the whole misconceived. And it was misconceived because neither Napoleon nor the French army had kept pace with the growth in the size of operations and of the strategic field. He attempted to handle

the 500,000 men of 1812 on virtually the same lines as the 50,000 of 1796, and to operate in a field of 250,000 square miles by the same methods as in a field of 5000. All he had accomplished since 1796 had been to increase his numbers and to improve his cavalry and artillery. As against this he had allowed his infantry to deteriorate; he had paralysed the initiative of his subordinates; and he had not perceived that the fundamental factors of the art of war had suffered a change.

Just as Napoleon learnt the art of war at the school of de Griebeauval, so did others learn at his school, among them Scharnhorst, Gneisenau, and later von Moltke. They perceived that with great national conscript armies, enlarged theatres of operations, and increased rapidity of action, the time was past when one man could be relied on to evolve victory by strokes of genius. Von Clausewitz wrote :

The theory of . . . strategy . . . is beset with extraordinary difficulties and . . . very few men have clear conceptions of the separate subjects. . . . In real action most men are guided merely by the tact of judgment . . . as they possess more or less genius. This is the way in which all great generals have acted. . . .

And this clearly, by the year 1812, had become an insufficient basis on which to repose the disposition of the troops of the armed nation. Hence the German innovation of the General Staff, of the group of officers trained in the higher command of troops and in the various specialised duties pertaining thereto, all impregnated with certain general theories as to the conduct of operations and supplying the armed forces of a nation with a body of experts to guide it instead of an individual.

Just as the great national army requires the team play of a body of experts to guide it, a notion repellent to the genius and the ambitions of Napoleon, so has it outgrown the conception of unity as that great captain understood it. 'Unity of command is of the utmost importance in war. Two armies ought never to be placed on the same scene of action.'⁹ In this saving Napoleon exposes his weakness, although he must not be taken strictly at his own word. Almost against his preconceptions the facts had tended to create a new system demanding the combined action of armies. In 1805 there are really two armies operating against Austria in the same field, Napoleon's and Masséna's; in 1809, again, Napoleon's and Prince Eugène's; in 1813, Napoleon's and Oudinot's, Ney's, Macdonald's, Murat's. But he declines to see the matter in this way. Above all things, he must unify, he must concentrate, he must have a single line of operations. Hence the monstrous Russian performance in 1812, the extravagant

⁹ Montholon, *Mems. of Napoleon*, ii. 53.

effort 'to concentrate 400,000 men at one point,' for no probable result that one can see except to starve and immobilise them.

A contemporary critic, far from sound, most inaccurate, but often illuminating, declared that the 'campaign of Russia was an invasion in the Asiatic style'; and added of Napoleon: 'This extraordinary general, of admirable talents for fighting and conquering on the field of battle, for surprising the enemy on their marches, and attacking and dispersing their columns, knew not how to carry on a methodical war. . . .'¹⁰ It is certain, at all events, that von Moltke would have made no attempt at handling half a million of men as a unit, that he would have operated with three if not four armies, with three if not four lines of communication; that he would have relied on the training and initiative of his staff corps to obtain the necessary co-ordination of effort; that he would not have attempted to concentrate 400,000 men at any point; and that his field force, cut down to its right proportions for the work in hand, would have been followed by adequate second line and covering troops to make good, methodically, ground that Napoleon never had a chance of holding.

The new school has always displaced the old. The best thought of one generation fills the ash-bins of the next. Finality and perfection are the will-o'-wisps of the dreamer and of the grammarian. However high we place a man, be he Napoleon or Aristotle, the doer or the thinker, his thought, his action, is above all else the crystallisation of what lay in solution immediately behind and around him. Our instinct tells us that we learn best from example. We therefore erect pedestals for the great ones, so as to see them more clearly, and then we declare with unreflecting confidence that what they show us is transcendent, absolute. That is not the cool verdict of history. We must take Napoleon from his pedestal if we wish to approach the truth, and analyse him into his component parts. Having done that we have answered, so far as it is reasonably possible to answer, such a question as 'What could Napoleon accomplish to-day?' The conditions are ill-suited for the play of personal ambition; the methods of the military art are fundamentally different from those he so brilliantly expounded. The circumstances are less favourable; he might, therefore, shine less intensively, and that is perhaps a consoling thought when one considers the present plight of the countries he devastated in 'unmethodical' fashion one hundred years ago.

R. M. JOHNSTON.

¹⁰ Rogniat, *Considérations sur l'art de la guerre*, p. 464.

AMERICA AND THE WAR: A SYMPOSIUM

[The month is November. The scene, the comfortable library in a residential club in any one of the great University towns of the eastern United States. There is a prominent notice on the panelled walls, 'Silence must be observed,' in spite of which everyone congregates here after dinner for informal debates. On this occasion the reader must call up to his mental vision a half circle of men gathered round a splendid log fire. The whole aspect of the room is reminiscent, not of the New World, but of some English University or country house. Let us suppose the hour of the discourse to be between 9 and 10 P.M., succeeding a dinner at 7 given in the great dining hall to an English guest, who is delivering a course of lectures to the students of the local University. His hosts are: The President of the University, Dr. Maurice Thwaites, of New England Puritan descent, with an Oxford degree, and a boy at Oxford; Cyrus Dudeney Parsons, multi-millionaire, who makes most of the hot-water bottles and elastic bands of America in factories mainly staffed by Englishmen, and whose household is entirely run by English servants, male and female; Eustis Belmont (Pennsylvania iron-works and Alaska sports—breeds Polar bears in his vast aquarium, believes more or less, in Christian Science, and worships his invalid wife); Professor Schwabe—name locally pronounced Shwēb—of German descent, bulky, bearded, outspoken, truculent, and tender-hearted, a lecturer on Economic Entomology; Professor Price, a fiery, black-avised Welshman, who holds the Chair of Modern History, and is beloved of Henry Fairfield Osborn because he is so purely Neolithic a type; John (or Jān, as it is pronounced) E. Simons, a pessimistic, argumentative, witty lawyer, as mentally short-sighted as are most men who interpret and manipulate man-made laws; Dr. Isidore Franckl, a Jewish specialist in the diseases of women, who has just given to the world a marvellous discovery for facilitating child-birth; the Rev. Herbert Boase, Harvard graduate, automobilist, ex-swimming champion and baseball player, a minister of a Baptist church 'down town,' with a congregation of 3000 business men, operatives, clerks and typists, three women secretaries, four motor

cars, and eight beneficent societies, mainly staffed by rich sides-men; Colonel Cassilis, a fish out of water in this northern society, where he is visiting prosperous nephews and nieces, old-fashioned in cut of clothes, with the drooping, white, Virginian moustache, elaborately but genuinely polite to women, every one of his theories and chivalrous ideals out of date, yet immensely popular because a sweeter-natured man does not exist; and the English Guest, of interest only in so far that, being an Englishman, he is the recipient at the present juncture of thrice the customary American hospitality, through the desire, conscious or unconscious, of Americans to show their sympathy with England during the present crisis.]

DR. THWAITES. Now, Sir Harry! Sit right here in the middle of our conclave. We ordered the heater to be shut off two hours ago, and had a log fire lighted to suit your English prejudices in favour of a cold room behind you and a blazing fire in front. No! No! Don't apologise. We're getting so British, we like it too. This is the way we live at our country club when we go out for the week-ends. Seems more like the backwoods, you know, for which we're all longing nowadays.

Now let's get at it, about the War, I mean; we let you off at dinner, and only discussed religion and the protection of birds; but now let's have a good set-to about this War and thresh it out, just speak our minds, don't you know. . . . Schwabe! You begin: you represent the minority in favour of Germany.

PROFESSOR SCHWABE. I guess I am an American first and foremost, but I am proud to be descended from the finest of the European races, the stock from which the English and the best of the Scotch, the Ulster Irish, the Dutch, the Flemish and half the Swiss, also come: the Teutonic. . . .

PROF. PRICE (*interrupting*). What do you mean by Teutonic? The long-headed blonds, or the round-headed, with no backs to their heads? The Alpine Kelts who speak Teutonic languages, or . . .

PROF. SCHWABE. Hold on, old sport! Our President gave me the word to begin, and your turn will come in due course. . . . Well, as I was saying, I am proud to be descended from the first and best race in the world, the most thoroughly Aryan people now living (*Prof. Price expresses by gesture extreme dissent, muttering something about Mongoloid and Hun*), the original mother race of early Greek and Roman, of Caledonian, and Norseman, of Angle and Saxon and Frank, Goth and Lombard and Herulian. I, like some others of us here present, am privileged to be a descendant of the 'great blond brutes' of North-

or

Central Europe, who discovered the use of iron, who grafted Greece on to Mycenaea, regenerated the Roman Empire, laid the foundations of all the great Romance kingdoms and republics, made and named England, gave its unconquerable grit to south-east Scotland and to northern and central Ireland, permeated once again the whole Balkan Peninsula right down to Greece, and gave Russia and Poland their aristocracy and their dynasties. In one guise or another we have been, we are, we shall be, the conquerors and rulers of the world. We Germans first colonised Keltic and Iberian Britain, and now we of the purer Continental stock are not only flooding North America, Central America, South America, Africa, Australia and Canada with our colonists, but we are going to build up somehow as the result of this War a great Central European Confederation in which we shall be the predominant partner—you see if we don't. We would have gladly gone into partnership with England over this and helped her to keep the Irish in their proper place, we wouldn't even have taken away the British Colonies, because we would just have Germanised them by peaceful penetration. But it is right down treason on the part of Englishmen against the Continental Teutons to stand in their way and say that they shan't do as they like with degenerate France and the half-civilised peoples of the Balkan Peninsula. We have balanced the Irish invasion of the United States and kept the future of this country for the Anglo-Saxons. . . .

DR. THWAITES. Now, Price, what do you say to that, for I am tired of this Teutonic outburst . . . ?

PROF. PRICE. I shall speak *sans rancune*, because after all we are first and foremost world-citizens upholding complete freedom in discussion and expression of opinion. Besides, everyone who lives here knows Schwabe to be such a good fellow in his deeds that we don't care a red cent what he says or thinks. All the same, he was propounding wrong theories from incorrect data. The results of recent and more accurate research go to show that the population of the British Islands, even of England, is not very different in its average physical types at the present day from what it was, long before the word 'German' or 'Teutonic' came into existence; it is mainly a long-headed population, and not one of broad and round skull-form like the bulk of the Germans at the present day. If Schwabe had classed together the Angles and the blond Scandinavians with the English, the Lowland Scots, the red-haired Caledonians, the fair-haired Irish, and the flaxen Britons, he would not have been far wrong in claiming them as essentially one people. But it is just that round-headed, long-faced, 'Schweinisch' Prussian type of Northern and South-Western Germany that is doing all the mischief and is

quarrelling with the rest of the world. It is this detestable Vandal and Lombard that made all the turmoil in the Dark Ages, that turned away from the Crusades to attack the unhappy Slavs and Lithuanians and laid the foundations of the modern Kingdom of Prussia or of most of the other German Kingdoms and Duchies. The handsomer, pleasanter type, the long-headed Goth, Frank, and Angle, left Germany between the third and the tenth centuries to occupy the Roman or the Byzantine Empires; and its place was taken by Slavs and Lithuanians and Mongols, whom the remaining Germans returned northwards to incorporate, exterminate or oppress. There is literally and materially too much of the Hun in the Germanic peoples of to-day, as you may see by their broad cheekbones and narrow chins. . . . I don't deny the Goth was a fine animal, a splendid stock to breed from, or that a better all-round human being you couldn't have at the present day than a Holstein or an English farmer; at any rate, as far as body is concerned. But it was the Alpine peoples, it was the Iberians of the Mediterranean, who were the world's teachers in all the matters of the mind, in the arts and crafts (*Schwabe exclaims 'How about Hallstatt?'*), in the science of government, in religion; and so it will always be. Whence did Britain derive her real civilisation? From France and Belgium, from Rome, Italy, Spain. Oh, yes! (*parrying shouted interruptions from Schwabe*) I haven't forgotten the Rhineland and Southern Germany, the art of printing, religious reform, and so forth; but, my friend, these were all ideas imported from the Roman world or from the Byzantine Empire. It was in the Balkan Peninsula that the Reform of Christianity began and spread to North Italy, Southern France, and the Rhine Valley. What does the world owe to the German in comparison to what it owes to the Greek, the Roman, the Romanised Frank, the Iberian Spaniard and Portuguese, the Walloon of Belgium, the Jew in Holland, Germany, Poland, Spain, Portugal, and England? Did Roger Bacon, Wycliff, Chaucer and Shakespeare get their ideas, their genius, from Germany? No; from the Romanised Kelt, from the Paris of the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, from Italy and Hainault. . . .

EUSTIS BELMONT. Let's leave the Middle Ages, anyway, and come down to the twentieth century and the things that touch our pockets and our hearts at the present moment. Is Germany to blame or is she not for provoking the present War?

PROF. SCHWABE. I beg your pardon! She didn't provoke it. Russia instigated the Servians to assassinate the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, so as to push the Austrians out of Bosnia and cut off the German advance to the Aegean. Austria had to take up the challenge and Austria's cause was that of Germany.

REV. HERBERT BOASE. Excuse me, Schwabe, but that is a disingenuous way of putting it. It is pretty well clear from all the published documents and reports of trustworthy people that Germany had been preparing for this War for years. When I was over at The Hague a few years ago with Carnegie . . . However, I won't delay you with that, but all talk about Germany having worked for peace in the last days of July, and being only dragged into the War to protect Austria, is mere flim-flam. We all know now that the murder of the Archduke—which they say was done by Austrian subjects—was merely the excuse that Germany wanted. Germany had been preparing for a warlike intervention in the affairs of the Balkans ever since the issue of the last Balkan war, which side-tracked Bulgaria, governed by a Coburg, and made Servia and Greece allied a very awkward obstacle on the road to Salonika.

CYRUS D. PARSONS. Well, I'm pro-English, not for any theory I have reasoned out, but simply because I am descended from English folk on both sides, and like the English fifty times better than any other European people. But if it was all a question about Salonika, why shouldn't Austria or Germany have the place if she wanted it : I mean, why should England go to war to stop this when she herself—and a good job too—has scarcely let a year pass since 1878 without snapping up some piece of Turkey or another?

DR. THWAITES. What do you say, Sir Harry?

ENGLISH GUEST (*clearing his throat*). Well, I would much sooner listen to all *your* opinions and thus try to get at the average American attitude ; but if you ask me to explain as far as I am able, I should say that this was the fair way of putting the whole question : *We* have not blocked the way to Salonika. The small proportion of us at home who gave any thought at all to foreign politics—and that small proportion, after all, meant the Government of our country—was nothing like as jealous of German expansion as Germany has since made out ; we were on the whole rather more anxious about a Western extension of Russian influence. But we paid the Germans the compliment of such a sincere conviction as to their capacity in mind and body that we did not desire to see them encamped on the opposite shores of the Channel or the southern part of the North Sea. We had, therefore, for a long time past, laid down this axiom, that under no circumstances must the independence of Holland, Belgium, or France be attacked ; for if the German Empire came to control the Low Countries or the Channel coast of France, the independence of the United Kingdom was fatally compromised. And, however Teutonic we may be—or not be—in our bodies and minds, we prefer to be 'British.' Personally, I agree with

Professor Price that although we have a very strong element of the blond Aryan in our composition, it is rather of the long-headed Frank, Frisian, Angle, and Scandinavian type than of the more purely Germanic. Well, outside the intactness of Holland, Belgium, and France and of the greater part of the Dutch, Belgian, and French colonies, I do not think we cared over much—not, at any rate, to the point of fighting against it—what Germany and Austria might do in the Balkan Peninsula or Asia Minor. We regarded this question as one to be settled between the Central European Powers and Russia, together with a third party of increasing importance, the Rumanian and Slavic States of South-East Europe. We were perfectly willing to admit that Germany and Austria could entertain ideas of political and colonial expansion as legitimately as Great Britain or France. But we also realised that it was equally permissible for such ideas to be upheld by Slavs, by Italians, by Rumans; and an Austro-German war against Slavdom, though it might have entailed no British intervention, would have had the bulk of British thinkers sentimentally on the side of the small Slav peoples, fighting for their independence, fighting to be Slavic and not Teutonised; just as we sympathised with the Magyars or the Chekhs in their nineteenth century struggles with German Austria, and with the Transylvanians for wishing to be politically part of Rumania and not part of Hungary, and so forth . . .

JOHN E. SIMONS (*interrupting*). Yet all that time you kept Ireland under martial law more or less, and ruled her through an English clique at Dublin Castle.

PROF. PRICE. And denied all individuality to Wales, insisted that Wales should have an English State Church . . .

ENGLISH GUEST. Let me stop to parry those two thrusts. In defence of our Irish policy I have little to say, except that the Liberal Administration since 1906 has done its utmost to settle the question on fair lines and has received all too little sympathy from America in this thankless task. The whole history of the British administration of Ireland since the twelfth century has been an unfortunate one. It must be set off against our splendid record throughout the rest of the British Empire during the last hundred years. As to Wales, since Tudor times we have done little or nothing to stifle Cymric nationality and the use of the old British language. On the contrary, of late years we have actively encouraged the study of what was once the speech of all England. As to the Welsh Church, a vast deal of nonsense and falsification has been set forth about it. The Church of England is far more 'British' than Swiss Calvinism. Of late years, at any rate, almost the entirety of the ministers of the Anglican Church in Wales have been Welshmen and Welsh-speaking, and

many of the churches they serve are religious buildings of the highest interest, not merely dating back as actual structures to Roman times, but even possessing the sub-structure of Roman and Druidical temples . . . However, not to waste your time . . . Where was I? Oh, I know, about Salonika. Well, if Germany and Austria wanted to control the route to Salonika, and perhaps to have Salonika as a port, it was their business to come to terms with Serbia and Greece (they had already secured a free hand in Albania), and perhaps with Russia. Russia, however, showed repeatedly she was not going to stand in the way of an Austro-German advance to Salonika, *but* she was going to take jolly good care that Germany-Austria should not secure that control over Constantinople and the Straits which would more effectively bottle-up Russia within the closed waters of the Black Sea than had been the case even under Turkish dominion. There was also another obstacle in their path: France. France undoubtedly egged on Russia and indirectly Serbia to baulk the projects of the Dual Alliance, because France was never going to make things easier for German expansion in any way till she felt safe with regard to her eastern frontier. What did France want in this direction? The retrocession of Metz and French-speaking Lorraine—not a very large area—the extrusion of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg from German fiscal control and from the German Empire altogether. This last proceeding would have made Belgium much safer against a sudden German attack; in fact, these very small yieldings on the part of Germany (so far as actual territory went) would have been equivalent to the renunciation on her part of any possibility of taking France and Belgium at a disadvantage. With such guarantees France would have been content to let Alsace decide her own future. Of course, the 'Prussian' government of Alsace and German Lorraine could not have continued much longer. Local revolts would have obliged the Emperor in the long run to give these provinces complete self-government within the German Empire. But if France had been satisfied regarding the regions where French was spoken and where the French frontier could be easily crossed by German armies, she would not have intervened elsewhere. She had already secured from Germany guarantees with regard to Syria and North Africa. Of course, there would still have remained the rooted objection on the part of the Serbians to Austro-German expansion; but this objection could have been gradually pared away if Austria had won over Serbia by the offer of economic advantages and had detached Slavic Croatia from the detested rule of the Magyar. As a matter of fact, I believe before his death the Archduke Franz Ferdinand was preparing the way for making a great

Slavic Empire out of Austria, an Empire which thereafter would have been received rather as a brother than as an enemy State by the Balkan peoples. . . .

But leaving all these questions aside, as abruptly as they were abandoned by the German Chancellor, who, two days after the outburst against Russia, informed the British Government that Germany proposed to take the French colonial possessions—leaving aside all this argument of the Drang nach Osten—what justification can Germany advance to the world for a sudden and utterly unprovoked attack on Belgium? Can anybody find her any excuse for her subsequent actions which will be accepted by impartial world citizens?

SIMONS. Well; only the excuse of necessity. Germany was up against Russia. France was allied with Russia. France had to be whipped before the Russians got on to the game. France could be quickly overrun and conquered only by the invasion of Belgium. And in this respect Germany had to forestall France; for she'd have done just the same if she had managed to mobilise first; she'd have swooped through Belgium to Cologne.

ENGLISH GUEST. That is only your assumption. You must at least give the responsible statesmen of France and Britain the credit for asserting that they had no such intentions.

SIMONS. Pooh! What's that worth? They just weren't ready, or they'd have been there first. There ain't any morality in these political dealings. All these peace treaties, these guarantees are just what the Germans call 'em—'scraps of paper,' mere flimsy, unless you've got the cash and the guns to back 'em. As to the Germans being so long prepared that they are able to lick you all at sea or on shore, why, so much the more credit to them.

DR. THWAITES. That isn't the view of the great American people, Mr. Simons, I can assure you; not, at least, judging by the best organs of our Press. The mere fact that France and Britain have been taken unprepared and have been fighting for the last three months to recover lost ground, shows that they were not conspiring against the peace of the world; whereas Germany was; and as soon as America gets the hang of the thing she'll let them know what she thinks about this crime against civilisation. Sir Harry has put his country's case much too mildly in his desire to remember that he is in a professedly neutral country. Germany and Austria cannot get their way in the Balkan Peninsula without going to war with Servia, and perhaps with Russia? Well, *why should they* get their way where German isn't spoken and the people aren't of German race or traditions?

DR. FRANCIS G. COOKE. Well, if it comes to that, Colenso has got one and half a dozen of the other? Why should the British be getting

their way in India where the people don't naturally speak English and are dark-skinned? Look at the way Russia and England have treated Persia! See what Felix Adler says about this. (*Fumbles in pocket and takes out a rather tattered newspaper cutting.*) I keep this by me to help me in arguments like these. Here, I won't stop to read it through, but Adler, our great Jewish philanthropist, describes the way in which Persia has been absolutely ruined by Russo-British intervention, the way in which France is alcoholising North Africa just to please her winegrowers, the way in which Great Britain has slaughtered one Negro tribe after another to found her African possessions. And now she has done killing them with guns her Colonial Office is finishing it off with alcohol and . . . and . . . Oh, yes! here was another charge, alcohol is thrust on the people of Ceylon whether they like it or not, even though Governors or ex-Governors have protested. And then look at the British and the Boers. Your countrymen, Sir Harry, when they proceeded to upset and conquer the Boer Republics, were surprised at the Boers wanting to go on talking Dutch when they ought to learn English, and adopt all the English customs. I try to be impartial in these things as far as I can. I am a Jew, and of German Jewish stock, but I try to be just to Germany. I remember all she has done for the Jews and all that Russia has done against them. . . .

COL. CASSILIS. But hold on, Doc. Didn't you tell me your father had to quit some place in South Germany in 1848 in order to avoid being beheaded, and how he wasn't even safe in France, but just had to put the Atlantic between him and the Government of some Grand Duke or other, and that's how he came to serve in the Confederate Army against the darned Yankees . . . ?

DR. FRANCKL. Quite true. I'm just as socialistic as my father was, though I am far more just than he was to the unfortunate coloured people. Like Schwabe here, I'm an American first and foremost, one of the products of Zangwill's Melting Pot. But I can't stand British hypocrisy and all this pretence about protecting small peoples and cherishing peculiar nationalities.

REV. HERBERT BOASE. I'm coming to Sir Harry's rescue. He and I are members of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society in Great Britain, and I have only just recovered from my hoarseness over Congo reform. Neither he nor I make out Great Britain to be perfect either at home or in the administration of her dependencies. But she is a long sight better than any other European people, and at least as good as the United States at its best. Her treatment of the Negro question in general, except in South Africa, has been much better, so far,

than ours. It'll take much in the way of misdeeds to balance her credit during the first half of the nineteenth century in the suppression of slavery and the slave trade. She has a difficult part to play in South Africa. Her original quarrels with the Boers and the Boer Governments arose—quite honestly, as I believe, from her determination that they should not enslave and oppress the native negroes. Why has there been this latent discontent in the Union of South Africa (bare-faced ingratitude, I call it, after getting back self-government)? What are the reports we get from our American missionaries out there, and from the members of the Negro Baptist Church? It was anger on the part of some of the Boers because Botha's land legislation—legislation which virtually shuts out the negro from any right to hold land on his own account—was disapproved of in England. There were rumours this land policy would have to be undone. This set a portion of the Boers treating with Germany. Once again they aspired to found an independent South African Republic in which the negro's life would have been made so intolerable that he would have had to quit unless he preferred virtual slavery. But look at India! I hold by the parable of the Ten Talents. I think the invasion of Belgium by a Power like Germany is a crime for which Germany will be damned for a hundred years. But I hold that a Power like England, or, if you will, like Germany—has a perfect right to take control over backward countries that can't manage themselves—like Egypt, like most parts of India, like North Africa and West Africa and Central Africa. I have been in India in connexion with our mission work and I know what I am talking about. I don't think there is an American missionary—and there are any number of them—in any part of India that hasn't a good report to give of the British Government in the main. And if things hadn't been so, wouldn't the German prophecies have been realised and all India have risen in revolt when the British garrison was withdrawn to fight in France? Egypt is infinitely more prosperous, more populated, better educated, more independent than she was before the British occupation. I confess I don't see altogether clear as regards Persia, and Shuster's book deserves to be widely read. But this I do know in a general way—that, since one tribe of Turks after another got control over Persia during the last 150 years or so the country has been steadily going down. Look at all the reports issued from time to time by our American ministers and consuls as to affairs in Persia, and ask if it was not time for some Power or Powers to intervene to restore law and order and maintain such, for the sake of the Persians themselves. As far as I am aware, neither Russia nor England intends to colonise Persia; it is much more likely that when they have restored it to an

orderly condition they will do what they can to foster self-government. At any rate, they haven't destroyed splendid buildings or cut down orchards. Adler's just one of those peevish people who set out to be discontented with what everybody else does. He seldom agrees with his own Zionists. He don't know what he wants, and whatever you did for his fellow Jews he would say it is the wrong thing to do. I believe it is the mission of the great, strong, civilised, and Christian peoples of the world to set the rest of the world in order, and to keep it in order, but that it is a downright crime that no American ought to sympathise with when self-respecting, well-behaved, honest, and prosperous nations like Belgium (or it may be to-morrow, Switzerland, or Denmark, or Holland) are attacked and completely ruined merely because some powerful neighbour wants to expand in their direction.

COL. CASSILIS. I daresay I've got my faults like most people. My nieces tell me I'm fifty years behind in matters of education and I wouldn't be much good now even in a cavalry charge. But I think the coloured peoples have just got to do as they are told. What we are discussing is a war between first-class White nations. How it came about, and how it's going to be stopped; 'cos if it ain't stopped soon, 'pears to me you'll all get weakened in your Old World and the Blacks and the Browns and the Yellows 'll just give you notice to quit, where you settle down amongst them. What is your opinion, Sir Harry?

ENGLISH GUEST. Fortunately for the Allies, the Governments of Britain, France, and Russia—and of late that of Belgium—have not shown themselves so utterly wanting in statecraft and in common humanity as Dr. Felix Adler and some other American writers would make them out to be. On the other hand, we know how the Austrians have made themselves detested in course of time by all the non-German-speaking peoples they have sought to dominate, except the Poles, whom in a glimmering of better sense they commenced to conciliate in 1860. Had the Austrian Government been directed along other and less Teutonic lines, Austria would have been completely the mistress of the Balkan Peninsula at the present day. Similarly, Germany has made herself hated in Posen, loathed in North Slesvig and Alsace-Lorraine—a hatred and a loathing which do not really give the right measure of the German people, whose splendid qualities I have often testified to in my writings, after long personal experience of them. But whereas a German gets on first-rate with an Englishman—and I suppose between two separate European nations there has been no such extent of intermarriage as there has been between England, Scotland, and Germany during the past fifty years—the German invariably makes himself disliked

by what are called the 'inferior' races. Rightly or wrongly, the German is dreaded by nearly all the negro tribes of Africa, for his high-handedness and his brutality of address. I have lived a good deal in North Africa and have witnessed at different times German agents, avowedly scientific, circulating through that region and trying to make themselves liked by the Arabs. But although science owes a great debt to these courageous pioneers and investigators, how very frequently has it not arisen that they have provoked acute dislike by Arabs and Berbers and have suffered for this in assassination or expulsion? The natives of India have shown emphatically that, however much in points of detail they might be disposed to quarrel with the British Government, they preferred our Administration a thousand times to the threat of that which might be imposed on them by Germany. The personal influence of the German in Asia Minor, in Mesopotamia, Arabia, Persia, or Egypt, counts for nothing beside that of the more genial, more generous, less predatory Englishman. But, to sum up, if I may (since you have drawn me into this discussion), what we want Americans to realise, so that we may have, at any rate, their sympathy and their fair neutrality: Nine tenths of the thinkers and workers in my country realise that this War was forced upon us, and that nothing but a yielding of some point or other of national independence could have saved us from being plunged into this struggle. We realise at last that Germany is now fighting directly and manifestly for the subjugation of Great Britain and to accomplish the absolute ruin of the United Kingdom and the British Empire. Consequently we shall not only fight on until we have tipped the balance against her in our favour, but until we have made it impossible for her to renew the struggle for, let us say, fifty years to come. With our Allies we must fight until the German military machine has been destroyed and the German Army reduced to a sufficiency merely for home defence, and until her Fleet has been diminished to like proportions; we must fight until France, Belgium, and Holland, all alike, have a perfectly secure strategic frontier against Germany on the east. Serbia, Montenegro, and Greece must likewise be established impregnably in their nationhood. Russia must secure at any rate such a guaranteed access to the Mediterranean waters as will enable her trade henceforth to develop illimitably without any barrier from Turkey or any other State. This is a matter of world-wide importance because the other countries of the world require unlimited amounts of Russian petroleum, corn, and cattle. Since Turkey has thrown herself into the struggle on behalf of German despotism, I hope she may be punished by the extinction of the Turk as a governing factor; that we may see a ~~reconstituted~~ ^{CC-0, In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection. Amritsar, India} under

Russian protection, a renaissance in Syria, possibly a Jewish Palestine (which no doubt will be thoroughly disapproved of by Dr. Felix Adler), an independent Arabia, a British kingdom of Cyprus, and an Egypt with which the ghosts of the Pharaohs may feel at least contented. But what I am saying is all turgid rhetoric beside the wish one would like to express in the simplest of words—the restoration of Belgium to a state of prosperity and happiness greater than her history has ever known.

Chorus of all the other participants in the discussion. ‘And so—say—all—of—us!’

H. H. JOHNSTON.

NOTE BY AUTHOR.—The names of the speakers are, of course, merely ‘typical,’ but the opinions above set forth are given as nearly as possible as they were uttered in the writer’s hearing, without any attempt to correct errors in statement or deduction, except where this is done in the conversation. If the terms ‘England’ and the ‘English’ recur too often where we should now say ‘Britain’ and ‘British,’ it must be remembered that in this respect most Americans are not up to date.

WAR AND ARBITRATION

No one, I suppose, can doubt that in and of itself, and apart from correlative results, war is an indescribable horror. It may sometimes be a necessity, but it is always a horror.

Nor does it cease to be a horror even when good men engage in it and good results flow from it. Some of the best and noblest men have been soldiers, though not militarists. F. W. Robertson, one of the greatest, if not the very greatest, of English preachers, whose humanity was as intense as his spirituality was enlightened, was never weary of proclaiming the mediatorial character of the soldier's vocation. Yet just as errors do not become truths because earnest men believe in them, so war does not become good and noble because good and noble men engage in it. The soldiers who fight in a war are seldom its instigators. They are the instigators' instruments and tools. And whereas the tool may be innocent the instigator may be guilty. The warrior may be a noble hero, yet the war an ignoble crime.

Even when wars have had good results—as in the case of Alfred and the Danes, or Charles Martel against the Saracens, or the Wars of the Roses which inflicted the death-blow on feudalism in England, or the wars in the Netherlands which broke the power of Philip of Spain and sounded the knell of the Inquisition, or the Civil War in the United States of America which prevented their disruption and conferred freedom on the slave, or the war in Ashantee which abolished human sacrifices in that land, or the present War with Germany which we hope will result in the unfettered independence of free nationalities, the deliverance of the German people from the despotism of bureaucracy, and the liberation of Europe from the crushing weight of menacing armaments—yet none of these wars have been good in themselves, but only a choice between evils. When a limb is amputated to preserve the whole body from mortification, the disease which necessitates the amputation is deadly; but the amputation is also a disaster. The amputation is not in itself a good thing. In itself it is bad, and only in comparison with the disease can it be regarded as relatively good.

Similarly with wars. All wars are, on one side or the other, essentially evil. It is only in relation to the greater evils which they arrest or destroy that they can be regarded as occasionally good. In themselves they are never good, although good results may flow from them. On their arena many beautiful and splendid deeds of heroism and self-sacrifice may be displayed. But until it can be shown that outrage and ravage, suffering and death, anxiety and misery, the slaughter of men by their brother men—and unless Christianity be a delusion all men are brethren—are good things in themselves; neither can it be shown that war from which these calamities and sorrows and inhumanities are inseparable; which, indeed, necessarily and organically spring from it; is in itself good; nay, rather, is not a tremendous evil.

Moreover, under the modern conditions of warfare many of the splendid incidents which often accompanied it in former ages are gradually becoming less and less possible. Amid much that was brutal there was often something glowing in former wars. The fighters saw their foes. The strife was hand to hand. Individual strength and individual courage were confronted with individual courage and individual strength. Little of this animal joy in battle is afforded in modern warfare. Men fight in masses now, and not infrequently the contending masses are far away from each other, or even out of sight. There never again can be a Crecy or Poictiers, a Trafalgar or Waterloo. Guns now hurl their shells on unseen victims on the other side of hills; ships hidden beneath the surface of the waters strike each other or their adversaries with deadly effect; bombs are dropped from high air with murderous results, even on unoffending and undefended towns. War is fast ceasing to be personal and becoming mechanical. The chief directors and controllers take little or no active part in it. At a distance from the fighting line they discuss and decide upon their military movements. The masses and positions of their own and the enemies' forces, and their own consequent movements, are considered with much the same sort of impersonal detachment as that of a chess-player towards the pieces on his board. It cannot be otherwise in modern warfare. The individual is sunk and lost in the mass. And although there still remain in war opportunities for the exercise of fearless courage, for the welding of comradeships in danger, for thrilling excitement and heroic sacrifice; yet the swiftly growing and irresistible trend of modern warfare towards mechanism in character and operation, and the consequent lessening of opportunities for personal adventure and prowess, must gradually deprive it of its traditional glory, and present it as a splendourless slaughtering machine. And when it comes to pass, as ere long it probably will, that adversaries divided by many waters may inflict immeasurable injuries on their opponents, or even reduce them to

submission, without setting foot on their shores, then war will be stripped of its artificial pomp and be revealed to mankind in its naked shame.

But not only in its ever-increasing mechanism and soullessness is war being gradually degraded and unfrocked, but the progress of mankind in ethical development is strongly working in the same direction. In his famous sermon on war, the late Professor Mozley argues that the final arbitrament in human affairs is, and always must be, force. In so far as man is an animal, the contention may be partially, though not altogether, true; for even in the animal world it is the fittest, and not the strongest or most forceful, which have ultimately survived. The extinction of the mastodon is one evidence of this fact. And certainly, in so far as men are higher than brutes, the argument, if not altogether erroneous, is clearly lacking in finality. It borders on a brutal conception of manhood to suppose that never, in the long procession of the suns, will conscience be stronger than force or righteousness more consuming than powder. Both history and religion unite in predicting the forward and upward march of mankind towards a future in which the might of right will prove mightier than the might of force; and the keenest and strongest of swords will have, not a material, but a spiritual edge and a spiritual power. The Christian faith, while rooted in the great facts of the past, has also its anchors of hope fixed in the future. And among these hopes is the assurance of a slowly dawning better age, wherein the final arbitrament of disputes will not be blood and iron, but equity, justice and truth. To despair of the moral progress of man is to disbelieve in the ultimately effectual goodness of God. The best of all Catholic faiths is this: that through the redemptive methods of God, man will grow steadily better; with better ideals, better conscience, better conduct in daily life. If this faith be not true, both the world and its nations must sooner or later perish everlasting. And any Church which teaches that human nature cannot be improved, or is incapable of setting its face steadily towards righteousness, can never be either the salt, or the leaven, or the light of the world; or help in the realisation of Christ's glorious command to His disciples, 'Be ye perfect as your Father in heaven is perfect.'

Besides, the past career of man, as history relates it, falsifies these faithless and enervating counsels of despair. That story is rich and stimulating in the promise of better, and still better, ages. In the physical world, indeed, evolution seems to have reached its climax in corporeal man. But in the moral and spiritual worlds the processes of evolution are still hard at work. Their goal is yet far off, among the delectable mountains. But,

though far off, it is definitely and distinctly nearer than when history began its first records. The age of dominant savagery and recognised cannibalism is already over. The highest civilisations of bygone eras were too low to be possible of reproduction now. Egypt and Greece alike were worse than indifferent to the miseries of slaves, while vice in some of its most repulsive forms was a boast rather than a shame. The amphitheatre of Rome reeked with brutality. Feudal serfs attached to the soil would be obvious anachronisms now : and no religious bigotry, however blind, can ever again set up the ghastly tribunal of the Inquisition, or send its Mores and Fishers to the block, or re-light the fires of Smithfield. Duelling is now almost universally regarded as a barbarous survival of an obsolete code of honour. The once vast mass of offences which formerly glutted the scaffold has been restricted to a single crime ; and even on that single crime the rope now drops, not before the gaze of a gaping crowd, but in hidden seclusion. Hospitals and nursing institutions bear their world-wide testimony to the general growth of compassion for suffering and reverence for human life. In former ages individuals and small communities, like St. Francis of Assisi and his brethren, were divinely kind ; but widespread societies for the prevention of cruelty, whether to animals or children—societies which seem natural and inevitable to-day, and which include all sorts and conditions of men—were then undreamed of. The title of Sovereigns and Rulers which to-day is most widely acclaimed for its nobility and royalty is that of Peace-Maker. Not those who delight in war, but those who war against war, are regarded as the pioneers of progress and the benefactors of mankind.

I do not forget the other side to this encouraging picture—that the lust of gold may be baser than that of glory ; that industrial competitions, unmoralised by the sense of brotherhood, may be as brutish as the wars of tribal chieftains ; that a modern millionaire or limited liability company may be as wickedly selfish as a feudal over-lord ; that picketing may be as unjust and pitiless as barbarism ; that the walls of a Norman dungeon never echoed with cries more appalling than those of sweated labour in our overcrowded towns ; that the liberty of the Press may degenerate into the defilements of licence ; that democracy has its spots and its clouds without water ; that education which does not produce manliness and nobility of character is little better than ignorance ; that castes of employers and castes of employed are as unlovely as the military and serfish castes of bygone ages ; or that even peace itself, unless disciplined and strenuous, may end in a stagnation more demoralising than war. Nor do I forget the saying of Horace, that although you thrust out Nature with a fork, it

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will yet run back again ; or the far greater and more penetrative saying of Him Who knew what is in man, that when the unclean spirit has gone out of a man, it may yet return with other spirits more wicked than itself, and the man's last state be worse than his first. We can have no more conclusive evidence of the wicked possibilities inherent in human nature, or of the occasional recrudescence of the savageries of barbarism at the centres of civilisation, than the present war : red with blood, pale with death ; a ruthless crime concocted in the caves of arrogance and greed. The ancient hordes of ignorant Huns were not more deceitful and bloodthirsty than their modern disciples : whose slaughterers are scientific, whose culture defends crime, and whose lust for power is a craving for despotism. But these butcheries and deceipts need not drive us to despair. They are a passing eclipse on the sun of progress. Reversions have always dogged the heels of evolution. In climbing hills men often slide back before they reach the summit. Every stage in the moral ascent of man has been marked by reactions. Yet, in spite of numberless reversions and reactions, man to-day is not morally where he was even a thousand years ago. He has slowly reached a higher plane. He condemns the iniquities which he formerly applauded. More and more vice is being compelled to hide itself and shun the light. Where one man took a benevolent interest in the sufferings and sorrows of his fellow-men, great multitudes take that interest now. The ancient Attila was natural to his age. The modern Attila is deemed by the world at large unnatural, anachronistic, outside the moral norm, belonging properly to the barbarous past, and impotent to arrest the moral developments of the future.

The moral standpoint of the present, the way the world now looks at things, is clearly better and higher than in ancient days. Notwithstanding all set-backs the march of human progress is unmistakable. And what makes this progress so rich in hope is its apparent governance by the law of acceleration. In the beginning the progress was very slow. A thousand years at first showed little advance in moral development. But gradually the pace has quickened. The last century has witnessed far greater progress in moral perception and moral purpose, in hatred of wrong and love of right ; in condemnation of war and approval of peace ; in the abandonment of a tribal patriotism, born of hostility and fed by jealousy ; and the culture of an inclusive patriotism built upon brotherhood and adorned with self-sacrifice, than any of the centuries which preceded it.

One very striking evidence of this acceleration in the moral progress of mankind is furnished by the rapidity of the growth of the practice of Arbitration in international disputes. The germinal idea of Arbitration was old enough to form part of the collection of Amritapuri Council ; but only within quite recent times has it begun to

lay clear and firm hold on the human mind. War-worshippers like Treitschke, whose magazine of pontifical and contradictory assertions seems almost boundless, naturally declare that 'the erection of an international Court of Arbitration as a permanent institution is incompatible with the nature of a State,' because their definition of a State is Power. Not principle, or justice, or righteousness, but power. It is, of course, obvious that if a State, and *a fortiori* all States, stand simply for Power, then the very idea of Arbitration is the baseless fabric of a vision. You might as reasonably imagine a Court of Arbitration for lions and tigers as for diplomats and statesmen whose notion of a State is, above all things, power; whose criterion of right is might; and whose code of public morality is merely another name for public selfishness. The necessary corollary of such a definition of the State is that peace is 'an error of thought,' 'something irrational,' and that 'the condition of war cannot be imagined away out of the world.' From such premisses any other conclusion would be absurd. It is not the conclusion which is absurd, but the premiss. And the absurdity of the premiss is manifest when we ask 'What is meant by Power?' Is it physical strength, or intellectual ability, or moral vigour, or spiritual influence? If spiritual influence, then Paul to-day is more powerful than all the Emperors; if moral vigour, then Athanasius than the world; if intellectual ability, then such as Aristotle and Bacon and Kant than all the military bureaucracies; if physical strength, then the biggest bully is the best ruler. The same is true collectively. No State has ever been strong by reason of its power alone. Only when its power has been supported by a higher civilisation than that of its neighbours and contemporaries has it long succeeded in surviving. It was not because the idol of Egypt was a bull, but because of its superiority in civilisation, that its dynasties spread themselves over many centuries. It was not the legions of Rome, but its laws, which sustained its permanence. The hordes of barbarians who flooded Europe could only establish their sway by adopting the manners and religion of their foes. In the long run they yielded to their foes, and their foes absorbed them. It was not so much by material, as moral, forces that Hildebrand brought Henry the Fourth to Canossa. Elizabeth's fleet was tiny in comparison with Philip's, but the Armada perished. Spain put all her trust in gold and power, and we know the result. Napoleon's battalions were very big, but he died a lonely exile at St. Helena. It is not the Power of England which has caused her Colonies and India to rush so splendidly to her aid in her hour of need, but the devotion of their loyalty and their esteem for her justice. It would be necessary to turn history upside down as indeed Treitschke does—to find confirmation of his

militarist theory that States are built and established on power. The experience of all the ages proves that might apart from right, and power without justice, are like chaff before the winds of avenging righteousness. And if justice and righteousness are essential to the permanence of States, then Arbitration in their disputes is not excluded by any necessity of the case, but rather, with the development among nations of the sense of justice and the growth of their obedience to righteousness, the future of Arbitration is bright with the promise of a glorious hope.

There are so many discrepancies in the common comparison between national police and international police that the limits of space will not allow me even to touch them all. Two observations may, however, be briefly stated. First, it is not the power and force of a community which alone stand behind its judicial tribunals and compel its criminals and litigants to obey their sentences and decisions. Behind the force of the community lies its will, its sense of equity and justice, its approval of the distribution of awards and the infliction of penalties. Take these away and the force would crumble to pieces. No force could stand for long against the resistance of the general conscience and conviction of right in any nation. In a genuine Constitutional Government, indeed, such as that of the British Empire, or the United States of America, the laws of the State are the expression of the will, the intelligence, the conscience of the State. The force which compels obedience to these laws is but the instrument of the nation's will, and, as that will governs the instrument of force which it employs, force cannot be the final arbiter of the intelligence and conscience which direct that will. Secondly, in individual disputes or trials it is not the whole nation which is at the back of the laws which govern it. Criminals and very ignorant people and other lawless persons disapprove of legal restraints. They prefer licence. It is the majority, including the wisest and the best, who make the laws according to which disputes are settled and transgressions punished; and because the laws express the mind and will of this majority the minority feel compelled, or at any rate find it their interest, to yield to these laws. The individual does not wait till the whole nation backs a law. When the majority backs it he realises that the free tenure of his citizenship depends on his obedience. Similarly with International Arbitrations. We need not wait till all the nations of the world agree to arbitral laws. If the majority, and those the wisest and the best, combine to agree on them, the rest will either find it their interest to submit or must be content to be regarded as outlaws.

Moreover, there is an increasing desire to commit the settlement of private disputes to private arbitration, and so escape the

publicity and cost of suits of law. Every year hundreds of such disputes have been so settled. In my own limited sphere I have been entrusted with the settlement of not a few. And in no instance has the settlement been set at nought. Yet there was no force behind the award to compel its acceptance. Nothing but the pledged word, and the sense of honourable obligation to stand by it. And what force other than conscience and honour, with faith in the arbitrator's knowledge of the circumstances and his unalloyed desire to do justice to both parties, leads employers and employed so often now to submit their disputes to arbitration? It is not long since arbitrations in labour disputes and industrial wars were regarded in much the same way as international arbitrations are regarded now: good ideals but vain chimeras; stuff such as Utopian dreams are made of, but outside the calculations of practical men! Yet fifty years of experience has drawn the antagonists in industry ever farther away from industrial war and ever nearer to settlements by arbitration. By degrees the disputants discovered the tremendous losses entailed by industrial wars, both upon victors and vanquished. They discovered, moreover, not only the economic futility, but also the social evils arising from these wars. Hence the ever-deepening disposition, both among masters and men, to avoid a lock-out on the one hand and a strike on the other, and to make trial of all the resources of arbitration before adventuring on the hazard of an industrial war. Strikes and lock-outs aggravated and intensified the unnatural and stupid enmity between Capital and Labour. So long as they were rife this false and ruinous jealousy appeared part of the necessary constitution of the economic world. Arbitration is quickly dispelling this great and mischievous illusion. It has taught both employers and employed not to rest satisfied with gauging each other's power, but to endeavour to understand and respect each other's purpose. It is opening the eyes of both parties to see that the true interests of Capital and Labour are not hostile, but mutual: that if one suffers both suffer, and that only in the welfare of both can the welfare of either be enduringly found. Economics are already confessed to be on the side of arbitration; and when the conviction of the universal brotherhood of men comes to be added to the recognition of economic laws then industrial wars will cease and industrial arbitration reign supreme.

Similarly will it be, I am persuaded, with international arbitration. As yet this species of arbitration has scarcely got beyond the ideal stage. Its conversion into the actual may possibly be very slow. The adversaries are many, and the obstacles great: notably the long traditions of international jealousies and suspicions. Yet the auguries are eloquent with hope. Upon the

horizon the streaks of dawn are bright. There is a growing hate of war among the progressive peoples of the world. The perception of its economic futility and sterile waste of blood and treasure is ever widening and deepening. The comity among nations is steadily being strengthened. It is now a hundred years since, with one exception, there has been war between English-speaking peoples. The number of the nations to whom international treaties are merely 'scraps of paper' is diminishing : and this diminished few have become the obloquy of the world. Why does Germany stand to-day in solitary disgrace, without a friend among the free peoples of the whole earth? Not so much because she has made wanton war, but far more because she has broken her imperial pledges, set at nought public law, and violated the honour of neutrality. If she is victorious in this war, it will be long before she can win the confidence of the nations or obtain a share in their alliance for her stability and prosperity. If she is defeated, her miseries will arise not so much from her military overthrow as from the knowledge that she is mistrusted and shunned by all the world. Defeat with honour any nation can survive ; but with dishonour both victory and defeat are a lasting weakness and scourge. It was not always so. Victory formerly carried honour with it. Defeat alone was reckoned as disgrace. It is just the opposite now. A defeated nation, through the vitality of honour, may quickly rise again. A victorious Empire, with the worm of dishonour eating at its heart, is left lonely in its pomp ; and international loneliness is a very deadly thing. What mean these facts? They can mean nothing else, nor less, than that force is ceasing to be the final arbitrament between nations, and that international truth and righteousness are beginning to be counted of more value, yea, even power, than force.

Even Treitschke has occasional glimmerings of these facts. Of an international law of war he writes :

We seldom find brutal contraventions of this law in modern times. International law has developed in the course of centuries to an intensity of consciousness of right. The whole character of the life of the State has become so public nowadays that a gross contravention of international law immediately excites great indignation among all civilised nations.

Exactly. And the force of this moral indignation will ere long be stronger and more decisive than the armaments of war. What force lay behind the Alabama Arbitration or the Venezuelan Arbitration? Practically none, except the desire for a righteous peace, the bonds of an honourable agreement to abide by the award, and the knowledge that a violation of this honourable agreement would be visited with the penalty of a CC-0 In Public Domain Gurukul Kangri Collection Harivare Con-

gress was founded only seventy-one years ago, and was then a very limited band. Yet at one of its recent gatherings in England hundreds of societies and organisations from four continents and twenty-five different countries—including Great Britain, the United States of America, France, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy, Russia, Poland, Belgium, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, Holland, Switzerland, Algeria, Japan, South Africa, India—were represented by duly accredited delegates. Universities, Associations of Teachers, Labour Organisations sent their representatives. The King gave them official recognition. The Prime Minister and other prominent members of the Cabinet took part in their proceedings. It was a Congress of many tribes and tongues, many forms of political allegiance, many types of religious belief; but all of one mind and one heart in the conviction that international arbitration is a loftier and nobler ideal than internecine war.

And, after all, ideals are the greatest and strongest things in the world, not only for individuals and Churches, but for societies and nations. Without ideals nations perish. By their ideals they live and grow. The goals at which Hague Conventions and Hague Conferences aim may be yet far off, but the distance of the end is no reason for not beginning the journey. On the contrary, the farther a man has to travel, the sooner he sets out the better. And on this particular journey the nations will not have to wait for a share in the prize till they attain their final goal. At every stage in the way they will receive some part of their reward in the diminution of wars and the increase of peace.

Their final goal is the cessation of all wars and the adoption of universal arbitration. But so long as there remain nations who delight in war, whose rulers and prophets declare that 'war is an essential element in God's scheme of the world,' whose public morality would be privately accounted a shame and dishonour, whose most solemn treaties, if they become inconvenient, are regarded as no more binding than scraps of paper—so long war will not only be necessary, but the bounden duty of all the nations who love righteousness and hate iniquity. To shrink from war under such circumstances would be like handing over a civil community to the tender mercies of syndicalists and anarchists. So long as national honour, and the freedom even of small States, and the people's franchise, and Constitutional Government, and public law, and a general peace founded on righteousness are threatened by militarist ambition and attacked by ruthless force, the true peace-man becomes the most resolute, albeit the most reluctant, advocate of war. The true peace-man is not a mere amiable, philanthropic simpleton, with a big heart and a little head. Apart from righteousness he is

not desirous of peace. He prefers war for the right to peace with the wrong. He knows well that there is quite enough evil still left among men to submerge the world in moral darkness, if not resisted, and, when necessary, resisted even unto death. But as most wars in the past have originated in wrong, and as most arbitrations have ended in justice, the peace-man seeks to educate his fellows in a disgust for war and a delight in arbitration.

Meanwhile the true peace-man does not clamour for a sudden stoppage of preparations for war, or the disarmament of one country in front of the growing armaments of others. He understands what is meant by saying that 'preparedness for war is one of the securities of peace.' If there be any that do not yet realise this truth the present War will help to show it to them openly. The initial wrong in this War was the needless increase in German armaments; but the next wrong was the neglect of the Allies to prepare for attack. If the preparations of the Allies had been adequate, then either the War would never have happened, or it would not have dragged its wicked course to such a calamitous and appalling length. Perhaps, however, the very tremendousness of the losses and miseries of this wanton, almost world-wide, War will be the harbinger of a lasting, righteous and almost world-wide peace. War to-day is a greater terror, a greater horror, a more stupendous wound to the moral sentiments of mankind than it has ever been before. It sounds like a paradox, but it is probably true, that the very bigness and brutalities and devastations of this War may accelerate the progress of International Arbitration and the establishment of public law and public right. For what do these things mean?

They mean [said the Prime Minister in his great speech in Dublin on the 25th of September last], or ought to mean, perhaps, by a slow and gradual process, the substitution for force, for the clash of competing ambitions, for groupings and alliances, and a precarious equipoise, of a real European partnership based on the recognition of equal right and established and enforced by a common will. A year ago that would have sounded like a Utopian idea. It is probably one that may not, or will not, be realised either to-day or to-morrow, but if and when this War is decided in favour of the Allies it will at once come within the range, and before long within the grasp, of European statesmanship.

J. W. CARLIOL.

IDEALS—GERMAN AND OTHERS

We have all been thinking a great deal lately about German ideals, and the profound and baneful influence which they have exerted upon German policy and behaviour. That is to say, we have been concerning ourselves with the psychological causes of the War, and have ventured within the portals of a difficult and obscure branch of philosophy. There may be some who would like to carry their inquiries a little further.

The effects of an ideal we can perceive and appreciate. It drives men along a certain course of action, whether in love, in war, in art, industry and politics, or in religion. It acts, in fact, like the instinct of the lower animals which impels them to a particular method of living or course of behaviour. But there is this essential difference between man and the brutes : the instincts of the latter are innate, for the most part unchangeable, and affect all individuals alike : they are the product of evolutionary forces, and can be modified only by the slow process of evolutionary change. Human ideals, on the contrary, are acquired after birth, are changeable, and are of infinite diversity. They differ with different individuals and peoples. One man is obsessed by industry, another by ambition or, maybe, enslaved by the charms of sport. Nations may be nomadic or settled, pastoral, agricultural, or commercial in their pursuits ; their domestic systems are as varied as their religious beliefs or the forms of their governments. The growth and decay of these ideals have, so far as can be perceived, no connexion with the forces that sway evolutionary changes ; and the development of man's civilisation has nothing in common with the slow metamorphoses which have brought into being the myriad instinctive activities of the brutes. Human progress has been artificial, not natural : it has resulted from ideals which are freshly acquired by each generation, not bestowed as an inheritance at birth. A beaver, brought up by hand, will be instinctively impelled to attack the furniture ; ducklings, mothered by a hen, still take to water ; but a child of European parentage, nurtured by savages, will exhibit no trace of European culture. Nations have risen very rapidly from the ideals of barbarism to those of culture, and have fallen back into barbaric ideals more rapidly still. Being

scarcely affected by natural laws, ideals may wander into the grossest extravagances. It is difficult to discover any usefulness, or coherence, in the vagaries of superstition, and in the hobbies to which men of intelligence may devote themselves. Are we to include hobbies in our survey? Are we to consider the collecting of postage stamps an ideal? Most certainly. It influences the behaviour of a man, and may dominate his life, just as much as a love affair or a political conviction.

Such are the effects of an ideal. What can we say of its nature and its origin? Memories very obviously enter into it largely, for unsupported by memories no ideal can persist. One who forgot that we are at war with the Germans would bear them no hostility; a lover who forgets his mistress has ceased to love her. Ideals, then, are dependent upon memories of a kind, but of a peculiar kind. They are not the recollections which flow unceasingly through our brains as a stream out of the past, each one connected with its predecessor by some link of association, which draws it forward, presents it, and gives place to another link. These passing recollections may excite our interest or move us to action. But they will not sustain the enduring purpose that characterises an ideal. To accomplish this, memories must be recurrent—must influence us after the fashion, not of a stream, but of an eddy, which constantly presents the same objects to our view. We liken them to an eddy figuratively, but of the appropriateness of the image there can be little doubt. For when obsessed by an ideal we are never suffered to forget the memories which support it. A lover sees the face of his mistress ever before him; a politician can hardly dream but of his politics; an ascetic is haunted by memories of self-sacrifice, as an ardent golfer by visions of the links. These ever-present memories, in the smaller ideals of life, give conversation the monotonous simplicity which is rudely termed 'shop.'

But ideals prompt us to action: a German wishes to exalt his country *über Alles*; a miser wishes to accumulate money. Recollections of themselves have no such effect: as we sit in reverie they may pass in vast numbers and leave us seated. To be effective for action they must be energised, or, so to speak, electrified. This is the case when they become closely associated with an impulse.

To those who regard life as the product of a peculiar form of matter the existence of immaterial living impulses, or energies, will seem absurd. But to those who inquire into the nature of things, not by arguing from the nature of other things, but by careful, dispassionate observation, the activities of life are wholly inexplicable unless they can be assigned to a number of insistent impulses, whose

teristic of living, as opposed to lifeless, objects. To what other cause than an impulse can be ascribed the growth of an animal from its embryonic stage to maturity, the regular action of its heart, its lungs, and its processes of digestion and secretion? And, if it be objected that these illustrations are drawn from the internal functioning of the organism, not from its external behaviour, instances without number may be cited from the life-history of insects which show that, from the moment of hatching out from the egg until death, conduct is so rigidly and uniformly guided for a set purpose that the animal seems to be a marionette attached to wires that are controlled by an unseen operator—the Genius of its Species. Such peremptory guidance controls the *internal* organs of man as completely as those of the meanest of insects. But man's *external* behaviour has been in great measure set free from it, and is influenced by memory, inference (or reason), and choice. Vestiges of tyranny, however, remain in a multitude of impulses, which vaguely urge him to act in certain directions, while giving him no such minute instructions as impel the bee not only to construct cells, but to construct them of a definite pattern. These impulses have not yet been classified—or, indeed, even catalogued—by science; but they are recognised in literature and in popular conceptions. We speak of selfish and unselfish, cruel and kind, sensuous and ascetic impulses; and the plots of novelists and dramatists, regarded scientifically, represent phases of the unceasing conflict which rages between our various impulses for the mastery of the conduct of a man or a woman.

An examination of our impulses, however superficial, seems to reveal the extraordinary fact that they exist (as already hinted) in pairs of contraries. This may seem too strange for belief. But we do not deny the existence of positive and negative electricity because their antagonism lies beyond our comprehension.

An impulse may be stimulated—brought, that is to say, into action—by a recollection,¹ as well as by an impression of the senses. The sight of an enemy may make us tremble with rage: we may tremble if we remember our quarrel with him; the recollection of an alarming incident will reproduce the emotion of fear. An ideal may, then, be regarded as the product of action and reaction between a set of memories and an impulse. The impulse is excited by the memories, and then (we may figure it) attracts them to itself so that they circulate about it, as the planets about the sun, instead of streaming onward. They,

¹ The recollection may be direct, derived, that is to say, from an impression of the senses, or indirect (symbolic), derived from an impression of words or pictures. Our loyalty may be stimulated by the sight of a king: it may also be stimulated by reading about him.

accordingly, tend to keep it in a constant state of excitement. We can test this hypothesis by examining ourselves. Is it not a fact that, if we are deeply interested in an aim, a purpose, or a hobby, memories (or thoughts) of it are constantly recurring to us, to the exclusion of all other interests? Under the obsession of a love affair a man ceases to think of his relatives, his sport, and his business. Excited by war we are hardly moved by incidents which ordinarily would overwhelm us with sorrow or fire us with indignation. Our friends may be killed on the battle-field : we read the casualty lists with less emotion than was formerly aroused by a hunting-field accident. Peaceful citizens are shot by the mistakes of untrained sentries : we read the news without indignation. We hardly cared to complain when an unseaworthy 'repair' ship was sent from harbour in a storm and foundered with forty-two men aboard her. How is it that we can now read with a glow of satisfaction that a Russian corporal, asked why he had been at pains to stalk and kill a number of German sentries, 'exhibited with a grin two cakes of milk chocolate and five cigars'?

It is these eddies of recurrent memories that give our conduct some consistency of purpose; were it not for them our actions would be as inconsequential and incoherent as the memorial images which flit before us in our reveries or dreams. Sleep is the quiescence of impulses; but the memory stream may flow on, and the visions which it presents, ungrouped by impulsive forces and unsifted by inference, may attain the utmost limits of incongruity and absurdity. During our waking hours the current (as we may figure it) is broken up by a multitude of eddies, each of which represents a pursuit, a hobby, or an ideal.² So long as no one of these eddies is very much stronger than others, our life runs smoothly, on, so to speak, an even keel. But should one engulf others, as in the vortex of a Maelstrom, our lives are storm-driven by a dominant ideal, a monomania, and, in extreme cases, by madness.

If, however, impulses can establish so potent a sway over us, how has it come about that their influence has waned, that ideals have changed, that industry gives place to war, kindness to cruelty, the obedience of loyalty to democratic independence? New ideals may be aroused if new impulses are excited. For the great mass of mankind this revolution is brought about by suggestion; that is to say, by the influence of others, assisted, it may be, by the faculty of inference which is called 'reason.'

² *Habits* fall into a different class. They also result from the association of memories with impulses. But in their case the memories do not excite the impulses but are excited by them. So is the morning bath associated with the impulse to begin the activities of daylight, the use of a knife and fork with the impulse to eat.

Suggestion may force new memories upon us mechanically, by dint of repetition; so we are moved by advertisements, and by the insistence of the Press. It may force new memories upon us if it can appeal to impulses which are naturally strong, such as war, love or family affection, or can enlist the assistance of impulses which have become the centres of ideals, such as religion, loyalty, or respect for fashion. Suggestion is strongly promoted by the impulses of *reverence* and *admiration*. Children learn because they respect their teachers; we are easily swayed by the leaders of our society; Christianity has owed large extensions to the conversion of princes; under high scientific authority men will adopt conclusions which they do not comprehend; by invoking their reverence for God, the Kaiser stimulates his subjects to increased bloodthirstiness. It is through their suggestive influence that religion, education, and politics are so immensely powerful for good or for evil. *Inference* also may assist the creation of a new ideal by convincing us that old ideals have failed; the doctrines that fired the French Revolution were supported by impressions of poverty and misery from which inference deduced that monarchy had been a fraud. But, while inference may assist us to acquire new ideals, it has seldom been able to guarantee their soundness. Lacking the directive instinct which guides the lower animals so infallibly, man is obliged to depend upon the 'reasoning' faculty by which he connects impressions and memories together as cause and consequence. He commonly mistakes, as the cause of a happening, something which merely chanced to precede it, and, as its consequence, something which chanced to follow it. He attributes a headache to the salad, not to the champagne, his success to his abilities, not to his good fortune. Guided by accidents, mistaken for causes, he has wandered for ages in a wilderness of error. There is a custom, known as the *couvade*, under which a father takes to his bed on the birth of a son and eschews all food that may disagree with the baby. It so happened, it may be, that a royal debauch, held to celebrate the birth of an heir, was followed by the death of the infant. No Aristotle then insisted that 'one swallow does not make a summer'; and vestiges of the *couvade* are still to be found extending right across both hemispheres.

For the revolutions of ideals which have attended—have, indeed, made—the history of man, the way has been pioneered by another impulse. Inherent in all men is a desire for *change*, strong in some, weak in others, which tends to lessen the influence of settled memories and smooth their opposition to the introduction of novelties.

But how are the new ideals originated which are gradually

spread by suggestive influences and this desire for change? Their birth may be ascribed to the impulsive faculty of choice, or free-will, which is one of life's most peculiar endowments. In the majority of men this impulse is too weak to urge them effectively off well-trodden pathways. But it is strong in men of originality or genius. Aided by it they, so to speak, sort out their memories, and recombine them into forms which present all the appearance of novelty, and are novel in that they raise fresh ideals. So St. Bernard initiated the Crusades, Rousseau conceived the idea of human equality, and Darwin combined facts and theories to establish upon a scientific basis the doctrine of evolution.

When he has followed these innovators instead of persecuting them, man has changed his ideals—sometimes slowly, at other times (as at the French Revolution) with volcanic rapidity; and the history of these changes is in fact the history of mankind. In the earliest days which we are able to reconstruct, ideals of authority, of ecstatic emotion, and of self-restraint commingled to form the groundwork of an insistent and all-embracing religion. With the passage of time, ideals of authority evolved civil government, ideals of emotion gave birth to art, and ideals of self-restraint were elaborated into law and morality. Judged by their effect upon human well-being and happiness some ideals have been in a measure right, all have been in a measure wrong; for, since we are governed by a number of opposing forces, any exaggeration of one of them must throw us out of balance. Ideals of celibacy and of war would, both alike, exterminate the human race; unbounded charity is as degrading to others as miserly selfishness is to ourselves. Man has progressed under the leadership of enthusiasts whose devotion to their ideals has been absolute and exclusive; but he has generally diluted their teachings with a measure of 'common sense' (so we style the workings of our faculty to infer) and has not rejected the influence of other impulses in interpreting them. His guides have accordingly not led him to entire destruction, and the development of culture might have been gradual and uneventful had it not been for the influence of two ideals which have been as disruptive in their effect upon the life of a nation as love is upon the life of an individual. These are ideals of liberty and ideals of war, the former the products of our impulse towards the exercise of choice, the latter derived from an impulse towards fighting which is one of the strongest of the forces within us.

War, like love, appears to stimulate a number of other impulses, and may be likened to a note on the keyboard of a piano which can be linked to other notes, so as to produce not a simple sound but a discord or a harmony. So, under the influence of the war fever, we are moved by feelings of warm-hearted com-

radeship and of bitter hostility; we may be extraordinarily kind, and extraordinarily cruel; stoically self-sacrificing, thrilled with the ecstasy of sensuous emotion. These impulses appeal very strongly to our admiration, when contrasted with the cold-blooded, selfish emulations of peace. It is impossible altogether to disagree with von Bernhardi: 'Petty and personal interests force their way to the front during a long period of peace; selfishness and intrigue run riot and luxury obliterates idealism. Money acquires an excessive and unjustifiable power, and character does not obtain due respect.' Whereas in war-time 'all the sham reputations, which a long spell of peace undoubtedly fosters, are unmasked; great personalities take their proper place; strength, truth, and honour come to the front and are put into play.' He accordingly concludes that 'the brutal incidents inseparable from every war vanish completely before the idealism of the main result.' It is to be remembered that from the beginnings of history there have been nations whose bent was almost exclusively warlike. Mars has shared with Venus the adoration of the strong. The ideals of modern Prussia were those of the Spartans and the Zulus. They bore perishable fruit in the conquests of the Arabs, of the Turks, and of the French under Napoleon. But their completest and most successful exponents have been Attila, Chengiz Khan, and Tamerlane; and the agonised sufferings of the Belgian people illustrate with appalling vividness their logical consequences. War, it may be urged, has been a civilising force; it has promoted the intermingling of peoples and the spread of ideas, which may have rescued mankind from stagnating torpidity. But in present days these currents are set up by other forces—the intercommunication of commerce and travel, peaceful migration, and the influence of the Press—and to invoke the genius of war in the interests of culture is as barbarous as to cauterise a man whose nerves have broken down. And, if war affords occasions for the practice of courage, are there not courageous activities in peace? So long as we are dependent upon such pursuits as seafaring and coal-mining, we maintain schools of bravery in our midst.

For the majority, however, the ideals of peace are represented by the acquisitive pursuits of the market-place, the vanity and egotism that are moving impulses in democratic politics, and there are few who can be altogether contented with them and want nothing further to dignify their lives. But warlike enthusiasm is not our only alternative. During the past nineteen centuries man has been provided with an ennobling ideal if he chooses to adopt it, the ideal of kindness which is suggested to him by the life and teaching of Christ—that kindness without which (in the energetic language of St. Paul) the most brilliant

of human qualities are but 'as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal.' We have impulses upon which this ideal can be grafted. Man is naturally kind, as well as naturally cruel. Of this no doubt can be entertained by those who dispassionately study human behaviour. There are moments when the cruellest of mankind show astonishing touches of affection : the cruel antipathies of the battlefield may be suddenly exorcised by compassion for the enemy's wounded. Amongst the essential differences between ancient and modern civilisation is a greater and increasing consideration for others—an especial regard for the poor and afflicted—and unbiassed opinion will hardly deny that this ideal has been strengthened by Christian teaching. Classes which were formerly left to languish in slavery have been redeemed, and are protected by the State ; private efforts to assist them are liberally supported, and upon the improvement of their conditions of life and the education of their children is expended a very large proportion of the public revenues. Politics can hardly have a higher object than to provide that the next generation—of the poor as well as of the rich—shall be healthy, virtuous, and intelligent. Here we have an ideal which may excite us less strongly than warlike enthusiasm, but offers a noble relief from the trivialities of peace. War is, then, not necessary to redeem man from egotism ; and we may claim that, in the present conflict, we are fighting for Christ against Odin, for peace and goodwill against restless impulses which seek to gratify themselves at the cost of whatever toll of human suffering.

But the Germans, it will be said, have been quite as solicitous as ourselves, and even more effective, in ameliorating the conditions of poverty. It is a fact that there are many likenesses of disposition between the Germans and ourselves. They, like us, are enterprising as well as painstaking in the practical business of life, aim at honesty in public as well as in private affairs, and are moved by the same desire for neatness, cleanliness, and comfort. But in their efforts for the welfare of the poor we may suspect—and their writings, indeed, disclose—the existence of motives beyond philanthropy and a desire for orderliness. It adds to the military strength and resources of a country that its poorer citizens should be disciplined, healthy, and intelligent ; and, having reached a conclusion, the Germans are as efficient as insects in carrying it into effect. But, were militarism established as a dominant ideal, there is no reason to believe that a beneficent policy would be adopted by all conquering nations, or would be imposed by them upon those that they conquered. And social improvement in the interests of an army has no such elevating effect upon human nature as when it is undertaken as an end in itself.

But we are taking too narrow a view of Prussian ideals. War is valued, not only as an end in itself, but as a means of attaining the power which will enable the German nation to 'realise itself,' to fulfil its 'manifest destiny,' and to impose upon other nations the 'adornments of German culture.' These are fine words. But the desire of power is simply an outgrowth of the impulses of greed and vanity : it is not clear that the Germans have any special destiny whatever ; and, as for their culture, its undeniable efficiency leaves it utterly barbarous in its callous disregard of the feelings of others. Moreover, the racial assumptions upon which these ambitions rest are supported by imagination only. The peoples of Europe are a mixture of many races : differences in complexion, feature, and character between children of the same family are as conspicuous as in a litter of mongrel puppies. From time immemorial tides of conquering migration have left their traces upon the previously settled population. The composition of the mixture differs, of course, in different portions of the Continent, one or other of its constituents being of greater or less strength. But it is fatuous to suppose that over an area as large as Germany the composition is uniformly German : indeed, throughout much of the country the predominant element is probably Slav. Purity of race is an ideal which has fastened itself on to national vanity : the ideal is naturally strengthened by peculiarity of language, and the use of Czech in Bohemia, as of Erse in Ireland, is the artificial result of endeavours to bring home to a hybrid people that they are a race apart.

A dominating ideal is practically a monomania, and is a dangerous possession for an individual and for a nation. We are accustomed to admire the enthusiasm which it kindles and the self-sacrifice which it inspires. But it rests upon the assumption that the complicated machinery of human nature, which is energised by a number of innate forces, may be driven efficiently by only one of them. The result of this derangement may be grotesquely eccentric or actively pernicious to human society, since the idealist, in his zeal for his end, is careless as to means. To religious fanaticism the fires of persecution are a salutary means of enforcing conviction : to martial ambition treaties may be 'scraps of paper,' hospitable entertainment a means of spying out the land, and the agonies of a tortured people a useful safeguard for an army's communications. The Germans condemn us for our lack of ideals. We may be thankful that we are singularly insensible to their fascinations—or, as we should perhaps say, unable to form them—and are inclined for the most part to a useful opportunism, which is disposed to judge things by common sense, and not according to their agreement or disagreement with any single one of our impulses. Dogmas of

religious belief have always sat lightly upon our shoulders ; we are not above the use of compromise in politics, and have, accordingly, passed through our revolutions without sanguinary excess, and modified our laws without great bitterness. This freedom from obsession gives play to elasticity of mood—leaves room for the spirit of cheerfulness. The light-heartedness with which our soldiers confront the dangers of the battlefield has little in common with the emotional transports of the French ; it has nothing in common with the monomaniacal intensity which gives German activities their amazing precision. To a German or a Frenchman the British Empire falls deplorably short of idealistic perfection : it is, indeed, a tissue of anomalies, but it is successful because it is the fruit, not of theory, but of practice—of a policy in which impulsive feelings have been very largely controlled by inference or common sense. An attitude which admits of compromise gives an easy tolerance of manner, which has made Englishmen generally popular throughout the world. In their hearts they may believe themselves to be superior to men of other countries. But this belief rarely moves them to gratuitous insolence, as might be expected were it cherished as a national ideal. Germans abroad are intolerably rude : accordingly they have the whole world against them.

Is the English character *naturally* resistent to the tyranny of ideals, or does it owe its freedom to education or tradition? Ideals, as we have seen, are the products of memories. But their insistency and endurance depend upon the strength of the impulses upon which these memories centre. We may assume without rashness that the impulses of different individuals differ in such degrees as their complexion and features, and that from these differences result the peculiarities of individual character. We know very well that there are radical distinctions of disposition between one man and another. One is more affectionate, less quarrelsome, more amorous, less industrious, more artistic than another ; and that these peculiarities are innate and not the result of training or education is evident from the contrasts which we observe between members of the same family. May we not go further and conclude that certain peculiarities of character affect, more or less generally, the inhabitants of a country, so as to produce a national type of disposition ? The population of Europe is hybrid, but not uniformly hybrid. Certain types of complexion, for instance, are more prevalent in some countries than in others. Dark hair characterises the Mediterranean, light hair the Baltic. It is accordingly probable that innate peculiarities of character may similarly be localised, and this assumption is confirmed by experience and observation. Are not Germans more imaginative than French ? Amongst Germans and French

is there the desire for liberty of choice which has so profoundly influenced English politics? We touch here upon a problem of immense importance. For if there are national peculiarities that are innate, the development of a nation's history is not solely determined by its experiences and by such influences as those of religion and education, but is regulated in some measure by ineradicable qualities over which any restraints that are imposed by civilisation can only lie as a veneer. And here a second problem arises : Are national peculiarities derived from the breed or from the locality? Does a people that has changed its abode maintain its character unchanged in the land of its adoption? Northern peoples that have migrated appear to have suffered some changes within the course of a few generations : the Normans who settled in the Mediterranean speedily lost their characteristic vigour; Anglo-Saxons in North America and Australia appear to be developing new traits of their own. Southern peoples, on the other hand, are more retentive of their genius : centuries have not sufficed to obliterate the distinctiveness of the Jews or the Gypsies. Are southern characteristics more enduring than northern because they are the more ancient of the two? It must suffice here merely to indicate these problems in outline. So much, however, we may, perhaps, conclude—that ideals spring, so to speak, from seed that is sown by experience and education, but may be nourished or starved according as they agree or disagree with qualities that are inherent at birth, are more prevalent amongst some peoples than others, and may be the product of conditions either of breed or of locality.

BAMPFYLDE FULLER.

RELIGIONS AND THE WAR

IN the present extraordinary war, which has no parallel in history not because it surpasses in magnitude all previous conflicts but by reason of internal factors, moral and psychical, one of the features most deserving of notice is the *débâcle* of Lutheranism. William the Second set himself from the first to represent the dual character of the Holy Roman Empire; he regarded himself as the great overlord of the West and as the head and front of Protestantism. The championship of the Protestant idea—the Lutheran idea—is, as all who know the Kaiser's entourage are aware, a keynote of the Germany which emerged in 1870. And as a religious system Lutheranism must be considered the cardinal fact in the reformed religions of Europe, not only because it, or a Calvinistic form of it, rules over the larger portion of modern Germany, in all the Scandinavian countries, and is preponderant in French and German Switzerland and even in Holland, but also because the religion of England and of the Greater Britain overseas would not be what it is without the influence of Luther. Lutheran hegemony, however, has remained with Germany, and it is this Lutheranism, and certain characteristics in Lutheranism wherever else they may appear, which have suffered, I think, an irretrievable *débâcle* in 1914, three years before the quatercentenary of the 'birthday of the Reformation,' that 31st of October 1517, when the reformer nailed his theses to the church door at Wittenberg.

It may be objected at once that Lutheranism as a religion is dead, that it is precisely the decadence of the religious factor in Germany which has assisted its spiritual degeneration. The nations, however, who embraced it are as much its spiritual and philosophic outcome as Europe in the sixteenth century was the outcome of the Christianity which had dominated there for a thousand years. As a spiritual and philosophical system Lutheranism is rightly judged in the present catastrophe. Just before his death Pius the Tenth spoke of this war as a conflict in which 'the faithful were in arms against the faithful,' but the really astounding element is the uprising of all peoples, irrespective of religion or creed, against Germany and Germanism. It has been left for the twentieth century to behold the Catholic and

the Greek, the Hindu and the Japanese, the Indian Moslem, and the Boer with his Bible combining to suppress the spirit represented by Germany, the representative of Lutheranism. And what the War has already shown is something infinitely wonderful and *sui generis* in the history of humanity and peoples: an insistence on the truth that behind all 'religions' and in spite of them is a religious spirit which opposes the spirit of irreligion. They are all consciously rising against what is, in some real sense for all of them, a spirit of irreligion.

The Reformation must be reckoned among the most notable of the uprisings of the human soul—not inferior to the Renaissance in letters and art—but it fell short, at its very inception, of that attachment to freedom and appeal to conscience which were its motive forces. Luther, it has been frequently pointed out, cared nothing for dogmatic freedom; he substituted a rigid biblical dogmatism for the Church, but if he was a doctrinal reformer he was also a doctrinal autocrat. If any one will recall Luther's physiognomy he will perceive that no appeal he could have made to conscience and no care he could have had to free men from the yoke of Rome could have placed him among the lovers of real spiritual liberty. It was a German liberty of spirit not a Latin liberty of spirit—liberty to theorise and impose your theories, and not otherwise.

This was the 'earthen vessel.' The treasure it contained was the central Protestant doctrine of justification by faith only. When it was objected to him that the original of the text 'my just man shall live by faith' did not include the word 'only' which appeared in Luther's first translation, he answered that he wished he could have made the text run—'by faith only without the works of any of the laws.' This solifidianism, in the interests of which it was permissible to violate the inspired scriptures, is the characteristic of Teutonic religion. It is the fixed idea which finds utterance to-day in the immoral text 'Germany above all.' And on its moral side no one had expressed its terms more baldly than Luther himself. 'From this' (the Lamb of God), he wrote, 'nothing can separate us even if we fornicated and committed adultery a thousand thousand times a day.' 'Faith' thus defined is surely a merely mechanical doctrine, a bee in the bonnet, a conception which, instead of signalising (as it might have done) the nobler *argumenta* of the spirit and a bulwark against the perfitoriness of certain Catholic 'works' which are not more entitled to be classed as evangelic than solifidianism itself, eventually debouched as the fixed-idea materialism of Germany in 1914.

As a religious philosophy Lutheranism bears the brand of the Northern pre-Christian religions. To realise this one has but to

compare the grace, the amenity, and the closeness to nature in its loveliest moods, or the majesty of the great mother gods in classical mythology, with the violent bloodthirsty non-moral 'Hammerers' of Norse and Germanic myth—of the mythology which ousted the female god of nature and pity, and put in her place the blustering and mindless Thor; who ultimately supplanted even the more 'cultured' Woden. It matters, of course, nothing at all that Greece and Rome saw Ceres and Apollo, Juno or Athenê, where the north lands saw Odin and Thor, because the land of Thor could never have seen nature as the lands of Phoebus saw it. It matters as little in the sphere of action as the question of moral responsibility for acts. The mark is there; and that is what concerns us now. The Christian missioner finds that the native will change the names of his gods but not the order of his ideas. Luther gathered up, I think, much that Thor had left behind him, and exposed an unchristianisable element in the northern barbarism; that which Heine saw when he foretold that the day the German broke the cross in two he would destroy, with Thor's hammer, the Gothic cathedrals. Thor then has nothing to recommend him as a Christian; but the corresponding element in Latin countries which we in the North are accustomed to regard as 'pagan' is not necessarily unchristian, it is unsemitic.

When Nietzsche said that the weak and submissive are slave men, even when he said that traditional Christianity is in some sort a cult of slavery, he did not go far astray. The matter which is of capital importance for civilised man is the sort of strength which is admirable—it is defensive strength, not offensive. Or to put it another way, it is the distinction between swashbuckler force and righteous force in nature which may be seen in the combative qualities of either sex; she using these to protect her young, he to 'worst' a rival, because he is a rival, and incidentally fighting for its own sake to keep his hand in. In nature the female (though often more fierce than the male) has *qua* female no use for strife for its own sake. Right down at the forces which underlie this present war is the same conflict of nature and of sex, that between defensive weapons and offensive. The rise of the real 'superman,' who alone can make us forget his sorry imitation the Prussian, is bound up with this distinction.

It has been said that the German has a big mind and a petty character. Let us look at this triple preparation for war. A few months ago all German officers were informed that the English 'toothbrush' moustache was 'not in the German character'; the tom-cat bristles met this requirement. A little later they were told that the habit of putting their arm through that of wife or sister with whom they were walking was deprecated;

soldiers 'who required a woman's support had better leave the army.' And thirdly, there has been a studied coarsening and ruthlessness of manners extending even to dirty and careless methods of eating. The childishness and pettiness of these things might have caused nothing but contempt or laughter had they not proved to be the panoply of the 'superman' whose prowess has just expended itself in Belgium. It is the characteristic of modern Germany that it has flouted the assistance of women. An article in a weekly newspaper on the outbreak of the war pointed out that no European nation has so completely banned their influence and co-operation as Germany. It was headed 'Soldier and Hausfrau,' and the title is in itself a text and a sermon. The fighting power of the German male confers a status to which the civilian population humbly yields place, while the German woman answers to the description of the Greek orator: 'we keep wives to bear us legitimate children and to be our faithful housekeepers.' Hence no one listens to her, she has not even had the power of public assembly; the people pay attention to the clatter of the heels and sabres of soldiers upon the pavement. The amorous Greek whose infidelities were unrestricted and unrebuked created, as we see, a subject virtuous wife whose highest virtue was conjugal fidelity. *En revanche*, the only free woman in Athens was the courtesan; she alone shared with men the intellectual life of her time, and took the place which belonged by outraged nature to the woman as mother. Germany is not Greece, and we cannot imagine an Aspasia, a Diotima, a Leontium, by the side of the *hausfrau*; neither can we imagine Sokrates stepping out of the path to make room for a *chiliarchos*, or a Zabern incident in the streets of Salamis. This is not because the German spurns the courtesan but because he feels no need in his political philosophy for the mind of a Diotima. The irregularity of life of the noble women of later Greece was due not to the want of morality, say in an Aspasia, but to the profound immorality of the Greek man's treatment of 'the virtuous woman.' And the foothold of the free woman—itself the outcome of the sensitiveness of Greek culture—would have saved Greece from the Berlin orgy in Belgium. Something, evidently, has always been amiss in German culture, and that something has been its undoing.

The blow which must now be given to Protestantism in Central Europe may very probably be counterbalanced by a fresh religious movement among Catholics. France, Belgium, Italy, Portugal, and Spain are purely Catholic countries. The outbreak of war immediately filled the Paris churches, and the heroism and charity of nuns, sisters of mercy, and priests in Belgium, heroism and patriotism and charity which have been repeated in France, the

loving-kindness of the people in suffering Poland, the spontaneous opening of Catholic churches in France and Holland as shelters for the homeless, and that 'splendid golden thread' the good samaritanism of Holland itself, whose poorer population is also Catholic, cannot fail to affect the religion and the countries that are thereby served. I do not reckon for any accession of the influence of English religion, because the past shows us that this is essentially bound up with the temperament tastes and traditions of Englishmen and does not spread beyond the English-born and English-speaking in Great Britain and its colonies. This phenomenon may perhaps be better realised if we compare Roman Catholic nuclei in any land *partibus infidelium* with those British chaplaincies which have now a long history behind them in every European country. I suppose no Roman Catholic chapel ever failed to attract others besides its Roman Catholic congregation, but the British place of worship in *partibus* has remained not so much an unapproachable as an unapproached island everywhere. If, then, there is to be a return of the religious spirit finding expression through the existing religious channels it will be one affecting Latin and Slav religion. It may, indeed, be said that neither the Greek nor the Latin Church is prepared for the exigencies of what we hope will prove after the war a partially regenerated Europe. It must be recognised that in the doctrine of the papacy Roman Catholicism possesses a tenet capable of being as non-moral in its effect as solifidianism and still less capable than this doctrine of spiritual expansion. The Russian religion, again, differs even more widely from the prevailing tone of European thought on account of the prodigious development given to the veneration of images—the controversy concerning which is already twelve hundred years old—favouring, as it does, an attitude towards the unapproachable God the extreme opposite of Prussian familiarity with Him. I take it that any religious revival after so poignant a trial of the spirit as this must prove to be in the countries which are the theatre of war, would be in all ways a revival of the religious sense not an appeal to the superstitious sense. It will express what women feel as well as what men feel. It will be a Catholicism of the people. Less of religious Caesarism and more of popular self-reverence initiative and intensity. Religion in fact will come into line with the democratic tendencies which doubtless underlie the present struggle. It must be remembered that this war will completely check the recent orientation of Vatican policy towards Germany and the Germanic peoples, and that the Holy See will treat with peoples the great majority of whom have decreed that 'clerical' and religious are not synonyms and secular and religious not contraries. A catholicism which combined more of the *Catholic* and less of the *tempera-*

ment with the imperative intellectual requirements of the Latin would not be met by Benedict the Fifteenth as Pius the Tenth met 'modernism.' This would be a moral movement, and the weakness of 'modernism' consisted in the fact that it was at no time a moral movement.

It is then at least possible that we might see a new lease given to the prevailing forms of Continental Christianity which certainly did not seem within the possibilities when Pius the Tenth breathed his last. And the spiritual asset of such a revival would not be negligible. That intense religious world which calls itself 'Holy Russia' is bound together by the figure of the Tsar, and this does not signify anything approaching the doctrinal Caesarism of the West. On the other hand the characteristic of Western Christendom, its devotional intimacy, which has been steadily growing since the fourteenth century, acquiring exotic additions since the sixteenth, has no counterpart in Greek religion, and is compatible with an 'irreligiousness' which shocks the Russian. Slav religion like Irish religion springs from the people itself; and for the Russians the holy chrism of Confirmation signifies something, it makes them to their God 'a kingdom and priests.' The secular Latin mind which leaves the sacred onus of religion to the clergy finds no echo in the reverent and unclerical Slav; and while the Latin's contribution to the West is his ideas he is not therefore an idealist in religion. What the Slav would bring is his irrevocable preference for spiritual values rather than material values and a contempt for 'respectable' religion as immense as the Irishman's. And what the Latin would bring is curiously similar though arising from the intellectual side rather than the spiritual—the Latin value for life in itself rather than for something that can be hoarded up in it, the Latin lucidity which defies self-delusion and makes for religious simplicity and joyousness. It was Lutheranism which first inflicted upon Christianity an exclusively masculine conception of the Deity and of divine operations. Such a phenomenon would always have been impossible in a Church which like the Roman Catholic had had imposed upon it from the first the Italic conception of the Mother of the Divine, the doctrine that the Divine visited us by the consent and with the co-operation of a human mother; or where, as in the Greek Church, the figures of the Lord and the Lord's Mother point the way into the holy of holies. It will not be objected to me that Catholicism is essentially as masculine a type of religion as Puritanism or Lutheranism. It is very true that Catholicism has been growing along these masculine lines, because the Catholic Reaction was an adaptation to a catastrophe and not purely an adhesion to historical catholicity. Pre-Reformation Catholicism discerned

for women a very different position from that which post-Reformation Catholicism has accorded them. Our bourgeois Christendom of the last four hundred years would have certainly regarded an institution like Fontevrault as 'unnatural' and heretical, yet we had a similar institution in pre-Reformation England itself, for in the only order of English origin the women governed the men. The Reformation in Germany rejoined the religion of Luther to the religion of Thor, which had no use for women. The imperial institution of Western Christianity gave women function, the sacred institution of Slav Christianity made all Christians co-responsible for the religious life; but the Reformation annihilated the part which should be taken by women in spiritual matters, not because women cannot be 'saved by faith,' but because 'saved' women have no part at all in ordering the moral and spiritual life of the nation. Luther established, on the pattern of German mythology, a male autocracy, and solifidianism is itself the substitution of a mechanical and therefore a male principle for the reality of a living discipline of charity. I think no epoch of the world has provided so perfect an example of the working of a purely male mechanism as the spectacle now offered by the Prussian State. Turkey alone in the past might have emulated it, but has not done so. *Corruptio optimi pessima.*

Much has been said since the war began about the influence of Nietzsche on Prussian militarism. Perhaps there could not have been a profounder surprise for Nietzsche than the stalking forth of Uhlan and Death's-head Hussar to create the world-empire of the supermen. For like his race kinsmen the Poles, and for that matter the Magyar, he despised and hated the Prussian and every German ideal: 'We can assent to no state of affairs which allows the canting bigot to be at the top,' 'wherever Germany spreads she ruins culture.' Nietzsche's cosmopolitan nation of supermen was perhaps as far removed from *Junker* ideals as from the ideals of Augustine's city of God. And, in a sense, he will have his revenge in this war which must shatter the prestige of brute empire. For it will not be by preaching meekness and submissiveness and patience that the world is going to be any better after this conflict. These virtues, an unselfrespecting docility, have been the obverse of the 'three K's'—Kaiser, Krupp, Krieg¹—and have made the *Junker-thum* possible. Not Nietzsche but Luther holds the threads of the extraordinary mentality which exalts faith at the expense of godliness. It was Luther who called the Epistle of James 'an Epistle of straw,' and this is the Epistle which tells us that pure religion and undefiled is that which visits the sorrowing in their

¹ The life of women in Germany is to be regulated, said the Kaiser, by the "three K's" CCA Online Public Domain Books Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

affliction and keeps itself unspotted from the world. It now provides the best commentary on Luther's handiwork : 'Whence come wars and whence come fightings among you? Ye lust, and have not, ye kill and covet, and cannot obtain : ye fight and war.' 'Envy, our pet German vice,' said Treitschke; and Luther came to the moral assistance of his countrymen by substituting the cross as a dogma for the cross as a morality. Is it the least curious outcome of the war that already Lutherans in Russia are flocking in numbers to be received into the Orthodox Church?

I remember when William the Second paid his first visit to Rome after the ratification of the '*Triplex*.' The Forum was illuminated by Bengal lights and a great dais had been erected against the Palatine from whence he could watch the spectacle. I was near him, and I felt the full dramatic force of the moment when he, a German Emperor in Rome, stood forward on the site of the palaces of Caesar, and I thought : You picture yourself in the place of the Holy Roman Emperor. It is with this virus that he has inoculated the victors of 1870. Was not Thor simply a vulgar 'war lord' converted into a divinity? And had not the Romans done the same? Facing William the Second on that night was the temple which Antoninus raised to Faustina and which the Romans rededicated to both *divi*; but the Roman never confused, as the German has confused, the cult of the State with the aspirations of the human soul. It is the non-Latin empire which has inverted the travesty and made God into a war lord; has made Him subserve the sordid aspiration '*Deutschland über alles*' which supersedes the pious German '*Gott über alles*'.

And as it seems probable that Latin religion will henceforward have greater prominence so also will the Latin races. Since 1870 the European tendency has been towards Germanisation. The world-wide sway of the English, the enormous development of a whole continent on the other side of the Atlantic on Anglo-Saxon lines, and the greatness of modern Germany—all of them developments of the nineteenth century—have left the Latin behind and thrust into the background the ideals of all Latin civilisation. The Triple Alliance itself went some way towards neutralising the influence of United Italy as a new Latin factor in the commonwealth of nations. But the moral and psychical factors in Europe will now receive a fresh combination; the Latin and Slav will come out of this conflict immensely strengthened, the Germanic peoples will come out immeasurably weakened. 'Psychological' brains will dominate in place of 'metaphysical' brains. And when I say that the Latins are the psychological peoples I mean that they have the faculty for seizing reality, for lucid appreciation of the psychological factors of conduct, quick

response, quick reaction, the power of receiving and treating with ideas as distinguished from the habit of being duped by them—a greater mental sincerity. Both Slav and Latin, in comparison with all Teutonic or Teutonised peoples, have attractiveness and natural charm, and both have more mercy and ruth. An Italian gendarme will not hurry away a woman he has come to arrest, he will often wait patiently till a merciful interlude has elapsed; and perhaps there can be no stronger contrast among the races of men than the tragic sense of pity of the Russian and the pitilessness of this Prussians' war. And Slav and Latin have another trait in common, for both value the individuality of women as neither German nor Englishman has shown himself capable of doing. It is not the fact that both people have fairer inheritance and marriage laws, for other features affecting the legal position of women under the Code Napoléon are a disgrace to Latin lands; but it is the fact that Latins and Slavs alone of the peoples of the modern world have appreciated and cared for feminine individualism; so that there is scarcely a position which a French woman or a Slav woman desires to fill which she could not fill among her people. This has been repeatedly proved true among the Slavonian peoples, in Russia, in Poland, in the Balkan States. In this respect France with its unjust sex laws and its splendid traditions of women's freedom is like the son in the parable who answered 'I will not,' and went; while other nations talk of their love of liberty and of fair play to women, and withhold from them every freedom. Hence in these first weeks of the war we have already seen officers' daughters in Russia go to the front, another Russian sportswoman engaged, at her request, in outpost duty, and a hospital of highly trained English women doctors and nurses at once accepted in Paris, for whom their own country had no use. At the same time Russia has issued permission to women surgeons to proceed to the front, the only restriction being that they shall not outnumber the male surgeons. I do not think the Russian or the French would have called Florence Nightingale, an 'indecent hussy.'

The fact again that both races represent the preference for psychological rather than for political values is an asset of great worth for the future. England will represent for many years to come all that is wanted in upholding the tradition of political values, the faculty for political liberty. There are other liberties of the soul which only those peoples who are not held in the thrall of their prejudices can set before us. It is a curious thing that the neglect of psychological factors in a country's life has led in modern Europe to the rise of snobbishness. Our two enemies share with England the cult of rank and position with-

out however exemplifying the aristocraticism which dignified the upper classes in the French Revolution. Austria and Germany lay stress upon the worship due to title and on the distinctions between the 'high-born,' the 'half-born,' and those unfortunates who are not 'born' at all, such as is now known to no European people; yet there, as in England, the civilisation which in Latin Spain, in France, or in Italy, makes 'every man a gentleman,' or even which in autocratic Russia is now giving Europe an example of democratic simplicity,² has never been achieved. Hence the gain to the Anglo-Saxon of a new polarisation of values. Our custom of sending girls and boys to 'complete' their education in Germany has done nothing to develop English character. We shall not send them there now; and we may even get back, what we lost at the Reformation, the larger patriotism of religion and letters. How is it that a few short weeks witnessed this turning away of Europe, ay and of nations on every continent of the globe, from Germany which four months ago received universal admiration for its philosophy, its metaphysic, its music, its patient exhaustive brilliant research? The reason is that Germany has condemned whole nations to anguish and loss, to fire and sword and rapine, to carnage on a scale never known in the world before. No one had any quarrel with this Power, no one provoked it, we have seen bared nakedly before us a turpitude unsurpassed in the history of mankind, a defiance of the rights of humanity unparalleled in its obliquity. For this drama is played before such an audience as never till now looked upon war; never till now has a great struggle been waged before tens and hundreds of millions of men the heirs of such knowledge and such resources, and living under such widely diffused principles of representative government and instruction. That in this phase of humanity the nation which has had in the past hundred years the highest claims to learning and philosophy should have thrust a colossal and wanton war upon mankind is a portent which has reached the imagination of all races of men with unrivalled swiftness. We do not yet realise what it means—when compared with any conflict of the past or any serious cause for war—to hear of three, four, five hundred thousand dead and wounded. During the first two months the total loss was probably not less than ten hundred thousand men, and has been proportionately greater since—men blown to death by shells, men mangled and left on the field masses of bleeding flesh, women raped, maimed, burnt in their homes, forced to see those they loved best killed before their eyes, wandering with little

² *The Times* special correspondent with the Russian armies called attention (November 2) to this aspect of Russian life, contrasted with the ostentation of 'nouveaux riches' in England and America.

children homeless and wounded, sick and starving, or driven in the front of troops as a screen ; civilian populations ordered to set fire to their own homesteads, and everywhere hundreds of thousands of mourners for the dead. Not a horror or a torture has been spared which humanity can suffer in mind or body. And all for what? A swift catastrophe of nature making its appeal to all men to aid and palliate? An intolerable wrong wreaked by an uncivilised people? No—the act of madmen from the land of Goethe, of Kant, of Schiller, Beethoven, Bach—of men who are morally mad.

It is this moral *débâcle* of our civilisation which is the focussing point for attention best worth considering. The Belgian Ministre d'État who headed the deputation to America told us the truth when he declared that no European country is guiltless of this war. If a man in a calm moment looks at the pictures of a great siege gun or a cannon for firing bombs, what can he really think about them? In an age when physical strength has practically ceased to be an asset or to vest authority in human affairs men have been moulding a Frankenstein's monster adventitiously armed, and have bowed down before it as the eventual arbiter between them. We have pretended to decry the fist and have created 'the mailed fist.' With this picture we were in fact content until we saw Germany transformed into the incarnation of brute force lusting for brute power. This showed us the moral *débâcle* which always lay in wait by our fetish. Ample evidence already exists in the reports of the Belgian Commission, in the orders to troops, in the diaries and letters found upon the dead, in the indelible record written in fire and carnage. We have the barbarous desire to humiliate,³ the savage pleasure in terrorising and in menacing the inoffensive, the moral inability to honour or pity the noble patriotism displayed in outraged Belgium, the ignoble call upon its soldiers to desert, the masquerading in uniforms of the Allies and in civilian clothes, the use of the white flag to lure men to their death, the assassination of the wounded on the battlefield, the devilish torment practised upon 'three severely wounded English' at Landen railway station at midday on the 9th of October 'by two or three hundred German soldiers,' which is vouched for by the Dutch war correspondent who witnessed it, the ghoulish stacking of the dead as a barricade over which to shoot the living, and the sitting up of dead bodies in empty trenches to draw the enemy's fire.

³ In her delightful *Memories of the Kaiser's Court* Miss Topham notes : 'The Prussian spirit . . . has a knack of letting the conquered drink to the dregs the cup of humiliation.'

No, never since the world began have such things been looked upon by such men.

Once more, note how Germany which has been regarded as one of the Protestant truth-speaking peoples has outraged sense and conscience by the cunning perfidy, the hypocrisy, the shameless crude campaign of its mendacity : the sentence wrenched from its context and spirit, the very essence of lies.

Nevertheless let none of us say to ourselves 'God, I thank Thee that I am not as the rest of men, or even as these Germans.' The nations of Europe which have been increasing armaments and inventing ever deadlier engines of war; the Cabinets which tolerate the despicable system of espionage, *agents provocateurs* and 'graft,' or the crushing of Persia, must not be allowed to pose as *ingénues* astonished at the horrors of a broken peace. We take leave of all philosophy if we suppose that one nation alone cherished any such ideas or was capable of giving effect to them. What Germany has done is to hold up the mirror to Europe, and it is to be hoped that Europe after beholding himself in it will not straightway forget what *männer* of man he was. If we wish to understand this a little better we have only to remember the Hague Peace Conventions. War in the future was at least to be less bloodthirsty and cruel, civilians would be protected ; and here we are at this moment in the midst of a war so grievous so sanguinary so barbaric in all its circumstances that it has already been called 'a civilians' war,' one in which the civil populations the women and the little children are called upon to suffer most. After the war, we may hope, the civilisation—or is it the sex?—which is satisfied with the solemn farce of making laws which it knows will never be administered and will never deter anyone, will reform itself. When a London morning paper, as soon as the war broke out, told us that 'to be a soldier is the most natural occupation of man,' it told us more than this : it told us that if this be the actual description of civilised 'man' he will not trouble to wait till a just war is thrust upon him. We have got a 'holy war' now, but it is no thanks to the war cabinets of Europe, who have a single duty imposed upon them, the overthrow of the monster they have created. The hands that built it up must drag it down with the weapons they have forged. We will not have a society which made it possible for the Kronprinz at a reception at our Embassy a few weeks before the war to inquire after the naval and military attachés in the words 'Where are your spies?' The world is not going to march to culture to the sound of siege guns, nor to be forced into war because the gunmakers clamour for colossal profits.

If no war ever took place before such a vast civilised audience,

it is also true that none ever roused such high world-wide aspirations for a better state of things as its outcome. The First Lord of the Admiralty in this country told us we must be a more just people after this war than before, indeed one of the lessons we are to learn is that the capital act of violence is the refusal of justice. And another thing to be learnt is that the half-moralities must go—the 'Christian spirit' for Germany and the heathen spirit for Belgium, the love of liberty for me and not for you—and the shams and ugliness which attend upon them. But how much must be altered if this is to cease to be the spirit inspiring our affairs! Belgium has just been called 'the protected woman' of Europe, and all we can do for her now is to give her the power to protect herself. Obviously no 'protected' State is safe round which we throw our phrases and our laws without muzzling our cannon. Belgium has proved worth our championship, a hundred times worthy of any small dignity we can add to her own great dignity. And for those who believe there are few things better worth fighting for than the French element in the world's affairs—that for which Joan of Arc fought, that which she crowned at Rheims—England's part in this War is doubly admirable. As I write Rheims has been threatened with still further destruction, the place which set the sacred symbols upon the ideas of France. And we can bear to look upon it only because we know that that which waits to be crowned now—which Joan would now have crowned—needs no cathedral and no holy oil, for its consecration may be left to the deeper things of nature and the higher things of the spirit.

M. A. R. TUKER.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON THE SELF

THE question is often asked why it is that after so many years of missionary effort in India and the East so little progress has been made in the spread of Christianity in those regions. It is a question of much importance to all those who are interested in religion, whether they be Christian missionaries or merely men profoundly impressed by the part which religion plays in the life of an Empire in the East, such as our great Indian Empire.

Many answers have been proposed. Some would have it that our missionaries have gone the wrong way to work; they have neglected, say these, to approach the people from their own level, to speak to them in language they can understand. Hence we may now see missionaries going about India in native dress, adopting native customs and endeavouring to denationalise themselves in the fervour of their desire to reach the hearts of the people.

Others, who are themselves engaged in missionary work, point to the lives led by English Christians in the East, and regard the lax practice of their fellow-countrymen as the greatest hindrance in their efforts to hold up Christianity as the ideal to the earnest native seeker after truth.

Now, with regard to the first suggestion, that Christian preachers should adopt the methods of the indigenous holy man, fakir or guru, Brahman or mullah; it may be asserted without fear of contradiction from anyone acquainted with the native of India that such methods are neither necessary nor desirable. No man is respected for an attempt to conceal his nationality, his motives are questioned and not seldom falsely conjectured. Prestige is not humbug, and such imitative transformations, however well intentioned, do not conduce to the prestige of the Sahib in India. No native trooper in a cavalry regiment would expect his English officer to adopt his ways of living; yet he does not doubt his efficiency in their common profession, war, nor the sincerity of his instruction.

As for the second, the charge against Englishmen living in India, it may perhaps be unwise for one who is himself in the category to attempt a defence! Yet this may be offered in due

humility, that, even if the morality of the English community were everything that lady novelists represent it to be, still in the eyes of the Eastern that would be no hindrance to a belief in the truth of its religion. Morals and religion have not the same connexion in the East as in the West, nor is the divorce between profession and practice unknown even among Indians! If it were said that the native notices that his religion seems to bring little peace or comfort to the white man in his daily life, that assertion would pass unchallenged, for such is too often the case. May we not see that in the West as well?

Here we reach, quite casually, as it would seem, the real answer to the question. The Eastern simply does not see the advantage to be gained by Christianity. By advantage we mean here advantage in the sense of spiritual enlargement or enlightenment. Certain low castes do indeed see the advantage in the material sense, and do become Christians; it is from these depressed classes that the majority of our converts come. The true Hindoo or Buddhist cannot understand the attitude of the Christian mind; so far as he does understand it, he dislikes it. This is a hard saying. Let us try to see what it means.

Undoubtedly Christian teaching is having a great influence upon Indian thought. So much we may concede to the contention of our missionaries that we must not judge their results by statistics of conversion. But when we look more closely at this influence we find that it is in the direction of a more humane and brotherly feeling, the break-down of caste barriers, the inculcation of service, the conviction of the need of personal sacrifice. It is not in the direction of dogmatic acceptance. Can we wonder at this when we look round upon the Europe of to-day? Can we assert that the dogmas of Christianity are accepted, at all widely, even here? The spirit of Christ is, we firmly believe, abroad among us, inspiring many a movement for the amelioration of the human race, the ultimate possibilities of which we are only just beginning to glimpse; but the old dogmas of our faith are, to speak conventionally, dying; to speak truly, changing. Yet these are the very dogmas which we, in sublime conceit, offer to the Eastern world as truth whole and irrefragable!

But with all this we are not here concerned. Many of us believe that the failure of modern Christianity, if failure there be, is due to the fact that these very dogmas do not represent the original intentions of Christ, if we may with all reverence thus speak. We have come to regard them as essential to Christianity because they have grown up so slowly and so naturally among successive generations of religious thinkers. They are the intellectual air we breathed in at our birth; they are as familiar to us as our daily surroundings.

But when we offer them to the East, we offer them to a people whose intellectual heritage is far other ; to them they are exotics. If we would create the proper atmosphere for their reception we must perform in a few years the work of many centuries, and demolish an ancient structure founded upon natural affection.

This explains, in some measure, why the efforts of our missionaries meet with so little success. They are trying to use a raw material which is not in a suitable condition for their working. This also throws some light upon the vexed question of education in India. We have, with perfectly honest intentions, endeavoured to give Indians a Western education because we have seen the good results of such education among European nations and believe that all national progress must be based upon its principles. But we have forgotten that the East has not the same political history as the West ; the mutually antagonistic races of India know nothing of that long discipline of gradual change which in Europe has at last resulted in the possibility, hardly at present more than that, of representative institutions. Here again we are attempting to perform in the lifetime of a single administration what is really the work of generations. The two problems, the religious and the educational, are very much alike. They owe their difficulty as problems to the same difference, radical yet hardly recognised, between the Eastern and the Western mind. That difference is to be found in the attitude towards the Self, the Individual. Here in the West, ever since that period of intellectual uprising which synchronises with the Protestant Reformation, we have in religion, philosophy, and politics regarded the individual as the important factor in all affairs. The key-note of the ethical system of Spinoza (1677) was that 'everything, in so far as it is in itself, strives to persist in its own being.' Since that date all our systems of metaphysical and political philosophy have been based upon the rights of the individual or the supremacy of the self. The belief in personal immortality, the persistence of the individual self, has been regarded as an essential in any religion whatsoever in the West. For a time it seemed to our fathers as though science struck hard at this belief. Preoccupied like Pope with Man, they were suddenly told that the proper study of mankind was earthworms ! Convinced with Kant that 'the world arises in consciousness,' they heard with dismay that consciousness itself was developed out of protoplasm ! Man was revealed as but a step in the great evolution of life.

To the men of the Victorian era such a view of life seemed inimical to all human hopes. To the pessimist it was a confirmation of his creed that the greatest evil of all is the will to live ; the optimist took shelter in idealism and asserted that though

man's physical frame was indeed the product of natural evolution, yet his mind, his spirit, his consciousness was altogether unique. Christian apologists have, one and all, regarded personal immortality as the chief point to be defended, and their forces have been strengthened of late by all kinds of adherents, from eminent men of science to psychical 'scientists.'

This is a controversy which does not here concern us. All we desire is to emphasise the contrast that here in the West the controversy is regarded by both sides as of the utmost importance, while in the East it could not arise at all.

Now this is just what the Western mind cannot realise. If there be no personal immortality, then 'we are of all men most miserable.' Butler places the argument on its behalf in the forefront of his *Analogy*; the ordinary Christian, nay! the average respectable citizen can see no possibility of a religious or respectable life once that belief, however vague, be taken clean away.

What then were God to such as I?
 'Twere hardly worth my while to choose
 Of things all mortal, or to use
 A little patience ere I die;

'Twere best at once to sink to peace,
 Like birds the charming serpent draws,
 To drop head foremost in the jaws
 Of vacant darkness and to cease.

Those words of Tennyson well express the feeling of the West. We need not confine it to those who care but for the 'loaves and fishes' of religion—the congregations who find comfort in popular hymns, and sing blandly :

Whatever, Lord, we lend to Thee
 A thousandfold repaid shall be.

Without doubt it has been, and still is, the feeling of some of the finest minds in this world of the West, all popular travesties notwithstanding.

Yet to millions of the human race such a longing for personal immortality is unknown, almost unthinkable. They are intensely religious, deep metaphysicians, acute thinkers. Surely their view is worthy of our serious consideration; not to be lightly dismissed as 'dreary Pantheism' or 'blank Nihilism'? It is the view of practically the whole Eastern world. For we must remember that Christianity and Mohammedanism are not Eastern religions; they belong to Syria, to Arabia, the melting-pot of two civilisations. Psychologists should make the East begin at Aden, as the insurance companies do. Not till we are through that 'Gate of Tears' at Bab-el-Mandeb are we in the true East, and

not till then may we begin to feel, even faintly, the fascination of its faith.

So rare is it to find a true appreciation of the Eastern conception of self, so hard, indeed, for a mind saturated with Western thought, to discover anything at all of its real meaning, that perhaps these considerations, trite enough and every way imperfect, may yet be of some interest, coming from one who has entered within that gate and has fancied, at times, for all the 'tears,' that here his feet were, perchance, upon the paths of peace.

'Every man,' says an English theologian, 'is certain of his own personality, and has no need to be convinced of it.' *Cogito, ergo sum*, is an inference regarded as perfectly legitimate in the West.

But if we turn to the East we find this very same 'certainty' ranking as one of the delusions inseparable from conscious existence, which must be got rid of before we can hope for enlightenment. The idea of self is the root of all evil, the origin of all our desires, the cause of all our sorrows. Let us quote, from the Sutta Pitaka, the words of Gautama :

From sensation the unlearned man derives the notions 'I am,' 'This I, exists,' 'I shall be,' 'I shall not be.' But the learned disciple, having the same five organs of sense, has got rid of ignorance and acquired wisdom, and therefore the idea 'I am' does not occur to him.

Now let us quote from a Western source :

Personally I ignore the existence of soul and spirit, feeling no want of a self within a self, an I within an I. If it be a question of words, and my 'ego' or subject as opposed to the 'non-ego,' or object; or my individuality, the concourse of conditions which differentiates me from others, be called a soul, then I have a soul, but not a soul proper.

Those words of Sir Richard Burton (1878) give us a clue to the manner of the delusion. They suggest to us that all the usual philosophic arguments—self-consciousness, self-determination, etc.—are beside the point. They prove an 'I' indeed, but that 'I' is only a word for 'the concourse of conditions which differentiates me from others.'

The older psychologists used to give us a list of the 'faculties'—the memory, the will, etc. They were convicted of regarding separate aspects as separate entities. In the course of our thinking we have to abstract or isolate certain aspects of a thing for study, but we must bear in mind the underlying unity. May not the argument that refuted the old psychologists bear also against the current idea of personality? May we not have isolated that too, in the same way, and thus have come to regard it as a separate entity? Of course we are bound to make these

abstractions, and for practical purposes treat them as real; just as for practical purposes we take a piece of paper as worth five golden sovereigns. But to regard the self or personality as anything but a token or convenient symbol is, to the metaphysical Asiatic, absurd. 'We are incapable of apprehending a personality except in the sense of something that masks or represents an incomprehensible notion.'

An old Buddhist story seems appropriate here, though it is well worn. A certain king was labouring under the same delusion as ourselves. He could not see how a man could exist if he were not a separate entity.

'What is a chariot?' asked his instructor. 'Is the ornamental cover the chariot? Are the wheels, the spokes of the wheels, or the reins, the chariot? Are all these parts together the chariot? If you leave these out, does there remain anything which is the chariot?'

'No,' replied the king.

'Then I see no chariot, it is only a sound, a name.'

'No untruth have I uttered, venerable monk. The cover, wheels, seat, and other parts all united form the chariot. They are the usual signs by which that which is called a chariot is known.'

'Just so,' said the sage, 'in the case of man; as the various parts of a chariot form, when united, the chariot, so the aggregate qualities, when united in one body, form a being, a living existence.'

We may parallel this argument—not altogether a satisfactory one, it may be admitted, but sufficiently expository of the view under discussion—with an anecdote, true if trivial, of a small boy at a funeral. In order that he should not be affected too grievously by the signs of sorrow about him, his mother said, to comfort him, 'That is only the body of John Jones they are putting in the grave; you know his soul is in Heaven.'

'Then,' replied the small boy, 'if his body is in the grave and his soul is in Heaven, where is John Jones?'

Here we reach a further step, the problem of persistence. When this 'concourse of conditions' is broken up, what follows?

The Western answer is definite. The personality persists; death is a mere incident in its eternal career. Yet even here in the West two obvious objections have been made to this, and, in spite of all elucidations, still carry doubt to many minds.

The one objection is, more or less, a material one. Medical experience shows us, it urges, that the personality has by no means the permanent character that theology would give it, even during this sensible existence. A bodily change, an injury to the brain, even an immaterial shock to the mind, may alter

the personality to such an extent that it may almost be said to destroy it. What guarantee have we, asks the materialist, that in the dissipation of our bodily organs the spiritual are not also scattered? Dust returns to dust and is merged in the material universe; spirit is absorbed once more, if spirit there be, in the spiritual universe.

The other objection is the theological one. The argument for personal immortality is derived mainly, it tells us, from revelation. In the writings that embody that revelation we may find many passages that make the promise of personal immortality appear conditional. Not heaven and hell are the alternatives, but eternal life and annihilation.

Into this theological objection we need not enter, as it in no way concerns Eastern belief. But the other objection does. All our speculations about life, in itself, apart from its manifestations, proceed necessarily by way of analogy. We do not know anything of life apart from its manifestation in matter. The nearest analogy we can get is to be found in electricity. Death is not merely a break-down of the body, the running down of the machine; the dead man's face becomes blank like the face of a house when the lights are suddenly switched off. Something or other has gone out.

When you turn off the electric light, what happens? You don't kill it; it is there still. That is sleep. And when you break the button of the switch that regulates the light, what happens? The light, the potential light, is still there, stored up ready; only you cannot put on the light just there, just then. That is death.

Or, take a telephone. You may break the receiver, you may smash it to atoms, but you do not touch the electricity, you do not hurt that. Mend your receiver, or get another, and you may establish communication again. That analogy gives us a good answer against those people who say that life is destroyed with the body.

But it gives us no atom of hope that our receiver will be mended.

It is absurd to suppose that life is at the mercy of any fool with a gun; but it is equally ridiculous to expect that the same bucket is going to the well of life for ever.

Eastern thought has attempted to guard against either delusion. We have seen how the refusal to believe in the separate entity of the self prevents us from holding to personal immortality. The same conviction enables us to refute the man who supposes that he is 'free to end it when he will' like the pessimist preacher in Thomson's *City of Dreadful Night*.

What becomes, then, of this energy we call life and may call

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'soul' as long as we do not attach to the word the idea of separate entity?

The answer is given in the doctrine of Karma, or more familiarly, the transmigration of souls. The latter phrase, however, is so often misinterpreted that it is better not to use it without the reservation about the meaning of 'soul' which we have given.

The doctrine of Karma briefly is that whatsoever a man sows that grows up and bears fruit. All the good and evil deeds he has done combine to form, in their results, 'the concourse of conditions' of another life. One cannot say a man reaps what he sows because the 'he' does not exist. Yet the life of each man living is the result of his previous lives, though there is no conscious connexion between these lives. With our ideas of the soul it is difficult not to misunderstand this idea of transmigration; and analogy again comes to hand, a favourite Buddhist simile. As one candle, or lamp, is lit from another, so is one life derived from another; the flame of each is not the same, yet without the one the other could not be. The one 'concourse of conditions' gives rise to the other.

Now the objection to such a doctrine takes, in the Western mind, a moral form. We fail to see any motive for good deeds if we shall not consciously reap the benefit of them.

That objection arises from our individualistic standpoint. We have been made so familiar with the idea of rewards and punishments as moral sanctions that we have forgotten that, after all, the essential fact in a good action is the motive alone; nothing is really good but a good will; in other words, no action is good unless it is done from a love of the good alone, and not from any hope of personal gain thereby. How far has our popular religion fallen from this! This very belief that the average man needs some additional inducement to be moral, beyond the 'beauty of holiness,' useful as it proved, perhaps, politically, in times of barbaric ignorance, is bringing back upon us a terrible revenge, now that the old sanctions are losing their power upon masses of our people. For indeed, to look deeper, did that machinery, so venerable and imposing, of heaven and hell, ever avail amid those storms of passion and overwhelming desire that burst so violently upon a man at times? And now, when that is wearing out, what have we to put in its place to stay the moral anarchy, the signs of which are all too evident in our midst already?

Eastern ethics have at least this advantage, that they do not depend upon any theological dogma or set of dogmas, and do emphasise unequivocally man's responsibility for his actions and his duty towards the Good for its own sake alone. Under such a system as this we do at least detect a chance of pure altruism,

whereas to the Eastern mind the morals of the West seem indubitably utilitarian, however disguised; there is always a suspicion of political or social expediency about them. This very objection, grounded upon the alleged lack of adequate sanction, carries that implication; the greater idealism of the East distinguishes between the validity of a moral law and the inducements for keeping it. 'Let us eat, drink and be merry, for to-morrow we die!' would appear very bad logic to the Indian, and indeed Epicurean philosophies have never flourished in India. The moral obligation has been recognised even when it has not been fulfilled, and no country in the world is so loving of religion. No one can go about much in India without perceiving the intense interest in all forms of spiritual regeneration and the desire, often so pathetic, for purification.

For although Eastern morals do not possess sanctions of the same kind as Western religions hold over their followers, still there is an end or highest good, which is the goal of all religious endeavour. That goal is to be attained only after long stages of purification and progressive knowledge—purification from the lusts of the flesh and all the selfish desires of sensible existence, and knowledge that this very existence and all that appertains to it is delusion, *maya*. The man who has become free from error, and sees things in their true values, is filled with love and goodwill towards the whole world. 'This state of heart is the best.' In this perfect peace, goodness, and wisdom, the cause of existence is destroyed; Karma has worked itself out; the oil being exhausted, the lamp is extinguished. The 'soul' has attained 'Nirvana.' Now this word is familiar among us, and it means to most of us extinction, annihilation; but that is not at all its true interpretation. We shall grasp the idea better if we picture it to ourselves as absorption into the supreme self, that absolute and all-embracing spirit which is the Brahma or only reality.

This absorption, this loss of personal identity, seems to the Western mind the same thing as annihilation; we regard it as a blank, dreary ideal.

Let us see how it may appear otherwise, how, in Western words, the Eastern idea shapes itself. For the idea is really not so strange to the West, only we have forgotten it in the storm and stress of modern expansion. 'God shall be all in all.' That does not sound strange in Christian ears! To one who has grasped what that means, the question of personal identity is of little moment. In all interesting movements, in all intense acts of cognition, there is really no antithesis between the knower and the known. If I am working hard at a problem, I am for the time that problem; my personal identity is merged in the

object of my thought. I am, we say it often, absorbed. And yet there is no sense of loss. So far as I am aware of myself, indeed, so far do I fail in attention to my problem. In saying this we are, of course, at once confronted with the whole armoury of logic with its Hegelian formula of 'Identity in Difference' and 'Difference in Identity.'

With regard to that act of cognition which merely consists in the 'getting up' of facts, in school-boy phrase, it is perhaps true that we have this distinction. But is it so in the higher kinds of knowledge? When we meet some great human character, do we not feel that the man is what he knows or what he has contemplated? In the presence of such an one we are reminded of the radiance of Moses' face when he came down from the mount; distinctions pass away. The difference between these kinds of knowledge may be compared to the difference between the scholar and the man of genius, the verse-writer and the poet. The one just knows; the other is. That suggestion must suffice now for the logicians.

It is the clinging to personal identity that prevents the attainment of Nirvana. It is just this separateness which constitutes the Christian hell—that state of being 'cut off' from God. We have the same idea pervading the sayings of Christ. 'He that will save his life shall lose it.' 'He that shall lose his life shall find it.' The death of the self is undoubtedly the aim of Christ's teaching, however our later individualism may have obscured it. It is the law of happiness, the condition precedent to Nirvana, in other words :

The varied colours are a fitful heap.
They pass in constant service though they sleep;
The self gone out of them, therewith the pain:
Read that, who still to spell our earth remain.

If the survival of the separate self be necessary to the attainment of the supreme Good, then Nature, for all its calm and strength, is working in the wrong direction!

The objection will be made that we are not fairly interpreting the Christian view of self-sacrifice in this way, because the end of Christian endeavour is union with a personal God, and not, as in Eastern religion, absorption in an impersonal Reality. This is quite a side issue, since we are only concerned here with pointing out the essential difference between the Western and the Eastern views, and not with reconciling them. Yet, if the latter were our object, surely we might say that frankly this union with a Person seems a paradox. When we speak of 'oneness' with a person we are using a figure of speech. It is just the impossibility of union between ^{God and man} ~~between people~~. Gurukul Gangotri College, Harihareshwar

of human love. We would have more than it is possible to have; hence a restless discontent and bitter disappointment. Happy the man who realises the limitations even of love! 'He must let that alone for ever.' There must always be a terrible loneliness about human life, a loneliness only felt in its intensity by those who feel most love for their fellows. It seems at times the greatest argument for the truth of some such conception as Nirvana, where 'the dewdrop falls into the shining sea' and the many become one.

We might go further and point out that though for practical purposes we make use of the conception of personality 'to mask or represent an incomprehensible notion,' yet it is by no means certain that Christians are entitled to attach that conception to the ultimate idea of God. We are here on the fringe of a great subject that may well restrain our language, but it may with reverence be said that it does seem significant that in two private conversations Christ Himself uses the term *Pneuma*, spirit, or 'wind' as it is literally, to denote God. Surely that was a strange word if the object were to emphasise the 'personality' of God? Is there anything that conveys so aptly to the mind the very opposite idea? This puzzled 'the ruler in Israel,' and brought comfort to the woman at the well. It may be that the two states are not incompatible; it may be that the very restlessness and weakness of our religion in the West arises out of this very attempt to render God in terms of human thought.

Certain it is that this conception of Nirvana, rightly considered, is not so dreary and so strange even to us in the West, if we once rid ourselves of our individualism and throw off this delusion of the self. And does not all the experience of our life help us to do so?

In childhood we have implicit belief in the power and intervention, on our behalf, of other people and supernatural beings, such as fairies. We regard the whole world as meant for our amusement.

Then at school we discover that the world has other concerns than ours. Unless we do our Latin prose, or bribe someone else to do it for us, not all the fairies in all the fairy tales will prevent unpleasant consequences! So as we grow to manhood we grow to complete confidence in ourselves and reject outside help. But in later years we are led to recognise the powerlessness of the individual, and to accept with relief, or reluctance, the guiding force that is in the affairs of men. We learn to live for others and find our joy in theirs. We discover then that, after all, vision may teach as much as action, and merely to look at the world is lovely to us. Those were illuminating words of Goethe from Italy: 'My habit of seeing and taking all things as they are, my fidelity in letting the eye be my light, my entire renuncia-

tion of all pretension, have come again to my aid and made me in my quietude happy in the highest degree.' 'Happy in the highest degree!' So far as man is capable of happiness, that is the way of it. All life long we are giving up something of the smaller self; the child is a thorough individualist; as he grows up he has to step outside the narrow circle of his own interests; he has to enter upon wider and wider relationships. It seems at first a giving up, but it comes to be seen as a gain. Some of us will remember still with what reluctance we left school, only to find that the larger self of the University, into which we were absorbed, meant not a loss but a gain in life. So it is with the self of man.

When once we grasp the idea even of society, or the world as an organism, and of ourselves, apparently so separate, as but parts of that great whole, we shall find no vagueness and no strangeness in the idea of a world life into which our own lives are absorbed. We shall see no difference between living for ourselves and living for others; the one will be just as impossible as the other. Selfishness and asceticism will both appear unnatural, both be seen as springing from that old delusion of the self's separate existence.

For Nirvana is not conditional on death. Just as the true follower of Christ 'hath eternal life' here and now, so the follower of Gautama who has followed the fourfold path 'has received without price and is in the enjoyment of Nirvana.'

Such, in homely language, is the Eastern idea of the self and its destiny. It is only when we attempt to compare, or reconcile it, with the hereditary beliefs of the West that we perceive, at all vividly, the reason why our missionary efforts bear such slight results; we can thus imagine how our system may appear, to the educated Asiatic, not only philosophically imperfect, but also morally inferior. He recognises that it is well adapted to a race whose energy and acquisitiveness have helped it to vast material possessions and great material progress; but these are advantages for which he has never greatly cared. He looks upon the unrest from time to time disturbing India as largely the inevitable consequence of our attempt to plant Western ideas in a soil unsuited to them, and he fears, not without some justification, that we are trying to undermine the old foundations though we cannot build anything in their place.

Ours is a great responsibility. We cannot afford to try experiments. We must beware lest our enthusiasm, honest enough, for institutions and ideas which have worked well among ourselves, mislead us into the attempt to introduce them among those Indian peoples who are not as we are, to their undoing and to our own.

A NATURALIST IN NORTH AFRICA

Sick to the inmost soul of failing to set things right,
Misconstrued whatever I say, I yield the fight.
Blind in the land of the blind, myself inanest of all—
Striving with fulcrum-less lever to move the terrestrial ball—
Sealing my lips, tearing my scroll, breaking my pen,
Shaking the dust from my feet, shunning the homes of men,
Unhidden by me shall the kaid oppress, the mollah bray,
The world may go to the devil its chosen way.

But I will turn to the wild where the spirit rests and feeds,
Heed the flight of the homing stork, the roar of rain in the reeds;
Know again the bloody flares and pinching chille of morn,
The falling dusk and liquid pipe of quail among the corn.
For me shall the air dance reels at noon on the sun-baked rock;
For me the dust spin wheels ahead of the trudging flock;
I will hark to the cry of kites from the crag, the drone of rock-hived bees,
And watch the lights that quiver and glint in wind-blown olive-trees;
Hear once more the sand-lark trill, the plover cry,
Remembering only the days of the years of the hand of the Most High.
All that I was forgot, the future hid in His hand,
I will cover my mouth and bow my head in a thirsty land;
Pacing slow on the ridge of the world, couched in the chambered hill,
On guard by the silent springs of the soul till their channels fill,
Till the clucking boulders shift in their bed and the oleanders strain,
And the brown flood holds a dimpled cheek to the myriad-fingered rain.

The Burden of Nabal, Prophet without honour.

'THE Wilderness'—What brain-cinematographs the word sets moving! Old picture-books of childhood reopen, closed Royal Academies are rehung. The Patriarchs in primary colours pull Joseph out of his saw-pit: Hagar agonises over thirsting Ishmael, an aloe in one corner of the composition balanced by a prickly-peach in the other, American plants both: a Bedouin crouched behind a terrified camel defends himself from the 'Swooping Terror'—a vulture, an it please you, gentlest and benignest of birds! But of all deserts the 'Libyan Plain,' nearest and most famous, and oftenest visited, is the least known. (What of its southern, eastern, and western boundaries?) Of all the smart crowd who watch the fantasia and camel-races at Biskra, how many seek admission to the intimacies and beauties of the desert?

French Africa, from Agadir to Tunis, with its hinterland backing upon the waste, is ethnologically and zoologically a piece

of Europe. That a horde of worthless Arabs should have stolen it from us, robbed it of art and law and Christianity, is one of the tragedies of Man. Its indigenous race, the Kabyle, is as white as ourselves. Its ancient stone dolmens resemble those of our own islands. Many of its wild animals are identical with those found in Spain, or with those which existed there within the human period. It is the only part of Africa where the red deer roams, or where you shall find the European wild boar, rabbit, otter, fox, wild sheep, and weasel. Its birds are chiefly of European types, scarcely distinguishable from those found north of the midland sea. A hundred indications point to recent land bridges by way of Gibraltar at one end, and Malta and Sicily at the other, whilst a hundred more show that it has had little intercourse with the rest of Africa. The Sahara separates what is essentially a European island from the Tropics as effectually as did the shallow sea which preceded it.

Speaking broadly, North Africa climbs from the coast in terraces to the Atlas, and falls thence abruptly to the desert level, offering thousands of miles of inland cliffs to the mordant winds. These bluffs are built of alternating strata of sandstone and pebbles, bound together at their exposed edges by no vegetation—for what can endure the sirocco?—exposed to the torrential rains of winter, the explosive heats of summer, and at all times to the disintegrating sandblast, grinding down, sucking out, whisking away the lighter particles until undermined beds of conglomerate rumble down in sheets of shingle. This is the Stone Desert, of which more presently, which lies between the mountains and the Sand Desert, the Sahara proper, that region of shallow salt lakes and glistening *salinas*, which are the beds of dried-up lagoons, of shifting dunes topped with thorn-bushes, where the white Horned Viper awaits the chance-brought bird or mouse, which, hurrying in to escape the hawk, is struck and dies on the instant. A man succumbs in three minutes. Here, too, you shall find large thorny lizards of threatening aspect, but of the meekest manners, asking but a lettuce to make them happy. Gazelle is rare; ostrich has gone; shards of its eggs are not uncommon, and among them have recently been found fragments of stouter and darker shells. Here you may see the Houbara Bustard, and will be surprised at the extent of white it shows upon the wing; every bush holds its large brindled feathers. But there is small joy in days spent upon the Sand Desert: if there be no wind the sun beats down from a hard, blue vault, and strikes up from the white soil; there seems little to breathe. If the wind gets up it is worse; the sky turns khaki colour, the horizon grows near and red; the blast torments eye and nostril.

ness north-easter with sand added. This inhospitable region, reaching from the Nile to the ocean, illustrates the failure of life in the presence of impossible conditions.

The Stone Desert has more to show: its contours are less shifting, the gullies, scored by torrents which lose themselves beneath the sands southward, never quite forget what water can do. There are clear, warm, brackish pools bordered by saline vegetation and coarse rush, from which one flushes the Kentish and Little Ringed Plovers. Here the Sand Grouse comes to drink, sending a strange, grunting note before him. This is no true grouse, but a survival of the parent form from which all the gulls, terns, plovers, jungle-fowl and other gallinaceous birds have descended. So they tell us. The ancestor of this bird in some far-back, ante-tertiary day, exactly adapted itself to a desert environment, and from this type the main stock has hardly varied, whilst collaterals, such as the gulls, have webbed the foot and whitened the plumage, pheasants have betaken themselves to the forest, grouse to the moors, partridge to the grass, and divers to the arctic tundra and sea. It would seem that the peacock in all his glory, the tiny sea-swallow and wanton lapwing are all cousin-forms of this singularly mutable race. Upon the Stone Desert birds who would escape the hawk adjust their colour to the soil. The Crested Lark of the plough-lands northward has here bleached himself almost to sand-colour: his cousin, the Desert Lark, has gone farther; the least visible of birds, he knows his immunity, and crouches at one's feet secure in his resemblance to the ground, even the newly hatched young in their nest of small stones are stone-coloured too.

But it is the flowers of the region which catch one's breath. If by good luck one be upon the scene at the critical moment when the 'Libyan Plain takes roses to her wrinkled face' one does not forget the experience. The cruel morning frosts of February-March are over, the sun is up, but not in tyrannous strength, the annual *réveille* has sounded, and a race for the good things of life begins. It is now or never, no leisurely procession of blooms as with us, but a desperate sprint to keep to the fore for one more year, to thrust up at least one floweret to the wind, to attract, if it may be, one moth, one bee, to set and to disperse one seed, and then contentedly to wither, to shrink back, to sleep underground for another ten months. Hence at this juncture the Stone Desert displays a wealth of bloom wholly subversive to one's preconceptions. Ten thousand acres, or as many more as you please, lie before you, and every square rod of them all is ashine with something glorious. The particular space at your feet may be bare, but the expanse seen in perspective is all-golden, or purple, rosy or blue in a vast patchwork sheet. And, as one

admires and examines the display it is borne in upon one that this is curiously like what one has seen upon a smaller and poorer scale upon Swiss moraines in July-August. Not alone is the same broad effect produced, but plants of the same genera, and even of closely allied species, are engaged in its production. The small reniform Sorrel of the Alps has a first cousin upon the Stone Desert; the Alpine Toadflax has an own brother. You may think you are gathering Edelweiss within a mile of Biskra. Mountain Hawkweeds are replaced by shrubby plants displaying globular balls of yellow flowers defended by thorns; *dianthus* and *silene* by bushes of plum-coloured blossoms; the broomrapes by a spike of parasitic orange and purple as tall and almost as conspicuous as foxglove. Sweet-scented cress you shall not lack, nor a true cabbage (*brassica*) perhaps the father of all the savoys, with port-wine-coloured root-leaves as big as crown-pieces supporting a tall stem studded with fleshy knobs no larger than threepenny-bits, holding aloft a single purple flower to tempt the bee. Nor do obvious similarities between widely-separated and dissimilar habitats cease here; the desert Spurge is fed down by the caterpillars of Hawk-Moths allied to those which subsist upon the Alpine Spurge at Saas Fée; the desert Fennell is the food-plant of the Swallowtail butterfly, as are the Wild Carrots of Fionnay; 'Blues' and 'Clouded Yellows' flit over both Stone Desert and Moraine, and Sphynx-Moths poise above the posies of desert pink precisely as one sees them poising above the pads of *Silene acaulis* in the Dolomites. There are many forms of Grasshopper in both localities, and a large drab Hunting Spider seems as much at home at El Kantara as on the Mt. Collon moraine at Arolla. Similar conditions have produced like results; nine months of impossible cold, or heat, as the case may be, have restricted flora and fauna to such families and genera as can adapt their reproductive arrangements to the time-limit. The plant of the stony moraine, or the arid waste, knows its business, and has no reserves, but flings its every energy into blooming at the one possible minute. 'If the insect which depends upon me, and upon which I, in turn, depend, is to be wooed, and fed, and encouraged to marry my blooms, *it must be now!*'

The French call it a *lac*, their Italian colonists *laguna*, the Spaniards *marisma*, I think it is *schott* to the Arab. We have nothing like it now in Great Britain; the Bog of Allen comes nearest. The marsh I am thinking of covers fifty square miles and is ringed about by low, abrupt mountains. When these still wore their forest-robe of cedar and cypress one can imagine their elephant-herd descending for its nightly wallow; but the North African elephant, the last which fought for Hannibal, became

extinct in Roman times, and the lions were killed off sixty years ago. Being eighteen miles from anywhere the place is not overrun. Four times daily an empty train crawls to a moribund station and dawdles off into the distance. ('From nowhere unto nothing, O, make haste !') Slovenly tillage extends from the foot of the hills to the unfenced track ; below the metals irreclaimable scrub begins, wild-olive, dwarf-palm, lentisk, myrtle, and white-thorn laced together with bramble and smilax. Where the ground begins to be soft underfoot the mud is printed with slot of cattle and game, bird and beast. There is a boat, surely the clumsiest ever built, but before we take it let us take stock of the place and its denizens. Upon the pollarded eucalyptus at the station a stork is warming her eggs ; her mate sedately paces the rushy margin near us in company with two bullocks and a score of small white Egrets. In the olive-trees beside the line a flock of Spanish Sparrows are discussing the nests they are going to build next week. A Little Owl mopes motionless upon the top of a telegraph-post, watched by a pair of black-and-white Wood-chat Shrikes, themselves upon the pounce for beetles. Then from the upper sky descends a shower of chestnut, green, and lemon-yellow wings—a flight of Bee-eaters : more follow until the wires are sagging beneath packed ranks of lovely strangers just arrived from the Soudan and resting for an hour before attempting the Mediterranean.

In the water itself, or from the quag beneath it, grow sheets of floating weed and belts of tall rush and still taller reed, twelve to fourteen feet high and as thick as a finger. Between this covert and the shores are fleets of coot, Great Crested Grebe and duck of many sorts, Gadwall, Shoveller and Teal, and others unknown to us (White-headed? Ferruginous? Marbled?) Among the reed-bed are thickets of willow, the habitations of six species of herons and bitterns. In the densest of the covert are many small birds, hard to see, harder to identify. One makes out the Great Reed Warbler, as large as a lark, with the attitudes and motions of our Reed-bird, its raucous, babbling, grating song is seldom silent. Here, too, is the Rufous Warbler, a bright ruddy-brown creature, flirting a broad fan-shaped tail, but otherwise with the confident bearing of our Robin. The morass is windless and close, the most unked place in the world, once committed to its narrow, tortuous water-lanes one is lost. The whole swamp teems with life, hums with gnats, bubbles with escapes of gas, quacks with frogs, clanks with the cries of large water-birds, and squeaks with the voices of small unseen creatures. Nor is the stealthy, persistent rustle of snakes absent. Something seems ever upon the point of showing, but never shows ; something is always just ahead of us as we move. Here

is primal nature, this has not changed. Beyond that mountain are the bones of a dead city. Rome supplanted Carthage; the Arab wrecked Roman civilisation; France, in the fulness of time, tamed the Arab, but no man has tamed this marsh. You can do nothing with it; its steamy, feverish expanses of ooze, its thickets of worthless vegetation set us at naught. Hence it is just the place to spend a happy day, a paradise for a naturalist upon the prowl.

One can no more learn the secret of a marsh from a boat than one can take in a mountain at its foot; the boat sticks in a jungle, over the gunwale we go into knee-deep, tepid slush, which not seldom takes the wader to the middle. Above one's bent head, as one wrestles through green, resilient mats of reed, throngs of insect-eating birds are wheeling, Whiskered Tern, Swallows, Swifts. Large raptors abound; not less than three pairs of Marsh Harrier are upon the wing, beating low over the covert for frogs, stooping occasionally upon Coot, which dive and elude capture. A Bonelli's Eagle, the short-winged robber with white back, abnormally long legs and powerful talons, comes sweeping alongshore but never ventures over the water, above which a pair of the longer-pinioned Serpent Eagle, which the French call *Jean le Blanc*, are circling. That deep, earnest lowing, as of a bogged bullock, tells of a Bittern close at hand. The constant flitting to and fro of skeins of Stint, Redshank, Curlew, and Knot proclaim this a halting-place for shore-birds on passage; but, apart from the Coots, two species (?) and three forms of Grebe, there are residents engaged in breeding. One catches glimpses of a big, heavily-built bird like an overgrown Moorhen, clambering among the taller reeds, or flapping slowly across open water; its sealing-wax-coloured bill, red legs, and violet-blue body make it as conspicuous as a parrot. This is the Purple Gallinule. Its nest amid the densest growth is domed with interlaced reed to protect the sitting bird from the pounce of an eagle. The eggs, stone-coloured, splashed with chocolate and violet, make a handsome clutch. Could not this beautiful species be acclimatised in some English bird-sanctuary, say, along the Upper Thames? or Whittlesey? Why go on exterminating and never replacing?

A strenuous six hours spent in the heart of the morass impresses one with the extent of the business carried on there in which man has no share. Returning shoreward as the day wanes and rain is falling, one thrusts forth from the last belt of high reed into rush matted with cobweb, ruinous to clothing, and gets sight of the shore again, browsing cattle with small egrets dodging fearlessly among their legs, mirrored in a shallow with gulls afloat thereon. Then, from the unexplored middle

marsh three great white birds sail in upon slow-moving wings and pitch among the gulls. They carry their necks at full-stretch when in flight, not tucked-in like a heron's, their beaks are long and black and spatulated at the tip—Spoonbills, a species which must be local in Algeria, for it has so far escaped Mr. Walter Rothschild. In the last patch of rush a pair of Bearded Tit oblige us with a view of the first of their kind recorded from Africa, and after leaving the water, we see in the last of the light a big spotted cat pace up from the brink to the thorn-thicket. A Jackal would have bolted, but the Serval, a competent animal without nerves, times his departure to a nicety, slips into a spiny brake, small but sufficient, and declines to budge.

The bluff had looked bad from below, it looked worse from above. Not from the top, for there was none, the flank of the hogback broke away in steps and juts, crannies and scarps, steeper and ever steeper until sheer cliff fell into the forest a hundred feet or so beneath. The thin man, who is as a monkey among the branches of a tree, but entertains an exaggerated respect for rock, began nervously as to whether it was practicable. The fat man, who is no good at swarming, but can get about on a cliff, thought it was all right, but fancied they had overshot their marks, and didn't mind if he went down a little way and looked about. The thin man hoped he would be careful; hadn't he better rope-up? But the other was already descending by the primitive method of hitching himself down from one sitting-place to the next below, and was presently out of sight among blocks of limestone, loose and fast, embedded in thorn-scrub. His last audible remark was to the effect that you can usually get eighteen inches lower than where you find yourself, and that the thin man might as well be getting out the ropes and piloting the Arabs a few feet lower. This proposition the natives refused to discuss. They, too, sate them down—to smoke.

The fat man went cautiously, for it is sinful to climb alone and unroped, but half-inch Manila is an encumbrance when it hangs you up in every bush, and kinks in every crevice, besides one drags at each remove a lengthening chain. The successive steps of the descent grew narrower, and each 'riser' made a longer drop of it. Lentisk and Rock-rose gave out; Prickly-pear made its appearance: the stone grew hotter, and the afternoon sun more trying: the men had been at this sort of thing for some hours, and to add to minor discomforts a queer, stale, menagerie-smell came up the cliff borne on rising wafts of heated air. Though reminiscent of shambles, and middens, and of ill-air.

kept butchers' back-yards, this rumour had an inspiring effect upon the climber : he leaned far out between a couple of hoary, shabby old cactuses and beheld whitened ledges just beneath him, and below these the rounded tops of terebinths in the glen below, and recognised that it was here if anywhere, for he was nearing the last sheer plunge. While peering thus a long, woolly neck with an unprepossessing head at the end of it was thrust out of a fissure, and forth waddled a round-shouldered, drab bird, bigger than a Christmas turkey, a vulture, a Griffon, one of the largest birds that flies. From a second cleft projected a similar head, and the climber, growing used to the unusual perspective, saw that he was overlooking a row of nests of esparto-grass ; mere mats the things were, discs, pads, unbuilt, unlined, but each contained either a downy chick or a single white egg of noble proportions. The impulse to attempt the business off-hand was strong, but, after all, what is the sense of bringing a hundred and sixty feet of rope from England and not using it ? Moreover, that final 'riser' was a nine-feet drop, and the step upon which it stopped, the absolutely final, was about eighteen inches wide at its best, and six at its worst. Wisdom suggested return to the thin comrade and the Arabs. This done, and securely roped, down he went again ; hard work, and slow, and ineffectual, for when within thirty feet of the ledges the cord tightened finally ; it had caught many times before, but now no jerking or shouting could obtain more of it. Meantime those Griffons had taken alarm : a covey of vultures, huge birds, as big as swans and far wider of pinion, took wing silently, casting reproachful glances over their shoulders as they swept out and up, a sight which drew cries of wonder and delight from the stupid Arabs above. Twenty times did these great and reverend-looking creatures pass and repass beneath the eyes of the solitary cragsman. Their anxieties drew other birds into their orbits. A pair of Black Kites flickered and whinnied above them : they may have had young in some neighbouring cleft, for the tail of a lizard stuck out beyond the bill of the mother-bird and wriggled as she flew. A Red Kite, handsomer, more agile, and with more deeply cleft tail, came to see and to protest in shriller tones. So did a couple of Ravens hoarsely, and a Peregrine imperatively. This last, being spitefully minded, was for knocking the kites about had they not avoided his stoops with graceful ease ; one heard the clash of pen-feathers in contact overhead. As if these were insufficient, Egyptian Vultures, clean as cherubim, all ivory and jet, swung slowly in rings above the tangle of crossing, diving and crying birds, and grandly did these late-comers contrast now with the blue sky, and now with the smoke-gray of the wild olive covert across the glen. But

occasion pressed, and though the fat man was having the time of his life he felt that he must not be wasting that time. More rope was essential, which entailed arrangements at the base. To scale that rough crag with loops of cordage hindering every movement was not in the contract. Casting himself loose, he began the ascent with due precaution, when a great and bitter outcry broke forth from the Arabs overhead : ' *Tombé! Tombé!*' they howled, and behold, the slack, wriggling like the tail of a serpent, was whisked up past him as he climbed. A minute later, the thin man, concerned and red in the face, was seen coming down ' for the remains,' having roped and nerved himself to achieve what he regarded as impossible. This was friendship. ' Wha' . . . what d'ye want? ' panted the fat climber. ' My dear fellow! what a turn you have given me, etc.,' replied the other. Up go both to those *indigènes*, who are reassured and shamed into going down another hundred feet—quite simple—and making fast to another olive, then business is recommenced and carried to a successful issue. Those ledges were very unsavoury. The callow nestlings curiously hard and heavy for their size. Mother-love overmastered fear in one of the Griffons; she came floating in, folded her vast pinions, and cherished her young in the climber's immediate presence; he has thought better of vultures ever since. The only two eggs within reach proved too large for the case provided for their reception, so up that cliff for the third time went the fat man, hot and weary, with a great warm bulk in each side-pocket of his jacket, shouted at meanwhile by the birds. ' *Pork! Pork!*' said the Ravens. ' *Micw!*' complained the Black Kites. ' *Hi . . . ieuu!-Iew!-Iew!*' shrilled the Red. ' *Chak! ak-ak!*' barked the falcon. But the Griffons, the only injured parties, uttered no sounds, save one, which alit upon a ledge and brayed like a small donkey.

It was over; the boyish folly of it all! But, it comes to this—once in a year, or so, the man in us rebels against the encroachments of Time and breaks forth. Grey hairs shall not a prison make, nor stiffened limbs a cage. And it is something, as both Thin and Fat agreed, to have craned over the brink and seen the woods below through a driving storm of birds; to have noted close at hand, as one hung over the gulf of air, the soft, drab dapplings upon the back of the huge creature as he ' Sailed past nor beat his broad wing dragon-penned'; to have observed for one's very self twelve to fifteen pounds of bone and sinew upborne upon motionless planes as lightly as floating gossamer. How, ye mechanicians, tell us how! Your aeroplanes, wonderful though they be, are but rough sketches. Some essential secret of flight still eludes you. Upon what reserves of force does a vulture travel for half a mile against a

fresh and variable breeze, without stroke of wing? and whilst so doing alter his altitude at will, rising swiftly to avoid the wrath of a stooping falcon, sinking when his assailant is past, and maintaining, save for this brief digression, the same pace? The feat is inexplicable by any known law of physics. The strangest theories are being tentatively broached to account for it by Dr. Hankinson, of the Indian Medical Service, after studying and recording with instruments the incomprehensible phenomena of soaring and gliding. It seems certain that both evolutions depend upon strong sunshine.

It may be that success depends upon some apparently trivial factor at present overlooked : a case for the re-examination of residuals. Here is one : the downstroke of the wing in flight has delicate and intimate movements of its own which the camera cannot follow, and which escape the best-trained eye, save at the closest of quarters, and under exceptionally favourable circumstances. As those great birds left their ledges in turn, each launched herself upon the air, struck once and then held the wings rigid. But movement had not ceased ; each of the powerful pen-feathers (held widely apart) struck the air upon its own account with as definite an impulse as do the fingers of a pianist, the movement being passed on from each in turn to that next in succession until the undulatory swell travelled along the secondaries to the body and ceased. What does this mean?

H. M. WALLIS
(*Ashton Hilliers*).

*COLONIAL CANE OR HOME-GROWN
BEET?*

A COLONIAL VIEW

IN the October and November numbers of the *Nineteenth Century* Mr. J. W. Robertson-Scott, well known in home agricultural circles as 'Home Counties,' in view of the past dependence of this country on the supplies of sugar from the Continent to the extent of 80 per cent. of the total consumption, deals with the question of the development of a British beet industry, strongly advocating immediate establishment of State-aided or State-run factories. Our experience of the present War has indeed brought forcibly home to Great Britain the folly of relying upon foreign countries for its supply of sugar. But, interesting as Mr. Robertson-Scott's articles are as literary productions, there is absolutely no evidence adduced in them to show that the course he urges the Government to pursue is the proper way of dealing with the question of a permanent and complete supply of British sugar for the United Kingdom. On the contrary, his arguments are not upheld by the evidence afforded by what has been done in this country up to now; evidence which certainly does not point to the farmer being able to supply beets at a low enough rate to permit of the factory making a fair profit under average conditions of price and without considerable fiscal protection.

The figures which Mr. Robertson-Scott quotes as to the financial result to the farmers accruing from the cultivation of beets for sugar show an estimated profit of 3*l.* per acre; but these figures are founded on a yield of 13 tons of beets per acre, which, as their value is taken as 1*l.* per ton, must be of good quality, containing from 15 to 16 per cent. of sugar. But why should this return be assumed when it is quite against the experience of the whole beet sugar producing world? In Germany, where the highest return of sugar per acre is obtained, the average of the last ten years only shows 11.36 tons per acre of beets, the proportion of sugar in them being 16.17 per cent. Russia for the same period only shows 6.08 tons per acre, with a sugar content of 14.79. The biggest return of beet has been in Italy, where the ten years' average showed 12.12 tons

per acre. In this case, however, the sugar content was only 11.75 per cent. Why should we expect to do better in Great Britain than in Germany, or indeed than anywhere else? Knock off a couple of tons from the estimate, and the hypothetic *3l.* profit at once dwindles to *1l.*

Then, again, there is the serious question, which must not be overlooked, as to whether it would be wise to substitute for an already established and essential agricultural industry another industry, the produce of which can be easily procured from our Colonial possessions.

In his October article, Mr. Robertson-Scott speaks of sugar-beet cultivation as giving stock-food products which would be supplementary to mangolds, turnips, and hay. Evidently, therefore, he had in his mind that the dairy and stock-raising industries should remain intact and that the production of cereals should suffer. In his second article he quotes the views of the National Beet Association that sugar beet should be grown in the place of (a) mangolds in dairying districts, (b) swedes and turnips in root and barley districts, and (c) barley and other straw crops and ordinary roots in Fen districts, or where barley gets laid or is of poor quality. In any of these cases there would be displacement. This country needs all the corn and dairy products it can grow, and their production should be stimulated in every way that agricultural science permits of. It would be the height of false economy to substitute sugar for these to any extent when this commodity can be supplied from other parts of the Empire under more favourable conditions of production.

Mr. Robertson-Scott evidently does not attach much importance to the lessons of the Cantley venture, no doubt considering the financial losses incurred as attributable to avoidable causes. The results, however, require much more consideration than they have received from him. Those for the first year may, it is true, be disregarded, but during the second crop the factory appears to have worked well, although not up to its full power, and surely the farmers, after twenty years' or more experimental work, and after the previous year's practical experience of supplying a factory, should have known where they were as regards sugar-beet growing. For that crop the farmers received 23s. per ton for their beets, and required 11,000*l.* from the Development Fund to recoup them for their losses. This sum was equivalent to 7*s.* per ton of beets, the cost of the latter being thus raised to 30*s.* per ton. As regards the factory, it is an open secret that, after paying the high price of 23*s.* per ton for beets, and after receiving Government protection to the extent of 1*l.* 18*s.* per ton, a considerable loss was made, a large sum

in debentures having to be placed early in the current year. In other words, with direct and indirect protection to the extent of 5*l.* per ton of sugar, the Cantley factory failed to make a profit at a price of sugar which was certainly not 1*l.* per ton below what may be looked upon as a figure for average years. For the present crop the Cantley factory is paying its farmers at the rate of 25*s.* per ton, and with the present prices will, of course, make large profits. It remains to be seen, however, whether this price will pay the farmers; as regards the factory, it certainly cannot be paid under normal conditions of sugar value without considerable protection.

In this connexion the evidence of German production is instructive. The average cost of production of beet sugar in that country is certainly not less than 9*l.* per ton f.o.b. Hamburg for 88° sugar. This variety of sugar, it may be remarked, is raw sugar containing between 93 per cent. and 94 per cent. of pure sugar; deductions for certain impurities calculated on a certain basis bringing this figure to 88°. The general cost of production of German factories is materially affected by the export trade, quite 35 per cent. of the German sugar crop being exported, and the increased factory production resulting enables the sugar to be produced at a lower figure than would otherwise be the case. The cost of production of sugar would not be cheapened in this country in this way, and it is also a fact that labour, especially of a technical nature, costs more in this country than it does in Germany. The cost of production, therefore, must, *ceteris paribus*, be greater in the United Kingdom.

With these manufacturing advantages, the highest figure recorded as having been given for beets in Germany was for the crop 1911-12, when the average price given was 25*s.* per ton. This was a famine year for sugar, and prices ranged high, 88° beet sugar being quoted in January 1912 at 14*l.* 16*s.* per ton; 40 to 50 per cent. above the normal.

In his work *Sugar*, Mr. Martineau gives the figures of the balance sheet of a German factory for the crop 1908-9. The roots which supplied this factory were rich, containing 17.1 per cent. of sugar. The price paid for them was 21*s.* per ton, and, in consideration of the richness of the roots, the factory at the end of crop paid the farmers 1*s.* 4*d.* per ton in the way of bonus, making the price of beets 22*s.* 4*d.* per ton. The factory worked under exceptionally favourable conditions, only taking 6 tons of beet to the ton of sugar, and made sufficient profits, after making allowances for bonuses, reserves, etc., to pay 22 per cent. interest on its capital. *Had the roots been paid for on the Cantley basis of 25*s.* for roots of normal sweetness the dividend would have been reduced to 3 per cent.* In this case the 88°

sugar realised what may be looked upon as a normal price of 10*l.* per ton. It is difficult, therefore, to see how in average years the Cantley factory, or any other British factory, could afford to pay 25*s.* per ton for its beet; while all the experience points to a lower sum than this not paying the British farmer.

The United States beet-sugar industry, which Mr. Robertson-Scott quotes as having been progressive, has not, even with the 8*l.* per ton protection which it until recently received, materially extended. The Western States possess large areas of land suitable for beet growing, yet after many years of industry they only contribute 60,000 tons towards the American annual consumption of 3,800,000 tons. In the last five years the United States beet-sugar production has only increased by 100,000 tons, and it is threatened with extinction when sugar is relieved from import duty in the United States in 1916. With the above enormous protection and consequent high price of sugar, the highest price paid for beets carrying 15 per cent. of sugar was 23*s.* per ton.

What is the position of the other sugar beet industries of the world as regards protection? On the Continent the Brussels Convention permits protection to the signatories to the extent of 2*l.* 10*s.* per ton. The principal sugar-producing countries of the Continent are included in the Convention and all avail themselves of this power to the full extent with the exception of Holland and Russia. In Holland there is no fiscal protection for sugar, and the sugar industry of that country has been of late in anything but a prosperous condition. The Report of the British Consul General for the Netherlands for last year says on this subject 'The Market price which gradually fell throughout the whole year deprived the industry of its profits, particularly as the exploitation became more and more expensive on account of the rising wages and the increased cost of the raw material. This unfavourable condition is expected to continue in the near future.' Russia has a different fiscal system altogether from the other countries, and properly speaking should not belong to the Convention as, by virtue of a Government control of prices coupled with a high protective tariff, its sugar enjoys what is equivalent to a bounty of 6*l.* or 7*l.* per ton. In consideration, however, of not more than 200,000 tons of its sugar being exported westward annually Russia was allowed to join the Convention. The Canadian beet sugar output, in spite of considerable assistance in the way of protection and direct bounties, remains stationary at the low figures of 7000 to 8000 tons per annum, the total sugar consumption of Canada being approximately 300,000 tons.

All evidence goes to show that for the establishment of a

successful sugar industry in this country there must be a protective tariff. What the extent of that protection should be is not yet known, but it is certainly not less than the 2l. 10s. per ton enjoyed by German beet.

If protection is necessary for the successful establishment of the beet sugar in this country, why should not Colonial cane sugar receive the assistance, and the million and a quarter acres required at home be devoted to other essential agricultural industries?

Tropical cane sugar can be produced at a much lower figure than temperate beet. The sugar cane can be easily grown in most of our possessions at 10s. per ton, and nine tons is a fair quantity to be taken for a ton of 96° sugar. On the other hand, there is every evidence that suitable beets cannot be grown here under 20s. per ton—the Cantley experience points to a much higher figure—and seven tons are normally taken to a ton of 88° sugar. The cost, therefore, of the raw material is 4l. 10s. per ton of sugar in the case of cane sugar, and 7l. per ton in the case of beet. Actual factory expenses in the case of cane sugar are more than with beet, as, although the cane debris provides the fuel for the factory, the cost of stores, skilled labour, etc., is higher. Also the exhausted slices of the beet when dried constitute a useful cattle food. On the other hand, the cane sugar is of rather higher grade. It may be considered, however, on the whole that the net cost of manufacture is less with beet than with cane sugar. Capital expenditure is much the same in both instances. The first cost in the production of cane sugar is therefore much lower than that of beet by reason of the lower cost of the raw material. As a set-off to this lower cost of production there is, in considering a supply of sugar for the Motherland, the question of freight, shipping expenses, etc., to be taken into account. This expenditure, of course, would vary according to the distance of travel of the sugar, and in times of peace would be from 1l. 10s. to 2l. per ton. Colonial cane sugar could thus compete with Continental beet if it received preferential treatment equal to that which the Continental beet receives.

At the present moment the output of cane sugar in the British possessions, omitting the two and a half million tons of India, is in round numbers 950,000 tons. Of this quantity about 400,000 tons is produced by Australia, South Africa, and Egypt, and consumed in those countries. There is thus 550,000 tons available for the requirements of Great Britain, providing that the conditions are such that it will be attracted here. This quantity is produced in British Guiana, the British West Indies, Ma~~gad~~gad, Pund~~o~~ Fiji, and under suitable protection in this

country, these colonies would produce at least another 500,000 tons. The remaining million tons required to complete the sugar supplies of Great Britain could be produced in British East and West Africa where sugar is not at present grown.

There is another important argument in favour of a Colonial sugar supply for the United Kingdom. The carriage of two million tons of sugar with all the stores, machinery, etc., necessary for this industry would mean a considerable sum of money in the pockets of the shipping interests.

The advocates of the home-grown beet sugar industry could not possibly object to the admission of British Colonies within the protected zone, as home-grown beet would not only be protected against foreign sugar to the full extent of the import duty, but also against British Colonial sugar to the extent of freight, shipping, and landing charges; if there is anything in a home-grown beet industry it should not fear competition on these lines.

Consumers need not be afraid of the protective tariff necessary. Even if the protective duty were as high as 2l. 10s. per ton, the increase in the price as compared with that due to the present duty would only be one fourth of a farthing per pound or 5d. per annum per head of population.

For this microscopic consideration a complete supply of sugar could be insured for the United Kingdom, and the consumers of this country guaranteed against the danger of being deprived of one of their most important articles of food at critical moments such as the present. But it is certain that this protection could not place any beet sugar concern in this country in a position to hold its own against Continental beet.

Mr. Robertson-Scott asked for a Napoleon to come forward and repeat in Great Britain the action of his prototype on the Continent in instituting a sugar industry. Napoleon initiated a beet industry because, as Great Britain had the mastery of the sea, he could not obtain sugar from the French Colonies. We have the naval supremacy, and the reason why Great Britain has been and may yet be in a parlous state as regards sugar supplies is because no Napoleon has come forward boldly to develop the production of sugar in her Colonies.

It may be argued that, as our Government on leaving the Brussels Convention pledged themselves not to give preference to Colonial sugar, the protection indicated above is impossible. But our Government reserved the right of withdrawing the pledge on giving six months' notice; and surely after our present experience no Government would go back to a position which has been so injurious to the interests of the Empire.

Mr. Robertson-Scott asks for State-owned factories to be started at once in this country. What reason is there to suppose

that such factories could be run at a cheaper rate than those conducted by private individuals? Even, however, if they were to be run on the most economical lines they would have to face the primary difficulties of the high cost of production of beets and the unsuitability of our system of agriculture for the introduction of the sugar beet industry. *There must be substantial protection for profits to be made under such a scheme, and surely our British Colonial sugar industry has a right to receive similar treatment.*

A further argument adduced by Mr. Robertson-Scott in favour of the home instead of the Colonial sugar industry is that, while our industrial conditions are known and fixed, production in the Tropics can only be pushed forward under climatic and labour conditions which cannot be accurately forecast. If there is one thing more than another in this connexion it is the advantage that is to be derived from the cheapness of tropical labour and the regularity of climatic conditions. Prolonged strikes are practically unknown, while the Tropics are celebrated for the regularity of their seasons.

FREDERIC L. SCARD, F.I.C.

*GENERAL VON BERNHARDI ON THE
MORAL LOGIC OF WAR*

GENERAL VON BERNHARDI as a critic of current events and conditions has been the subject of abundant and perhaps sufficient discussion. In the book, however, which has made him famous, he speaks not as a politician and a political historian only, but also as an exponent of the principles of social philosophy generally, in so far as these bear on the connexion of war with the life of nations; and it is with these alone that I here propose to deal. These general principles he enunciates with great care and claims that they represent the highest culture of Germany. But before considering, as we will do presently, how far it is possible for the mind of a reasonable and civilised man to agree with him, it will be well to restate the more important of his propositions in an order more coherent than that in which he has himself arranged them. These propositions, summarised, so far as possible, in the author's own phraseology, are as follows :

I

The paramount law of human, just as of animal life is struggle, and the survival of the strongest. 'The weakest must always succumb.' 'All progress is elimination.'

The life of man, however, unlike that of the animals, is two-fold—the life of the individual on the one hand, and the life of the organised community, or the State, on the other. The law of struggle and survival prevails in both cases, but not in the same way.

II

The primary object of the individual, as such, is his own advantage; and the community, as an aggregate of individuals, is prosperous 'in proportion as the most efficient of them secure the widest influence in the intra-social struggle.' But this struggle must be orderly; the State secures order by Law; and State Law, which in the modern or Christian world is determined in accordance with the Christian law of love, not only protects but modifies the self-seeking activity of the units by applying to them all alike the principles of equal justice. Hence, since the offices of the State are public functions, Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

interests are in conflict with State Law, must sacrifice these to the State as representing the interests of the community.

III

But when we come to consider the State itself in its relation, not to its own internal parts, but to other States, these conceptions of morality and justice are no longer applicable. In order to understand this, the following facts must be recognised.

Although no civilised life is possible until many individuals have been consolidated into a single State, the size of States is limited by the eternal order of Nature. To suppose that any one State could ever embrace all humanity is a supposition which 'belongs to the domain of Utopia.' Nevertheless, within the limits of practical possibility, States, in proportion as their size and power increase, secure for their citizens an existence of a higher and higher kind, mentally, morally, and materially. As for small States, their condition is always pitiable. Small States, indeed, 'have no right to exist,' and the reason is as follows: Not only is it certain that the human race will always be partitioned into a number of separate States, but it is certain also, owing to geographical and racial causes, that the interests of these States will in many respects be conflicting. Each will always be anxious to prosper at the expense of the others; and it can augment its own prosperity or even render its prosperity secure by one means only—namely, power; and power is merely another name for war, either actually waged or prepared for in the shape of great armies and armaments. Thus, in respect of its external, or 'super-social' relations, 'the be-all and the end-all of every State is Power.'

Such Power, however, is not, as Machiavelli held it to be, 'an end-in-itself.' 'The end is to protect and to promote the highest interests' of the citizens, so that they may be examples of 'the greatest good' of which mankind is capable; and it is solely by its relation to this final and glorious end that the morality of States and Statesmen in relation to war is determined. Hence, from the very nature of the case, the intra-social or Christian morality to which the State conforms when dealing with its own citizens, 'can have no significance for the relations of one State to another. . . . For any love which a man showed to another country as such would imply a want of love for his own countrymen.'

IV

Has, then, the kind of morality which relates to war no connexion whatever with morality as commonly understood? It has such a connexion, and up to a certain point the connexion is fairly close. (a) The end of war being the highest good of the citizens

—partly their material good, but before all things their spiritual good—the end imparts its own sanctity to the means; and it does so not only because war, if successful, ennobles the citizens by providing them with an improved environment, but also because in itself it is the highest of all moral educations. ‘It is the fruitful field of all virtues,’ in particular of ‘magnanimity, pity, and mercy.’ (b) Nor does the connexion of war-morality with Christian morality end here. However high war may stand in the scale of human activities, the life which it aims at ennobling must be chronically the life of peace; and States and statesmen are under the gravest moral obligation not to embark on it if the advantages which they have in view can be obtained by methods of statesmanship without drawing the sword. Now the first essential of successful statesmanship during peace is ‘a fine frankness’—a hatred and avoidance of ‘all subterfuges and duplicity,’ or in other words of ‘all preconcerted political deception.’ It is, therefore, by the practice of the high Christian virtue of truthfulness that States, capable of war, can best achieve their objects without actually embarking on it. Thus ‘the gulf between individual and political morality is not so wide as is generally assumed.’

V

But when ‘war’ and ‘peace’ are spoken of in this connexion, it is necessary to consider what the term ‘war’ really means. War is not always synonymous with the meeting of hostile armies. One State may be at real, though ‘latent,’ war with another before even the likelihood of a formal rupture has been so much as definitely discussed. ‘Latent war’ is waged by what are euphemistically termed ‘the methods of peaceful rivalry,’ and begins whenever any one State, through the superior ability of its captains of industry or otherwise, begins to excel some other State in the manufacture of any kind of exportable goods whatsoever, and thus to command markets which the said other State may desire, or may regard as prospectively desirable within any reasonably calculable period. The precise moment at which rivalry ceases to be morally peaceful and ‘latent war’ begins can be determined only by the judgment of the statesmen of the State which is beginning to feel the successes of its rival inconvenient to it; but as soon as that moment has, in their judgment, arrived for them, *in foro conscientiae*, the period of peace has ended. The inconvenient rival State has morally declared war on them, and the ethics of war have for them superseded those of peace. From the ethical point of view, no less than from the political, this moment for such statesmen is fraught with tremendous consequences. The obligations of ordinary honour and ‘fine frankness’ disappear, and give place to a code according

to which, among the practical virtues, 'cunning and deception' shine forth as the most important and the loftiest—a fact which will be best illustrated by the following crucial instance. If the statesmen of one State regard war with another as inevitable, through a clash of material interests, at some future period, it is their duty not to wait till the clash actually occurs. It is their duty by 'preconcerted political deception' to beguile this other State into a sense of fancied security, and strike it at whatever moment it may seem to be least prepared. This is evident from the fact that in times of formal peace the relations of one State to another are generally regulated by treaties; and it usually happens that when one State feels itself aggrieved by the 'peaceful rivalry' of another some treaty exists under which this rivalry shelters itself. When such a situation arises, the duty of the State which feels itself aggrieved is plain. The supreme moral duty of every State being to secure the greatest advantages of all kinds for its own citizens, a treaty, in the eyes of any given State, can only be morally binding on it so long as that State judges it to be favourable to its own interests. As soon as the treaty ceases to be so regarded by them all moral obligation to respect its provisions disappears. These provisions become the instruments of a situation which is itself immoral, and whenever 'a situation becomes immoral justice always demands that it shall be terminated.' In order, however, that a State which desires to break a treaty may not prejudice itself in the eyes of the world by conduct too crudely at variance with what is commonly called integrity, its statesmen must be constantly on the watch for some other cause of quarrel, no matter how trifling, which may justify them in attacking their rival suddenly and at some chosen moment. Then the trick dictated by Supreme Duty is done, and all treaties automatically become so much dirty paper.

Such, when reduced to its primary and essential elements, is the political and moral philosophy which, garnishing it with citations from philosophers, poets, historians, and men of science. General von Bernhardi invites the modern world to contemplate as expressing the vital spirit of Germany. How far, then, if we view it apart from passion and prejudice, will reasonable men endorse, and how far will they repudiate it?

In order to answer this question, it will be well to reflect on the doctrine which one of the greatest and most practical of the world's philosophers has laid down with regard to moral and social action. All virtue, says Aristotle, is a mean between two extremes. Thus, to take an example constantly quoted, Courage as a virtue is a mean between the caution of the coward who values danger too highly, and the recklessness of the fool who

undervalues it because he cannot understand its extent. This doctrine, which Aristotle applied to conduct, is equally applicable to formulations of the principles which relate to conduct. Truth and falsehood in the latter case, just as right and wrong in the other, are mainly questions of degree; and most of the errors to which reasonable men are liable are not those of absolute falsehood, but of the neglect or over-emphasis of truths. Such errors, however, as the reasoning of Aristotle indicates, tend if pushed to extremes to be no less absurd or monstrous than absolute falsehood itself.

These observations are in a very conspicuous way applicable to the principles of conduct which General von Bernhardi formulates as the Gospel of modern Germany. There is much that is true in them; but they are as a whole monstrous because the elements of truth which they contain are respectively magnified or dwarfed into monstrously wrong proportions. Let us begin with considering what these elements of truth are.

These elements of truth may be broadly summed up in the proposition that throughout a large region of human affairs at all events Might makes Right, and that all theories of social and political life which ignore this fact are mischievous and idle dreams, tending to provoke the evils the possibility of which it is their aim to hide. Of those who proclaim such mischievous theories the most outspoken are professed Socialists, and various groups of Radicals; but there are masses of sentimentalists, not included in either class, who in this respect agree with them. The main concern of such persons, as philosophers, is to discredit the Darwinian doctrine of progress by struggle and selection; or at all events to show that the survival of the strongest competitor is a process which offers no explanation of the higher developments of mankind. If any struggle is here involved at all, it is, so they contend, not the kind of struggle postulated by the Darwinian theory, but its opposite. It is, to use the language of the late Professor Drummond, 'not the struggle for existence, but the struggle for the existence of others.' The true type of it, according to the same writer, is the mother stinting herself in order that her child may live; not the strong man starving the weak one in order that he himself may feast. When persons who hold such ideas apply them to the domain of politics, the result which they naturally reach is an absolute condemnation of war. War to them presents itself as a kind of local inflammation, which plays no functional part in the life of the body politic; or as an accidental conflagration of houses which does nothing in itself to improve the art of house-building. All that is needed to end war is that men should deliberately abstain from it, and allow the quarrels, which it is now invoked to settle, to be settled by an International

tribunal directly representing the principles—that is to say the principles of love and justice—on which all civilisation and progress, as a matter of fact, rest.

To arguments and ideas of this kind the answer indicated by General von Bernhardi is obvious. They may be true so far as they go, but at the same time they embrace one half of the truth only. Progress may be vitally dependent on ‘the struggle for the existence of others’; but it is also no less dependent on the struggle for the existence of self. No emphasising of the principles of love, altruism, or ideal justice, as a factor scientifically essential to the development and maintenance of everything which we mean by the word civilisation, will get rid of the corresponding necessity of the opposite principle of Force, any more than insistence on the beauty and value of chastity will alter those facts of sex, in the absence of which nobody would exist to be either chaste or otherwise. True courage and sanity, alike in thought and in action, lies in facing both of these antinomies of human nature.

Such being the case, a writer like General von Bernhardi is performing a most valuable office in boldly reasserting facts which sentimentalists endeavour to forget, more especially since the sound of cannon all over the world must be now suggesting even to the most sentimental that the principles on which he insists have some sort of reality at the back of them. Let us re-examine the case, then, as he himself states it, and consider step by step how far his own statement is accurate.

In the first place he is undoubtedly accurate in respect of his primary proposition, that neither the private life of individuals nor the corporate life of States could have risen above the level of savagery, or even maintain itself in the positions already won, if the strong did not in some sense or other achieve and maintain positions not obtainable by the weak. That such is the case would be apparent from the reasoning of the altruists themselves, if only they would take the trouble to complete it. If the ideal mother puts forth all her strength, not for her own advantage, but for that of her weak child, she must before she can do so be physically strong herself, or strength must be lent her by the support of a strong husband. Otherwise mother and child will both perish together. The survival, therefore, of the strong and the elimination of the weak in one sense is a necessary precondition of the protection of the weak in another. General von Bernhardi, then, is profoundly right in saying that social life is most vital and generally prosperous in States ‘which secure the widest influence for those citizens whose personalities are most efficient,’ and ensure for them positions which are otherwise commensurate with their efficiency. Of his meaning, when he

uses such language, he leaves us in no doubt. In speaking of the 'elimination' of the weak as being essential to social, or (as he calls it) intra-social prosperity, he does not mean the extermination of them, but merely the relegation of them to positions in accordance with their capacities. He explicitly recognises that, within their legitimate sphere, their claims to justice are co-equal with those of the strong. Indeed, he argues, this is sufficiently shown by the existence of legal systems and recognised codes of morals. In certain respects these are all fundamentally similar, and obviously represent the universal experience of mankind.

Thus far the militant German philosopher says nothing with which any sane Englishman can quarrel; and even the most visionary of sentimental altruists, if they only stretch his principles to a slight extent, may agree with him. He begins his entry into the domain of what many persons will regard as the debateable, and others will regard as the false, when he passes from the consideration of the State as related to its own citizens to a consideration of States as related to one another. The Rubicon is crossed when he commits himself to the initial proposition that morals in respect of the relations of one State to another have, with the exception of certain accidental particulars, no resemblance to morality in the ordinary sense of the word, and least of all to the morality which is specially described as Christian. To many sensitive persons such a doctrine is altogether shocking. It is a doctrine to be repudiated with horror, not to be discussed with patience. But if we examine it in the light of General von Bernhardi's analysis, everybody will be forced to admit that it is, within limits, true.

All morality of the kind represented by ordinary law—the object of such law being to reflect and give authority to the dictates of the social conscience—has two essential characteristics. Some common agreement exists as to what these dictates are, and some common tribunal exists which is able to give effect to them. But when questions arise as to the conduct of one State towards another, both these conditions are wanting. Let us take the latter first.

When a question of justice arises between two individuals, the State in pronouncing a judgment can give instant effect to it, because the power of a State—even of a small State—will be at least a million times greater than that of any individual who might wish to dispute its orders. But when the questions at issue are questions between one State and another, General von Bernhardi is obviously right in saying that 'there is no impartial power which can exercise over the States themselves an authority analogous to that which each State exercises over its individual citizens, no power which can restrain their rivalry.'

within the bounds of justice, or can use it with conscious purpose to promote the highest interests of mankind.' Even if the semblance of such a power should be created in the form of some Peace Tribunal, the utmost it could do would be to issue pious recommendations, whose sole force would depend on the willingness of States to accept them; and although as to minor matters such a willingness might conceivably become general, it is a willingness which would extend to minor matters only. Should any State feel that any verdict which the Tribunal might pronounce was prejudicial to its vital interests, it would set the verdict aside, and could not be compelled to bow to it, any more than a patient can be compelled to swallow a pill which a doctor, whom at any moment he is able to dismiss, may have prescribed for him. There is only one way in which it is conceivable that a super-national Tribunal could render war between rival States impossible; and that is by having a world-army at its own disposal so that it always would be ready to make war itself on any State which presumed to dispute its rulings. It need not here be asked how such an army would be raised and maintained. It is enough to observe that, even if we suppose it to exist, the Peace Tribunal whose orders it obeyed would end by becoming itself the supreme representative of war, and the arch-vindicator of that principle of Force which its object was to eliminate. The very idea, therefore, of superseding war by some world-wide moral Authority of a purely peaceful kind need only be translated into the form of a working programme, and it reduces itself to an absurdity by ending as its own opposite.

But the full significance of these arguments, as General von Bernhardi very rightly insists, is not apparent till we consider how morality between States differs from ordinary morality, not only in the fact that there is no authority superior to the disputants which can enforce it, or do more than talk about it, but also in the fact that there is not, and that from the very nature of the case there cannot be, any general agreement as to what the principles or detailed precepts of such morality are. The manner in which General von Bernhardi develops and illustrates this part of his argument is singularly interesting, and deserves patient attention.

All morality, he argues, so far as we are here concerned with it, whether it be that of States or individuals, relates to questions which arise out of struggle or rivalry. So far as individuals are concerned, though self-sacrifice is often the highest virtue, the primary law of life is the law of self-preservation; and the heroic minorities who sacrifice their lives for others do so only on the implied supposition that the others, who are the vast majority,

shall successfully protect their own. If the highest virtue and duty of every human being were to die, the ideal communities would be those who most expeditiously expunged themselves from existence. In spite, therefore, of all exceptions, the highest individuals are those who struggle most successfully, not to die but to survive. For these—the normal majority—the essence of morality consists in the practice by each towards others of certain principles which it is to the interest of each ‘as a being desirous to live’ that others should practise towards himself. What these principles are is sufficiently well known. They have been codified and sub-codified by all civilised States with an almost mathematical nicety, and in every case with substantially the same results. This has been practicable because the object in view is unambiguous. The object is to secure that, under given social conditions, all men shall be similarly protected in using them to the best advantage—that all shall be free to rival, but none to overreach, or violently to assault, his fellows.

But the proper object of each State in respect of its dealings with other States does not possess this uniform and unquestioned character. On the contrary, from the very nature of the case, whenever two States are at variance the particular object which each of them has in view, and by reference to which it justifies its own actions and intentions to itself, is essentially opposed to the corresponding object of the other. Thus Germany and England may each be animated by the idea that the highest service which man can render to God is to impose its own culture by means of its imperial power on the largest number of human beings possible; but the divine mission of Germany will be regarded as spurious by England, and the divine mission of England will be regarded as spurious by Germany; and in proportion as we descend from ultimate and ideal objects such as these, to the proximate and material objects which must be compassed as necessary steps to them, the more clearly does the essential discrepancy between the moral standards of different States show itself.

What, then, asks General Bernhardi, if we take the world as it is, are the basic material facts which render conflicts of interest between different States inevitable? He sums them up as follows. Let us take, he says, any typical modern State, such as England was at the beginning of the nineteenth century, or as Germany was before the Franco-Prussian war. We start with finding a population relatively poor, in possession of a territory relatively large, but very imperfectly developed; and what has happened and is still happening in the modern world is this. Owing to such causes as the scientific reorganisation of industry the productive efficiency of the population, man for man, has

increased at a rate unparalleled in any earlier period, and the immediate result of this is an increase of the population itself. Up to a certain point, however, the increased efficiency of production finds its material basis in a development of the resources lying within the State's original boundaries—a development which practically amounts to an acquisition of new territory; and so long as this process lasts the means of production will, without any extension of frontier, keep pace with the increase in number of the persons who desire to use them. But a time arrives in the history of all civilised States—it arrived in England during the first half of the nineteenth century, and in Germany during the second half—when this process can be carried no farther. What arrests it is the difference between the modern processes of manufacture and the processes of producing, firstly, food, without which the manufacturers could not live, and, secondly, raw materials without which they would have nothing to work upon. Food and raw materials being given, the productivity of manufacturing industry within given geographical limits is capable of being increased indefinitely; but the production of corn, meat, milk, timber, leather, coal, and metals is not. The production of these, and of food-stuffs more especially, is subject to the law of diminishing returns. The number of persons who can be supported by the products of a thousand acres can be increased up to a certain point, but it can be increased no farther. If, then, when this point has been reached, the unexhausted possibilities of manufacture are not thenceforth to be nullified, and the growth of the State checked, the progress of manufacture must be a progress in the manufacture of goods for export, food and raw materials being obtained from other territories in exchange for them. 'Work and employment,' says General Bernhardi, 'are thus secured for their increasing populations by the leading States of the modern world, so long as foreign markets can be found which gladly accept their products'; but, so his argument proceeds, here is the crux of the matter. How shall any one State, such as Germany, Holland, or England, make its possession of those foreign markets secure, which are necessary for the support of its growing population at home? For in each of these markets each State has rivals who are endeavouring to exclude from it the exports of all the others, and seize on the lion's share of commercial advantage for themselves. The only way, he says, in which a State can make its own position secure is by becoming itself the possessor of as many foreign markets as it requires; and such possession is obtainable in three ways. In some cases a stream of immigrants is poured into a foreign territory, who, submitting themselves to its laws and living in formal peace with the natives, contrive to obtain for

themselves by the exercise of superior ability 'favourable conditions at the expense of the original inhabitants, with whom they compete.' In other cases colonies are established. 'Vast territories inhabited by uncivilised masses are occupied by more highly civilised States, and made subject to their rule'—a process which is generally gradual, and may in semblance be pacific. In other cases new territories are acquired which are in the occupation of other civilised Powers already; and when this happens the acquisition of them is accomplished by overt war.

But though these three processes are different in point of form, they are all three of them in their essence processes of forcible conquest. Unlike the rivalries which take place at home between the citizens of the conquering State itself, and the object of which on the part of the individuals engaged in them is that each shall do the best for himself on equal terms with his fellows, the processes of immigration, colonisation, and annexation by force of arms, aim at securing advantages for the new comers, not on equal terms, with the original inhabitants, but at their expense. They aim at 'wresting from them what our author describes as 'all the most favourable positions.' In this, he says, there is nothing new. We have merely the working of 'a biological law' which is as old as human history. There is not to-day a civilised State existing which does not owe its rights to the territory which it now occupies to the dispossession by war of occupants who went before it.

And this condition of things is so far from losing its practical significance to-day, that the principles which lie at the root of it are asserting themselves more vigorously than ever. At one time there were vast regions populated so sparsely that civilised States might appropriate important portions of them without seriously injuring the aborigines or entering into conflict with one another. But regions such as these practically exist no longer. With the exception of barren deserts which would never repay occupation, an appreciable number of inhabitants will be found in possession everywhere—aboriginals who in some cases are still under their own rule, and who in others are under the dominion of some civilised State already; and whenever or wherever any new State seeks to acquire fresh territory with a view to securing markets for its manufactures and an outlet for its increasing population, it is bound to come into conflict with men who will deny its right to subjugate them; and is also bound in the name of its own internal necessities 'to deny the right of those whom it subjugates to independence.' So far, then, as the question of right is concerned, who is to be judge between the two contending parties? It is obvious that no such impartial judge can exist.

Each party must form its conception of right for itself, and it can only make this conception prevail by making war or by being prepared for it. Those who are solicitous for the claims of morality in the abstract may take comfort in the thought that a nation which is not virile enough to fight successfully for its own moral ideals lacks one of the characteristics at all events which are essential to healthy manhood.

In these arguments themselves there is, of course, nothing original, but they acquire a new interest from the fact that they are restated as the manifesto of a nation which is actually translating them into practice, and challenging with fire and sword those who deny their force to refute them. Properly considered they form a most useful lesson to ourselves. The 'peace-at-any-price-party,' who have been holding up their hands in horror at the thought of a large Army, and who regard a gratuitous service of passenger steamers on the Thames as a more important matter than the strength of the Imperial Navy, may learn from it that however true their favourite reflexion may be, that 'those who draw the sword are certain to perish by the sword,' there is something which is more certain still—that the first to perish by the sword are those who have no swords to draw.

Up to a certain point, then, the gospel of Germany according to its latest evangelist is an exposition, exceptionally forcible, of what is true; but even, according to General von Bernhardi himself, it is not, as thus far stated, complete. Although self-interest, with the force of arms at the back of it, is the only moral standard by which any State can be reasonably guided unless it is prepared to perish by collision with the slightest obstacle, self-interest is not to be understood purely or even mainly in a low material sense. On the contrary, self-interest includes the completest conformity possible to certain principles of a spiritual and universal kind, of which the State, like the New Jerusalem, or Plato's ideal Republic, should be the visible image on earth. He is indeed good enough to admit that if war in itself were regarded as the most important activity of mankind, even Germans would degenerate into a horde of illiterate Zulus; and that no State will be justified in blowing the citizens of any other State into bits merely because at the moment it is in possession of superior guns, but must also be satisfied that it will thus be clearing the way for the multiplication of souls more precious and more faithful to some transcendental standards than the souls which it annihilates, or puts out of terrestrial action.

He accordingly does his best to indicate what these transcendental standards are, and to show that they are sufficiently

definite to afford a basis of action. Thus in dealing with the moral relations of some powerful European State to some relatively helpless people, African or Oriental, whose territory it might desire to appropriate, the justice or injustice of the appropriation depends, he says, on the moral character of the 'methods and conceptions of life, and the general character (higher or lower) of the civilisation' which are represented by the possible aggressor on the one hand, and by the possible victims on the other.

General von Bernhardi admits, however, that this test is, except in extreme cases, very difficult to apply, and he makes a variety of attempts to land himself on surer ground. In the first place he lays it down that though one of the objective tests of the moral value of a civilisation is the virility which shows itself in the production of material wealth, material wealth is an object which is altogether subordinate. Socialists and Radicals who regard the State as 'an Assurance Office' whose sole function is to secure for everybody the largest possible income in the shape of profits, interest or wages, as the case may be, are of all sentimentalists the most grossly and ineptly sensual, and any nation who follows their counsels must be in a 'state of corruption and decay.' 'The final purpose of life does not rest' on such enjoyments as profits and wages can purchase. 'These are merely accessories of the chequered conditions of a life' whose true purpose is 'the development of the intellectual and moral powers'; and those civilisations are the highest, and are morally justified in extending themselves even by force of arms, 'which perform the noble task of raising the moral and intellectual powers of men to their highest possible expansion.' What General von Bernhardi means by 'the intellectual powers' is presumably what is meant by most people; for, as examples of their highest development in his own country, he cites Kant, Fichte, Schiller, and Goethe, though somewhat ungratefully he omits the name of Krupp. But what he means by the highest 'moral powers,' or in other words the supreme ideal virtues, is a question which, though we have already glanced at it, requires more careful consideration. These virtues, as specifically enumerated by himself, are Martial Courage, Justice, Truth, Love, Magnanimity, Pity, and Mercy; and war, according to him, is a moral instead of a brutal occupation only in so far as it tends to select for survival races who embody these virtues in their holiest and most sublime completeness. It is thus that, in consonance with the Aristotelian doctrine of the Mean, he attempts to temper the extreme doctrine of war as a process which is justified by physical force only, and bring it into harmony with those ideals of moral and intellectual civilisation

of which, on his own admission, men like Kant, Fichte, and Goethe are amongst the most shining examples. The world for thousands of years has been attempting the same thing; but it may be safely said that of all such attempts that of General Bernhardi, as the mouthpiece of modern Germany, is the feeblest.

Let us begin with the two moral virtues to which he assigns the foremost place—namely, martial courage and justice. As to both of these his argument revolves in a circle. War is a moral process because it develops the virtue of courage. Courage is a moral virtue because it is necessary for success in war. The most successful war is moral only when its ultimate end is the triumph of transcendental justice. Justice between nations is determined by nothing but success in war. His treatment of the virtue of Truth is more remarkable still. War, as related to Truth, is essentially a moral process, because the telling of the truth by statesmen in times of peace, and the absence on their part of anything like ‘preconcerted deception,’ is the best way of gaining advantages without the expense of fighting for them. But when war actually begins the virtue of Truth disappears from her pedestal, her sacred place being taken by the virtues of Lying and Deceit, and war begins, according to General Bernhardi, at the precise moment when statesmen begin to think that lying and deceit will be profitable. General Bernhardi feels that the gospel of mere Might must be balanced by a doctrine of independent Right somehow; but when he comes to details he does not even so much as suggest a conception of any Right which in any practical way could restrain Might within bounds, and prevent it from degenerating into blind and brutal savagery. If we turn to the remaining virtues which figure in our philosopher’s list, we shall find that the correctness of this observation has been sufficiently illustrated by experiment. War, he says, must be moral because amongst the moral flowers of which it is the most ‘fruitful garden,’ Love, Magnanimity, Pity, and Mercy are pre-eminent. In view of what has happened on the most recent of German battlefields he could hardly have made a less fortunate selection, or one which could show better how feeble (if we take him seriously) his ethical reasonings and his insight into human nature are.

What, then, are we to say of his presentation of the case as a whole—of the case for war as understood by the culture of modern Germany—of his theory of mere Might on the one hand, and of some principle of Right directing this on the other? Of the first theory it must be said again, as has here been said already, that it is founded on unalterable facts, and is developed so far as it goes with severe exactitude; whilst his statement of

the second is founded on facts so ill-estimated that they are largely fictions, and developed in a manner so illogical that as a protest against the supremacy of sheer Might it is valueless. And what is the explanation of this singular want of balance?

General von Bernhardi, as tested by his own principles, fails ignominiously in establishing the second half of his case, because he begins with overstating the first. It is impossible to get rid of force as a factor in the affairs of nations; and, in a world that is becoming overcrowded, the necessity of force as a condition of national survival exhibits itself on an increasing scale. But this necessity is by no means so constant and universal as General von Bernhardi represents it. His whole argument rests on the assumption that, the world being what it is, the interest of every State either is, or is in the way to becoming, antagonistic to the interest of others. This means that there can be no two countries each of which derives advantage from the equal prosperity of the other. International contact is for General von Bernhardi the same thing as international enmity. He proounds this doctrine as the result of biological science. If it is so, it is the result of science as read by a half-blind savage. The truth is that if conflicts between States are essential to human progress, the co-operation of States is a factor no less important; but except in so far as co-operation means a temporary and hypocritical alliance between two States, for the purpose of crushing a third which for the moment is objectionable to both, progress by co-operation is a principle which he cannot conceive; and even whilst the alliance lasts it is the duty of each, he says, to be ready at the first opportunity to break faith with and betray the other.

Such a doctrine is not only abhorrent to the general moral sense of mankind, but tested by the standards of science it is an ignorant and abject blunder. This is shown by examples which, without understanding their significance, General von Bernhardi himself quotes. For all States which are so virile that their population increases owing to an increased efficiency of production, wars of annexation are, according to him, necessary, but their aim and their essence is to impoverish the populations subjugated. It so happens, however, that, in dealing with annexation elsewhere, he quotes as a signal example of it the British occupation of India. Now, whatever material advantages this occupation may have secured for Britain, it certainly has not, if tested by General von Bernhardi's own standard, inflicted any material loss on the natives, for the index, according to him, of the material vitality of a race is the fact that it can, from an area which remains the same, continuously extract subsistence for an ever-increasing population; and if any fact is certain with regard

to India, it is the fact that its population, since the British rule began, has increased incomparably faster than it ever increased before. In certain countries no doubt an opposite result asserts itself, and under the sway of the new power the aboriginal inhabitants (such as the Incas and the Aztecs) dwindle and finally disappear. All that is here asserted is that such a result is not universal, and that the cases in which it does not occur are no less important than those in which it does.

This same general truth that co-operation between States is often as vital to the prosperity of each as their antagonism is deducible also from another of General von Bernhardi's own contentions. To suppose, he says, that all States can ever be fused into one is a supposition which is perfectly idle, and 'belongs to the domain of Utopia.' Even if such a State did come into existence, the effects, he adds, would be disastrous, and the human race would deteriorate. The human race must always be governed in sections, each seeking its own prosperity for itself. But why? According to General Bernhardi's own logic, the reason cannot be that some one superior State will thus be able to attest its superiority by crippling all the rest; for a State which did this would end in becoming the sole State, and would thus be inflicting the greatest of all injuries on itself. If, therefore, General von Bernhardi's contention has any meaning at all, it must mean that the prosperity of each of the greatest States demands that other States shall be great and prosperous also. Hence the Darwinian doctrine of struggle, as used to justify war, must from what he calls 'the biological point of view' be subject to profound modifications which his own reasoning altogether neglects.

His absurd over-statement of his case is again signally illustrated by his doctrine that small States are always 'pitiable'; that they have 'no right to exist,' and that any great States which stamp on them are performing a sacred service to the highest interests of mankind. Now it is perfectly true that a small State with no power behind it can have no right to provoke an armed quarrel with a large State, for it would be thereby appealing to a power which it did not possess. But small States as such are not necessarily pitiable. They may be examples of the highest civilisation; and for this reason, and for others of a political kind, it may be to the advantage of a number of great States to protect them. Athens was a small State; Weimar was a small State. Can Athens be dismissed as pitiable, or the home which fostered Goethe? Most of the great Germans from whose prose and poetry General von Bernhardi quotes were the products of small States. It is perfectly obvious that, though a small State can have no right to provoke an armed quarrel with a

great State unless it is ready to abide by an arbitrament which cannot fail to be fatal to it, to say that any great State is necessarily serving the highest interests of humanity by crushing any small State whose towns it can demolish with its howitzers, is to say something which is not only morally monstrous, but which is also an affront to common sense, to common knowledge of history, and no less to General Bernhardi's favourite science, 'biology.'

The best criticism, however, of General von Bernhardi's book is to be found in the events which have so rapidly followed its publication. The present war has shown that Force is an inextinguishable element in the shaping of human affairs, and that in insisting on this fact General von Bernhardi is correct. It has also emphasised his admissions that the triumph of mere Force requires to be justified by some principle external to itself; and it has also shown by the light of burning towns and villages how unsuccessful both General von Bernhardi and his countrymen have been in their attempt to discover what that principle is.

To a certain degree his exaggerations of one class of facts, his neglect of another, his confusions of thought, and his many self-contradictions, have their origin in the nature of his subject. The relation of Force to morality is not by any means simple. It cannot be settled as though it were a problem of Euclid; but both the present War and General von Bernhardi's book will be valuable as the means of teaching this country the lesson that, though the doctrine of mere Might as the arbiter of Right is monstrous, it is idle to prattle about Right if there is no Might to defend it. Pacificists groan when they hear of German atrocities in Belgium. Part of the guilt of these may be held to rest with themselves, for their constant object has been, so far as has been possible, to deprive this country of adequate means of preventing them.

W. H. MALLOCK.

SOME ISSUES OF THE WAR

(I)

A DIPLOMATIC CENTENARY: 1814 AND 1914

The time will come when treaties shall be more than truces, when it will again be possible for them to be observed with that religious faith, that sacred inviolability, on which depend the reputation, the strength, and the preservation of empires.—*Preamble to the Treaty of Kalisch (1813).*

(Quoted by W. A. PHILLIPS.)

In a recent number of this Review I attempted to analyse the antecedents of the War. The great struggle still rages fiercely, and no man can tell how long it may be before the end comes into sight. Until that happy day dawns, one supreme and exclusive duty is laid upon the nation : to fight on until a decisive victory enables us to conclude a Peace which shall form the basis of an enduring settlement. To that end we must strain every nerve ; to the attainment of that object we must subordinate every competing activity.

Nevertheless, it is not premature to endeavour to discuss some of the more important issues which the War has already raised and which the hoped-for Peace must attempt to determine. Our fighting men will carry on the contest no less strenuously, our thinking men will support them no less steadfastly, if both are in a position to apprehend the magnitude and the multitude of the issues which are now submitted to the arbitrament of the sword. It is in the hope of contributing to this apprehension that the following pages are penned.

It is precisely one hundred years since the greatest of all European Congresses opened at Vienna. On the 5th of June 1915 we shall reach the centenary of the signature of a Treaty which, after twenty-three years of war, secured to Europe forty years of peace. To Vienna there had come in the autumn of 1814 all that was most illustrious in the diplomatic world of Europe. In the presidential chair sat Prince Metternich, Minister of the new-fledged Emperor of Austria. The Czar Alexander was present in person, surrounded by a cohort of advisers drawn, after the Russian custom, from many lands : Stein, Capo D'Istria, Nesselrode, Czartoryski, and Pozzo di Borgo. Frederick William the Third of Prussia—one of the few weak-

lings of the Hohenzollern line—brought with him Hardenberg and Humboldt. Lord Castlereagh was the principal representative of England. Talleyrand—not yet admitted to the Congress—was there to watch the interests of France, and he watched them with consummate adroitness and complete success. From all the other States of Europe, great and small, came one or more representatives. To this rule Turkey was the sole and significant exception.

Brilliant as the Congress was in personnel, its political sagacity has never passed unquestioned, and the conclusions it reached have been from that day to this subjected to severe criticism. But, although much of the impeachment must be admitted, two things may be urged in extenuation. Never were diplomatists confronted with graver or more difficult problems, and never were they more hampered in the solution of them by Treaties—such as those of Abo (1812), Kalisch, Reichenbach, Töplitz and Ried (1813)—quite recently concluded. It is, however, no part of my immediate purpose either to reproach or to excuse the diplomatists of Vienna. But it may be not merely of historical interest but of practical utility to remind ourselves of the problems by which, a century ago, European diplomacy was perplexed, and to consider how far those problems were solved; how far they remained unsettled, or have been reopened by the present War; and finally to inquire what new problems have arisen since 1815.

It may conduce to lucidity to set forth these problems in tabular form before proceeding to discuss them in something of detail :

	1814-15.	1914-15.
1. France :		
(a) Internal Government	(a) Solved.	
(b) Eastern frontiers	(b) Reopened.	
2. Germany :		
(a) Constitution	(a) Settled in 1871, but may be reopened.	
(b) Territorial arrangements	(b) Reopened.	
3. Russia and Poland	Reopened.	
4. Austria-Hungary	Reopened.	
5. Italy :		
Redivided 1815	Solved by unification in 1871.	
6. Switzerland :		
(a) Territory	(a) Settled in 1815.	
(b) Constitution	(b) Settled in 1874.	
7. Holland, Belgium, and Luxembourg :		
United 1814	Sundered 1830. Reopened.	
8. Sweden-Norway united 1814	Separated 1905.	
9. Denmark	Dismembered 1864. Reopened 1914.	
10.	Turkey and the Balkan States	
11. CC-0: In-Public-Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar	Far East.	

1814-15.

1914-15.

12. British Empire:

- | | |
|----------------------------|---------------|
| (a) Territory | (a) Reopened. |
| (b) Constitution | (b) Unsolved. |

A cursory glance at the above table will enable the reader to perceive that of the great questions under discussion in 1814-15, one only was settled for good and all; four others then settled in one manner have since reached a settlement in a different or opposite direction; seven others have been reopened by the present War, and will demand the most anxious reconsideration at the conclusion of peace, while there are at least three questions of first-rate importance which, unborn or ignored in 1815, have been steadily maturing during the nineteenth century, and have been forced into prominence by recent events.

Of the work attempted by the diplomats at Vienna, one item only has proved to be entirely satisfactory and enduring—the territorial and international position of the Swiss Confederation. Compelled to unaccustomed unity under French influence as the Helvetic Republic in 1798, the Swiss Cantons regained the line of normal development in 1815. Reinforced territorially by the Republic of Geneva, the Pays de Vaud, the Valais and Neuchatel, the Confederation was re-formed in 1815, and advanced towards closer federalism by the stages of 1848 and 1874. Meanwhile, the international position of the Swiss Confederation was firmly established, under the guarantee of Great Britain, France, Russia, Prussia, and Austria by the Treaty of the 20th of November 1815. By that Act the Powers declared 'their formal and authentic acknowledgment of the perpetual neutrality of Switzerland,' and guaranteed to that country 'the integrity and inviolability of its territory in its new limits.' The position then attained has never been threatened, and the inviolate neutrality of Switzerland still remains as the one upstanding monument of the settlement of 1815. Nothing but a German victory would suffice to destroy it.

The position of Switzerland raised little difficulty in 1814. This was far from being the case in regard to France. In this connexion the victorious Allies had to face two problems: (1) that of the future government of France, and (2) that of its frontiers. Not without hesitation, the Allies decided, in 1814, to fall back upon the principle of 'legitimacy' and recall the Bourbons. After the interlude of the 'Hundred Days' they renewed the experiment in 1815. Between 1815 and 1870 France made trial of many constitutional expedients: legitimacy, bourgeois monarchy, republicanism, imperialism were in turn tried and in turn abandoned, but after Séダン a Republic was set up for the third time, and, despite or perhaps by reason of the fact that

the Constitution was drafted by men with no very ardent affection for republican institutions, the Republic has endured for forty years, and is to-day more firmly established than at any previous period of its existence. No question of constitutional revision is likely to arise, as a consequence of the present War.

It is otherwise in regard to the eastern frontier of France. This question was hotly debated among the Allies in 1815. The German Powers, and Prussia in particular, insisted, not unnaturally, that the opportunity ought to be seized for restoring to Germany the frontier provinces and fortresses of which she had been deprived in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by the Bourbon Monarchy. Moreover, Germany could point to the unquestionable fact that for the last two centuries Alsace and Lorraine—the provinces in dispute—had been consistently used by France as a 'back door' into Germany. It was for two hundred and fifty years a fundamental object of French diplomacy to encourage the separatist ambitions of the smaller German States, and thus to retard the attainment of national unity. The possession of Alsace and Lorraine facilitated this policy. France, on the other hand, could plead that, whatever the racial affinities of Alsatians or Lorrainers, they had, under the genial and assimilative rule of France, become French in sympathies and ideas. Yet the argument advanced by the Prussian representative at Vienna could not be lightly brushed aside.

If [said Hardenberg] we want a durable and safe peace as we have so often announced and declared, if France herself sincerely wants such a peace with her neighbours, she must give back to her neighbours the line of defence she has taken from them; to Germany, Alsace and the fortifications of the Netherlands, the Meuse, Mosel, and Saar. Not until then will France find herself in her true line of defence with the Vosges and her double line of fortresses from the Meuse to the sea; and not till then will France remain quiet. Let us not lose the moment so favourable to the weal both of Europe and France which now offers of establishing a durable and safe peace. . . . If we let it slip, streams of blood will flow to attain this object, and the cry of the unhappy victims will call upon us to give an account of our conduct.

The prediction contained in the last sentence was fulfilled to the letter in 1870. But the problem is not a simple one. To-day the sympathies and wishes of the inhabitants would be held to be entitled to paramount consideration. That was the last idea which would have influenced the Congress at Vienna. Small deference was then paid to the complex and elusive principle of nationality. The primary duty of the assembled diplomatists, as they conceived it, was to give Europe peace after twenty-three years of devastating war. By none was a durable peace more ardently desired than by the foremost soldier among the Allies,

and it was his voice which decided the fate of Alsace and Lorraine. The surest guarantee of peace, so the Duke of Wellington argued, is a strong and settled Government in France. To send the Bourbons back to Paris without Alsace and Lorraine would be to endanger their newly recovered throne, and to fill their subjects with a wild thirst for revenge which must speedily result in a renewal of war. The Duke's reasoning prevailed, and for fifty-five years Alsace and Lorraine remained to France.

The resounding victories of Germany reopened the question in 1870, and, acting, it is said, under pressure from Moltke and against his own better judgment, Bismarck insisted on the restitution of the two Provinces in 1871.¹

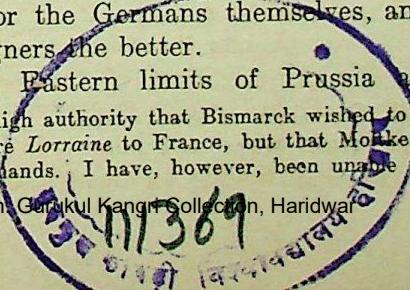
It is more than a generation since Alsace and Lorraine passed into the keeping of Germany. The most approved German methods have been steadily, not to say ruthlessly, applied, with the result that the two Provinces are more completely French in sympathy than at any previous period of their history.

In 1815 Germany complained, not without cause, that the French occupation had kept Germany unquiet; the German occupation has neither conciliated the affections of the inhabitants nor secured the peace of Europe. Before either object can be attained France, according to the German theory, must be 'bled white.' France shows no sign of political anaemia, and before the final account is settled the whole question of the frontier must be reopened. If Europe acts upon the principle that the wishes of the inhabitants must prevail, there can be little doubt as to the future destiny of Alsace and Lorraine.

It is not only in regard to the Rhine frontier that questions apparently decided must, in the event of a German defeat, be reopened. Upon the possible effect of a defeat upon the constitutional relations of the German States I do not propose to dilate. The *Staatenbund* established in 1815 by the German Committee of the Vienna Congress was admirably designed to subserve the reactionary policy of Metternich; but it served no other purpose, and the Germans did wisely, so far as a foreigner may judge, in substituting for it in 1871 a *Bundesstaat*. An unsuccessful war may very possibly reveal defects in this Constitution and induce the German princes—or even the German peoples—to insist upon fundamental revision. But that is entirely a question for the Germans themselves, and the less said about it by foreigners the better.

In regard to the Eastern limits of Prussia and of the

¹ I am informed by a high authority that Bismarck wished to retain Alsace for Germany, and to restore Lorraine to France, but that Moltke insisted that Metz must be in German hands. I have, however, been unable to verify this interesting suggestion.



THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

280 German Empire no such reticence can be observed. On this point the views of our Russian ally are entitled to peculiar consideration, and Russia has already made an announcement of the highest significance. The Proclamation issued to the Poles by the Grand Duke Nicholas on the 15th of August may mark an epoch in the history of that unhappy race. The frontiers dividing the Polish peoples were to be obliterated; reunited Poland, under the sceptre of the Russian Czar, was to be 'born again, free in her religion and her language.' The language of the Proclamation was necessarily vague, but it could only mean, if it were not mere flatulent rhetoric, that the policy of partition was to be reversed, that the infamous work of 1772, 1793, and 1795 was to be undone; that Austria was to be deprived of Galicia, and presumably that Prussia was to be driven back to Pomerania and to the limits of the ancient Mark of Brandenburg.² The Proclamation was hailed with enthusiasm in this country and elsewhere, but is it quite certain that its full meaning was apprehended? Is it quite certain that the author of it himself understood how much it might be held to involve? Was it, for example, intended as an intimation to Prussia that she would, in the event of defeat, be required to surrender not only Posen but the Duchies of East and West Prussia?

Another reflection must occur to the mind of the historical student. This is not the first time that Europe has heard language of this kind from Russian lips. There is no reason whatever to doubt the good faith of the Grand Duke Nicholas or his master. But for the friends of small nationalities and for the advocates of 'buffer States' it is important to know whether the recent Proclamation means—as far as Russia is concerned—anything more than the Czar Alexander meant when at Vienna he put his hand over the map of Poland and declared with emphasis *C'est à moi?* To the Czar Poland went. 'Avec 600,000 hommes,' as one of his colleagues remarked, 'on ne négocie pas beaucoup.' This was perhaps the strongest argument in the Czar's favour; but it was not the only one. The idea of a regenerated Poland had long ago taken firm possession of

² This question is a good deal more complicated than the language of the Grand Duke's Proclamation would seem to imply. The Duchy of *East Prussia*—then and for some years afterwards a fief of Poland—was united with Brandenburg in 1618. The intervening Duchy of *West Prussia* represented Prussia's share of the first Partition; but Dantzig and Thorn were for the moment denied to her. These important and coveted acquisitions fell to her, together with the rest of Great Poland (now known as South Prussia), in 1793, and New East Prussia in 1795. She was deprived of all the acquisitions of the second and third Partitions by Napoleon in 1807, and only succeeded in recovering Dantzig and Thorn in 1815. How much of these successive acquisitions is covered by the language of the Grand Duke's Proclamation?

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his mind. He had approached Pitt on the subject in 1815. Plainly it was with reference to Poland that he had then stressed upon the principle of nationality as a basis for the European settlement, and had urged that it was their duty 'to compose the several States of homogeneous peoples, which could agree among each other and act in harmony with the Government that rules them.' Czartoryski had penned the memorandum submitted to Pitt. Czartoryski was again by Alexander's side at the Congress of Vienna, and spared no pains to keep him constant to his earlier enthusiasm for Poland. He succeeded. Poland was to be reconstituted as a united kingdom, with a Parliamentary Constitution and a King of its own. That the new King of Poland was to be identical with the Czar of Russia might, in anyone but Alexander, have been deemed proof of insincerity, not to say hypocrisy. But Alexander was like no one else, and his allies seem to have been inclined to question his sanity rather than his sincerity. And they were right. Lord Castlereagh in particular had profound misgivings both as to the morality and the policy of the Polish settlement. In his view the Czar's action was at once a violation of treaties—notably that of Reichenbach—and a menace to the stability of the European Alliance. Moreover, there could, as Castlereagh perceived, be no guarantee for the permanence of the 'liberal' Constitution which the Czar proposed to bestow upon Poland. That Constitution would probably 'either be deliberately destroyed or perish at the hands of his successor.'³

Alexander, however, had set his heart on being King of an 'independent' Poland, and against his resolution no argument could prevail. That resolution was inspired by a characteristic mixture of calculating shrewdness and generous enthusiasm. But to the Poles themselves the settlement gave little satisfaction. Discontent, always simmering, blazed up into insurrection in 1830 and again in 1863, and insurrection was followed by repression. Great Britain, always platonically interested in Poland, and never sceptical as to the healing virtues of a parliamentary constitution, whenever and wheresoever adopted, lectured Russia upon the violation of her promises and appealed to the Treaties of 1815. The Czar Alexander the Second told Lord John Russell to mind his own business, and, firmly backed by Bismarck, who was looking ahead, did as he chose with his troublesome subjects. The Polish problem, then, was not solved in 1815. The Proclamation of the 15th of August has definitely reopened it, and among the many interesting questions which

³ Cf. on the whole question Mr. Alison Phillips's valuable work *The Confederation of Europe* (Longmans 1914).

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3 demand attention at the close of the War, there is not one
 t. Esettlement of which will be watched more closely or, in this
 country, more sympathetically than that of Poland. And it will
 be watched with good hope of a satisfactory issue. For the
 Russia of 1914 is not as the Russia of 1814. No one can have
 read unmoved Dr. Paul Vinogradoff's noble letter to the *Times*
 on the 14th of September.⁴

Russian Liberals [he wrote] have realised as one man that this war
 is not an adventure engineered by unscrupulous ambition, but a decisive
 struggle for independence and existence; and they are glad to be arrayed
 in close ranks with their opponents from the Conservative side. A friend,
 a Liberal like myself, writes to me from Moscow: 'It is a great, unforget-
 table time; we are happy to be all at one.' . . . Whatever may have been the
 shortcomings and the blunders of the Russian Government, it is a blessing
 in this decisive crisis that Russians should have a firmly knit organisation
 and a traditional centre of authority in the power of the Tsar. The present
 Emperor stands as the national leader, not in the histrionic attitude of a
 War Lord, but in the quiet dignity of his office. He has said and done
 the right thing, and his subjects will follow him to a man. We are sure
 he will remember in the hour of victory the unstinted devotion and sacrifices
 of all the nationalities and parties of his vast Empire. It is our firm
 conviction that the sad tale of reaction and oppression is at an end in
 Russia, and that our country will issue from this momentous crisis with
 the insight and strength required for the constructive and progressive
 statesmanship of which it stands in need.

Russia is so huge and so strong that material power has ceased to be
 attractive to her thinkers. Nevertheless we need not yet retire into the
 desert or deliver ourselves to be bound hand and foot by 'civilised'
 Germans. Russia also wields a sword—a charmed sword, blunt in an un-
 righteous cause, but sharp enough in the defence of right and freedom.
 And this war is indeed our *Befreiungskrieg*.

This War may well prove to be not merely a 'war of libera-
 tion' for Russia itself, but also for the Poles and other 'subject
 peoples.' Should this be the case, the somewhat indefinite promise
 of the Grand Duke Nicholas will be translated into concrete facts
 of stupendous import to the future not only of Russian but of
 European liberalism.

The Polish problem did not stand alone in 1815. The Czar's
 determination to get Poland involved the question as to the com-
 pensation to be accorded to Prussia. The Hohenzollern wanted
 the whole of Saxony, but in view of the opposition offered by
 Austria and the smaller German States, Prussia had to content
 herself with the northern half of Saxony, though she acquired
 in addition a large Rhine Province. She came well out of the
 transaction. Both geographically and ethnically the exchange was

⁴ Since reprinted as *Russia, the Psychology of a Nation*. (Oxford University Press, price 1d. net).

